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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LXVI.

NEW SERIES, NO. XLI.

JANUARY, 1830.

ART. I.—*A Political and Civil History of the United States of America, from the Year 1763 to the Close of the Administration of President Washington, in March, 1797; including a summary View of the Political and Civil State of the North American Colonies prior to that Period.* By TIMOTHY PITKIN. 2 vols. 8vo. New Haven. 1828. H. Howe.

THIS is the first attempt, we believe, to write a political and civil history of the United States, disconnected from military operations and the general thread of events. The plan has its advantages, but it may perhaps be doubted whether these are predominant. For a class of readers, already well versed in the narrative part of our history, this mode of grouping together and bringing into their proper relations the political incidents has much to recommend it; but this class is small. The mass of people read history mainly to be amused, and they are carried along with the narrative, even when the movements of the machinery of state, and the political acts and designs of rulers, have little in them to quicken interest, or gratify curiosity. There is another objection to this method. History is a series of causes and effects; it is a chain, in which each successive link depends on the preceding; you may call one political, and another military, and another social, yet there is a mutual relation and dependence between them, which cannot be broken without force, or without detriment. You may discuss the policy of a nation, of a particular administration, or of an indi-

vidual ruler ; you may examine political principles, the features of a constitution, the elements of social union, and penetrate as deeply as you will into the mysteries of government and the organization of society ; all these topics may be treated to any extent as of separate importance, but when you weave them together into a history, without regarding the great public events of which they are the causes or consequences, you manifestly work at a disadvantage, and are able at last to sketch but an imperfect outline of the picture, which you aim to exhibit in its full proportions and distinctive colors.

It will be seen at once, therefore, that Mr Pitkin has undertaken a difficult task. It must not be understood, however, that he goes to the extreme, which some might infer from his title-page, of separating the political and civil from the other branches of history. He never loses sight of his chief purpose, yet he does not wholly discard narrative where it is essential to the developement of political principles and acts. Philosophical history makes no part of his plan, nor does he often venture into the region of conjecture or speculation ; but his primary object is to embody, in as methodical a manner as the subject will admit, the political characteristics of the different forms of government and society, which have existed in this country, from the time of the first settlement of the colonies, till the retirement of Washington from the presidency. In prosecuting this design he brings under review the early charters, and traces their operation in the several colonies. The proprietary and royal governments are examined in the same manner. At length come the difficulties between the assemblies and governors, or rather between the people and the agents of royalty, which grew up into the causes of the revolution. These are pursued to their results. From that period to the end of his work he manages the abundance of his materials with good judgment, and with a strict adherence to his plan.

Mr Pitkin well observes in his Preface, that no complete history of the British Colonies in America can be written, without consulting the manuscript papers in the offices of the English government. In fact, it would be an absolute waste of time in any person to engage in such an undertaking, till he can have free and full access to this mass of materials. Chalmers had this privilege, and he seems to have used it effectually ; but his work embraces a comparatively small part

only of our colonial history, and that by no means the most attractive part. It was hoped, that Congress would take measures to procure copies of these papers, as both the states of Georgia and North Carolina had made application to the general government for this object, in reference to those states. The committee of ways and means, nearly two years ago, reported a bill recommending such a measure, and making provision for procuring copies of all the papers in the English offices, relating to the colonial history of this country. The bill, however, was never heard of more, and lay undisturbed upon the table, till it was swept away amidst the rubbish of forgotten things. Congress have so much to do with the present, that they find no leisure to think of the past. We all love to boast, and even our members of Congress are not loath to proclaim in the halls of legislation, that we are an enlightened, liberal, and improving people; yet the British Parliament make *an annual appropriation* for printing ancient manuscript records and documents, to more than double the amount it would cost to procure a copy of all the American colonial papers. They have commissioners of their own body appointed on purpose to superintend the selection and publication of these papers. Sir James Mackintosh is an active and zealous member of this board of commissioners. An editor is also appointed, whose business it is to examine the manuscripts, compare the printed sheets with the originals, and execute all the duties, which naturally devolve upon an editor. This is a work in perpetual progress, and will at length become a treasure of great importance for the future historians of England.

There is probably no nation in civilized Europe so indifferent to its history as the people of the United States; that is, if we may judge of the feelings of the people from the acts of their representatives. Our writers are fond of vague, abstract declamation about our ancestors; but who they were, or what they did, how they thought and how they lived, what influence they had upon their age, or in guiding the destiny that awaited their posterity; these are questions that very few ever dream to be worth investigating. They are, nevertheless, the essence of genuine history, and from them we are to learn, not only to reverence what is good in the characters and deeds of our forefathers, but to enjoy the inheritance they have transmitted to us, and profit by their example. Mere empty declamation about these things comes to nothing, except to puff up our van-

ity, and add to our ignorance the ridiculousness of talking pompously about ourselves. It is time for our writers and declaimers to dismiss such puerilities, and betake themselves to the study of history in its stern attribute of truth, and in its dignified office of weighing in the scales of justice the acts of men and the records of ages.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of overcoming the *vis inertia* of Congress in such a matter as this, which has no bearing on the election of president or amendments of the constitution, yet there is a fair prospect that individuals will accomplish something. Biographies of eminent men, and local histories, are multiplying. These will bring out many facts, which the general historian may one day turn to a good account. It must be confessed, however, that these biographies are for the most part *eulogies*; and should the future historian rely on these alone for his authority, our descendants of the tenth generation will have the pride of looking back upon the most immaculate cluster of statesmen and heroes, that have adorned the annals of any nation. This is surely better than the contrary, but the best of all is truth. The eulogist is a partial judge of the acts and character of him, whom he sets up as a pattern, and tasks himself to praise. The histories of the different states, which are coming out from time to time, will contribute much to the general stock of materials.*

* We take this opportunity to notice one of the histories of this description, which has recently appeared. We refer to the 'History of Massachusetts, by ALDEN BRADFORD.' This work is a continuation of Hutchinson and Minot, and embraces a very interesting period of the history of the state. It is contained in three volumes, the last of which has just been published. The first volume treats of the time between the years 1764 and 1775, when Washington took the command of the American army; the second pursues the narrative to the beginning of the federal government under the constitution in 1789; and the third comes down to 1820. The author's long employment, as secretary of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, has given him peculiar advantages for examining authentic records and documents; and this, together with his well known love of historical research, ensures a value to these volumes for completeness, accuracy, and fidelity, which few authors have the means of imparting.

Among the periodical works of a historical character, HAZARD'S REGISTER OF PENNSYLVANIA deserves great praise. The volumes, that have already appeared, contain a rich fund of useful and important materials. Its purpose is to exhibit the statistics, political and civil transactions, progress of internal improvements, and every kind of useful information relating to Pennsylvania. It is made a

Mr Pitkin traces briefly, but with discrimination, in the principles and forms of our colonial governments, the primary causes of the revolution, and the elements of the systems which succeeded. New England was under *charter governments*. These resembled each other in their prominent features, and secured important privileges to the people. They were allowed, for instance, to choose their own governors, to elect a legislative assembly, and establish courts of justice. The assembly was empowered to pass any laws concerning the colony, with the only provision that these laws should not be opposed to any of the laws of England. For a few of the first years of the Massachusetts government, the chief control was in the hands of the governor and his assistants. At length the people, whose numbers were increasing, began to claim a greater share in the administration of affairs. At a meeting they resolved, that the power to make laws, appoint officers, and impose taxes, should rest with the *General Court* alone, and that this General Court should be composed of two or three members chosen from each plantation by the people. 'This, though not strictly warranted by the charter, was generally assented to, and became a fundamental part of the constitution of the colony. The assistants and deputies at first met together in the same room, and the former claimed a negative on the acts of the latter. This created no little dispute between them, and was not finally settled until 1644, when it was mutually agreed, that the legislature should consist of two separate bodies, each having a negative on the other.' At this early period the mode of legislating by two separate houses was introduced into Massachusetts.

The origin of the Connecticut government was somewhat peculiar. A company of emigrants from Massachusetts settled on the Connecticut river, at the towns of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor. The government was first in the hands of persons designated by the legislature of Massachusetts, called magistrates, and assisted by committees from the towns, who gave their advice on important occasions. This scheme was of short duration; for the people, finding themselves beyond

depository, also, of historical fragments of early times, selections from manuscripts, and reprints of rare pieces, which have a permanent value. It is the best devised and most successful attempt of the kind, which we have seen. The plan might be followed with great advantage in every state.

the limits of the Massachusetts charter, thought it convenient to establish a form of government for themselves.

‘The outlines of this constitution were, that there should be two general assemblies held in each year, one in April and the other in September. The one in April was called the court of election, at which were to be chosen a governor, and six magistrates, at least, and other public officers, as should be found requisite—the governor and magistrates to hold their offices for one year, and the governor was to be chosen from the magistrates. The governor and magistrates to be elected by those admitted freemen by the towns, and had taken the oath of fidelity. The mode of electing magistrates, was, it is believed, peculiar to Connecticut, and well calculated to prevent the choice of improper persons, either from the momentary impulse of the electors, or intrigues of the candidates. No person could be elected to that important station, who had not been proposed or nominated at some preceding General Court. The towns, by themselves, or their representatives, had a right to make such nominations, and transmit them to the court, and the court might add such names as they thought proper. The names of the persons thus nominated were published, and out of this number alone could the magistrates be chosen, by secret ballot, in the following manner. On the day of election, the names of the persons thus nominated at the preceding assembly, were called over in order by the secretary; and the freeman who desired the person called to be chosen, gave in a piece of paper, with some writing upon it; and those who did not wish him to be elected, gave in a blank; and those who had more written than blank papers were elected. No person could be chosen governor for two years in succession; and the governor must have been a magistrate, and also a member of some approved congregation.

‘The towns were to be represented in the general assembly by deputies, chosen by the freemen of the same; the towns of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor, to send four each, and the towns afterwards to be made, as many as the court should direct. The representatives to be chosen by those who had been admitted inhabitants of the town, and taken the oath of fidelity.’ Vol. i. pp. 43, 44.

It is remarkable, that the substance of this system, or constitution, founded at the very outset of the colony, was retained in the charter of Charles the Second, and remained the same throughout the colonial period, the changes of the revolution, under the constitution of the United States, and even down to the new constitution of Connecticut, adopted eleven years ago, into which instrument many of its principles are incorporated.

The settlement on the Connecticut river consisted of eight hundred persons, when this form of government was instituted.

All the world knows the history of Roger Williams, and the liberal and enlightened spirit by which the institutions of Rhode Island were established under his influence. So well did these accord with the principles of liberty and right, that the charter obtained in conformity with them, not only secured to the people the privilege of self-government under the colonial organization, but formed the basis of a system entirely adequate to all the ends of a free government in its widest application.

The most remarkable feature in the history of the charter governments is the confederacy into which they entered in 1643. Besides its agency in guiding the events of the time, it was the prototype of the confederacy of the states during the revolution, which was in fact the germ and vivifying principle of our existence as a nation. There is so much similarity in the substance of the two confederations, as to prove that the legislators in Congress were not unwilling to profit by the wisdom and example of their forefathers. The author describes the New England confederacy as follows.

‘This union was proposed by the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, as early as 1638, but was not finally completed until five years after. This confederacy of these infant colonies continued about forty years; and the confederacy itself, and the proceedings under it, constitute an interesting portion of the political history of New England. It consisted of the colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. By the articles of confederation, as they were called, these colonies entered into a firm and perpetual league of *friendship and amity*, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual *safety and welfare*. Each colony was to retain its own peculiar jurisdiction and government; and no other plantation or colony was to be received as a confederate, nor any two of the confederates to be united into one jurisdiction, without the consent of the rest. The affairs of the united colonies were to be managed by a legislature to consist of two persons, styled commissioners, chosen from each colony. These commissioners had power “to hear, examine, weigh, and determine all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and number of men for war,—division of spoils, and whatsoever is gotten by conquest—receiving of more confederates for plantations, into combination with any of the confederates; and all things of a like nature, which are the proper *concomitants and consequences*

of such a confederation for amity, offence, and defence; not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions, which, by the third article, is preserved entirely to themselves." The commissioners were to meet annually, in each colony, in succession, and when met, to choose a president, and the determination of any six to be binding on all.

'The expenses of all just wars to be borne by each colony, in proportion to its number of male inhabitants of whatever quality or condition, between the ages of sixteen and sixty.

'In case any colony should be suddenly invaded, on motion and request of three magistrates of such colony, the other confederates were immediately to send aid to the colony invaded, in men, Massachusetts one hundred, and the other colonies forty-five each, or for a less number, in the same proportion.

'The commissioners, however, were very properly directed, afterwards, to take into consideration the cause of such war or invasion, and if it should appear that the fault was in the colony invaded, such colony was not only to make satisfaction to the invaders, but to bear all the expenses of the war.

'The commissioners were also authorized "to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations were interested, for preserving peace among themselves, and preventing as much as may be all occasions of war, or difference with others, as about the free and speedy passage of justice, in every jurisdiction, to all the confederates equally as to their own, receiving those that remove from one plantation to another, without due certificates."

'It was, also, very wisely provided in the articles, that runaway servants, and fugitives from justice, should be returned to the colonies where they belonged, or from which they had fled. If any of the confederates should violate any of the articles, or, in any way injure any one of the other colonies, "such breach of agreement, or injury, was to be considered and ordered" by the commissioners of the other colonies. This confederacy, which was declared to be perpetual, continued without any essential alteration, until the New England colonies were deprived of their charter by the arbitrary proceedings of James II. In the year 1648, some of the inhabitants of Rhode Island requested to be admitted into the confederacy, but they were informed that the Island was within the patent granted to New Plymouth, and therefore their request was denied.' Vol. i. pp. 50, 51.

The main objects of the confederates were to protect themselves against the Dutch at New York, and the Indians. The line between New York and Connecticut was run and settled under the direction of the commissioners, and the famous war

with King Philip was prosecuted by the united forces of the confederate colonies.

An anecdote in the history of those times shows, that tariff-making is not a modern device in our legislation. The town of Springfield, on the Connecticut river, was within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. A fort had been erected at the mouth of the river, which was supported at the charge of Connecticut, and the provident people of that colony imposed a duty on certain articles, which the inhabitants of Springfield were in the habit of carrying down the river, in search of a market, beyond the limits of the colony; alleging as a reason, that, as the people of Springfield were benefited by the protection derived from the fortification at the mouth of the river, they ought to contribute their share of its expense. This was deemed a grievance and an indignity by Massachusetts, and, according to the provisions of the confederation, the case was referred for decision to Plymouth and New Haven, as not being interested in the result. They gave it in favor of Connecticut. Far from being satisfied with this judgment, Massachusetts resorted to a retaliatory act, imposing a duty on similar articles imported from New Haven, Connecticut, and Plymouth, within the Castle of Boston harbor; assigning as a reason, that the castle had been built and was kept up at a great expense for the protection of all ships, which entered the harbor. At the next meeting of the commissioners a remonstrance was brought in from the three colonies; but as the fort at Saybrook was soon after destroyed by fire, and the duties in consequence abolished, the affair was pursued no farther.

The charter governments were founded on a more liberal basis than the others, as they left much in the hands of the people. They were not without troubles and embarrassments. The king and parliament claimed the right of altering them, or even revoking them altogether; whereas the colonies denied such right, affirming that the charters were sacred compacts, which could not be annulled or infringed, unless their conditions had been violated by the party to whom they were granted. The charters were, nevertheless, sometimes forcibly taken away, and the injuries thus inflicted led to ceaseless contentions, which were among the chief causes of the revolution.

The *proprietary governments*, as the name indicates, were in the hands of proprietors, or individuals, who had derived grants from the king in their own name, with authority to set up

a civil government and make laws, under certain restrictions with reference to the crown. This plan prevailed in Maryland, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and the Jerseys. The most remarkable of the proprietary governments was that of Pennsylvania, on account of the peculiar character and humane purposes of its founder. Pennsylvania and Maryland were the only colonies, which remained under the proprietary system till the revolution; the others had reverted to the crown, and become royal governments at a much earlier date.

This system, in fact, answered but indifferently the ends of colonization. It was suited only to an old country, where the lands were held in large portions, and the people accustomed to the condition of tenants. In a new country, where all are laborers, it is essential to the prosperity of the community, and the happiness of the people individually, that the land should be held in small parcels and in fee simple by the laborers themselves. Each man will feel, that his exertions are for his own benefit and for that of his family, and out of regard to his interest he will become an efficient and faithful member of the body politic, to whose laws and restraints he chooses to submit. There was a marked difference, in this respect, between the proprietary and charter governments. 'The New England colonists,' says Mr. Pitkin, 'clung to their charters as the ark of their political safety, in opposition to the claims of the king and parliament; while those under the proprietary governments, and especially in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Carolina, on the other hand, sought refuge and protection from the oppression of the proprietors, under a royal government.' In short, under the proprietors, even those who were personally least objectionable, the people were always restless, full of complaints, and struggling for a change.

The rule of taxation, adopted by the proprietors, gave the greatest offence, and caused serious difficulties, particularly in Pennsylvania. They insisted on having their property, which in lands extended to a large portion of the province, exempted from taxation, even when this was laid for the defence of the colony, and for the mutual protection of property. So inequitable a demand very naturally incensed the people. The deputy governors, who resided in the colony, were instructed not to sanction money bills, which did not recognise this exemption. The assembly considered this a breach of chartered right, and sent a remonstrance to the king by the hands of Dr

Franklin. He succeeded in bringing the proprietors to consent, that their estates should bear a proportional assessment, although they afterwards endeavored to revoke this decision. The disputes and difficulties increased, till they were superseded by the more stirring events, which finally broke the chain of colonial dependence.

The third mode of governing the colonies, by *royal governments*, is described in the following brief summary of the author.

‘The governor and the council were appointed by the crown, and the people elected representatives to serve in the colonial legislatures. The governor held his office by a commission from the king, and was to be governed by such royal instructions, as he from time to time received. The council derived their authority, both executive and legislative, from the same instructions. In their legislative capacity, they constituted the upper house, having a negative on the acts of the representatives; and in their executive capacity they acted as advisers of the governor. The latter had a negative on the acts of both houses; and the acts themselves, though approved by the governor, were finally subject to the revision of the crown. The judges and most of the other officers were, also, appointed by the king. The judges held their offices during the pleasure of the crown; and the governor, as well as the judges, were at first dependent upon the colonial legislatures for their salaries.’ Vol. i. p. 71.

Under this system the people complained of many oppressions from the governors; but that it was more acceptable than the proprietary system, is to be inferred from the fact, that the colonists under the proprietors wished the latter to be exchanged for the former. The royal governors were too independent of the assemblies. They would refuse to convene them regularly, or prorogue them in a fit of passion or caprice, when they were not yielding to their demands, and harass them by insisting on some odious prerogative, or making claims as odious, or affixing their *veto* to important bills. The assemblies commonly revenged themselves by withholding grants of money, and passing high-toned resolutions, and now and then sending a spirited remonstrance to the crown. The contest, begun in ill humor, and continued with recrimination, usually ended in reproaches and mutual disrespect. The history of Virginia and New York afford illustrations in point.

Were it consistent with our present object, it would be interesting to accompany the author through the several stages

of colonial history, and witness from step to step the progress of those principles and occurrences, which paved the way to the opening scenes of the revolution. This curious research has never yet been prosecuted with the aid of all the lights that are to be thrown upon it. The great landmarks, however, are already fixed; and it must be the fortunate enterprise of some future historian to complete the task, when time shall unfold its records, and the past give up its treasures to the present. On two great topics, *representation* and *taxation*, there was an incessant difference of opinion between the king and parliament, and the colonists. The governors and assemblies were frequently in a quarrel on these points. The colonists claimed it as the basis of their *rights*, to make the laws by which they were to be governed, and to impose the taxes they were to pay. The contest respecting the former was confined to the royal governments, for the right of representation was secured by charter to the people under the charter and proprietary systems. It was decided by the law authorities in England, that the king could alter or annul at pleasure the laws passed by the assemblies under the royal governments. This decision was founded on the notion, that the right of representation depended on the will of the king, and was derived to the colonies by the commissions and instructions of the crown. These doctrines struck at the very root of freedom, making the assemblies a mere cipher, and virtually taking from the people all participation in the government. They were a fruitful source of animosity and contention.

The subject of *taxation* spread into much wider consequences, because it applied equally to all the colonies. From the beginning, the colonists had at various times declared, that no taxes could be levied except by the representatives of the people, chosen by themselves. They uniformly acted on this principle, in opposition to the repeated attempts of the governors to extort money on various pretences. No systematic plan was adopted, however, as a ministerial measure, for laying internal taxes on the colonies, till the French power had become reduced in America. Such a project had been suggested to Walpole and Pitt during their administrations, but never adopted or matured. 'I will leave the taxation of the Americans,' said Walpole, 'for some of my successors, who may have more courage than I have, and be less a friend to com-

merce.' After the termination of the French war, it was deemed a favorable opportunity to carry the project into effect, under pretence of raising money to discharge the debt incurred in that war, chiefly, it was said, on account of the colonies, to protect them against a powerful enemy. This was a short-sighted and impolitic view of the matter; for after the colonists were freed from the fear of their old enemies, the French, on their frontiers, it was not likely they would be more ready to yield to what they deemed oppressive demands from the mother country. This juncture was, therefore, unwisely chosen for the experiment, as the result proved. The stamp act was passed, and its fate was such, as hardly to encourage a future attempt. Yet the same ignorance of the temper and feelings of the colonists, the same infatuation of the ministry, spurred on by the mortification of a former defeat, and a fixed resolution to subdue the refractory spirit of the colonies, prompted to a speedy repetition of the same measure. The anecdote in the following extract shows in what manner men are sometimes impelled to act, on important occasions, without regard to the merits of the question.

'A new administration was formed, under the direction of Mr Pitt, composed of men of different political principles and parties. The Duke of Grafton was placed at the head of the treasury, Lord Shelburne was joined with General Conway, as one of the secretaries of state. Charles Townshend was made chancellor of the exchequer, Camden, lord chancellor, Pitt had the privy seal, and was made a peer, with the title of the Earl of Chatham, and Lord North and George Cooke were joint paymasters. Under this chequered administration, afterwards so ludicrously described by Mr Burke, the scheme of taxing America was revived. In May 1767, the new chancellor of the exchequer submitted a plan of this kind to parliament. Charles Townshend was a man of genius and talents, but of high passions, eccentric, and versatile. He had warmly supported Lord Grenville, in the passage of the stamp act, and had voted with the Marquis of Rockingham, in its repeal. The ex-minister, Grenville, may indeed be considered the real author of the second plan for taxing the colonies. He lost no opportunity, in the House of Commons, of passing severe censures on the Americans, for their obstinacy and ingratitude in refusing to pay their proportion of the public expenses; nor was he sparing of his complaints against the ministry and parliament, for their weakness and cowardice in yielding to the claims of the colonists.

'Declaiming, as usual, one evening, on American affairs, he addressed himself particularly to the ministers,—“ You are cowards,” he said ; “ you are afraid of the Americans, you dare not tax America.” This he repeated in different language. Upon this Townshend took fire, immediately rose and said, “ Fear, fear, cowards, dare not tax America ! I dare tax America.”

'Grenville stood silent for a moment, and then said,—“ Dare you tax America ? I wish to God I could see it.” Townshend replied, “ I will, I will.”

'Soon after this he submitted to the House a bill imposing duties on glass, paper, paste-board, white and red lead, painters' colors, and tea, imported into the colonies.' Vol. I. pp. 216, 217.

Mr Pitkin refers for this anecdote to the manuscript papers of Dr William S. Johnson, who was then in England as agent for Connecticut.

From this date the author's work acquires a new interest. By bringing into view only the political history of the revolution he is enabled to go more fully into that subject, than previous writers. We do not agree with all his positions, but doubtless they are as accurate as could be made from the materials to which he had access. For instance, he tells us, that 'the project of reducing Canada was brought before Congress soon after the arrival of the French minister, and was warmly supported, if not suggested by him.' Now, so far from supporting such a measure, the French minister was expressly instructed not to listen to it ; and this was the uniform tenor of the instructions of the French government, not only to their ministers in this country, but to their military officers. It has been said, that France wished the Americans to seize Canada, that it might be ceded to her on a treaty of peace. This is not true, although such a suggestion was made to France by Congress. To all hints of this sort, alike in regard to Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas, the French ministry replied, that the king could not aid the Americans in projects of *conquest* ; that he was pledged to support them in their claim to the territory of the United States, which they had declared independent, and this pledge he would faithfully execute ; but as he did not undertake to assist them in pushing conquests, nor did he think it for their interest, and as he had no wish to gain any accessions of territory for himself on the American continent, he must decline uniting with them in any such schemes. The policy of France in adopting this course we shall not stop to examine, but the fact is unquestionable.

The negotiations for the treaty of peace are among the most important in the annals of diplomacy. Peace was at the same time to be made between five contending powers. The clashing interests thus involved threw innumerable difficulties in the way, and threatened serious embarrassments. These were in some degree diminished and removed, by carrying on the negotiations in separate parts. That is, separate commissioners were appointed to negotiate with the Americans, and with the other powers. This method gave a unity and simplicity to the business, which it could not have possessed, if the negotiations had proceeded together. The plan was proposed by Dr Franklin, and cordially acceded to by the British and French ministry.

Several erroneous statements have gone abroad, and been formally repeated in histories, respecting the American negotiations at Paris for the treaty of peace. This is not the place to examine the subject in all its parts, but there is one point on which we feel it our duty to speak in the present connexion. Our thoughts are called to it by an extraordinary passage in Mr Cooper's late work on the United States. His words are here quoted:

‘The Count de Vergennes had early succeeded in persuading Dr Franklin, that as England could not, nor would not formally acknowledge the *Independence* of America, his better course would be to accept a *truce* for twenty years, at the end of which period his country would be sufficiently strong to take what she needed for herself. The philosopher is said to have acquiesced in this opinion, and began to stir his mighty reason in maturing the terms of this remarkable truce. In this state of mind he was found by Mr Jay on his arrival from Madrid. The latter was not slow to perceive the effects of such a course, nor to detect the secret source whence the insidious counsel flowed.

‘Mr Jay denounced the policy of the Count de Vergennes, and declared that the unqualified independence of his country must be a *sine quâ non* in any treaty which bore his name. Mr Adams soon joined the negotiation, and took the side of independence. Franklin, who was at heart a true patriot, suffered the film to be drawn from his eyes, and perfect union soon presided in their councils. But England had not been unapprised of the disposition of America to receive a truce. Her commissioner, Mr Oswald, appeared with instructions to go no further. In this dilemma a step is ascribed to Mr Jay, that I believe is as remarkable for its boldness as for its good sense. He is said to have written, with his own hand, to the English secretary of

state, pointing out the bad consequences to England herself, if she adhered to her present policy. By keeping the truce suspended over America, she forced that country to lean on France for support; whereas by admitting her at once into the rank of nations, England would obtain a valuable customer, and might also secure a natural friend. Thus instructed in a better policy, the English minister saw his error; and the same courier, who conveyed the letter of Mr Jay, returned with instructions to Mr Oswald to acknowledge the independence of the United States. Finding themselves embarrassed by the Count de Vergennes, believing they were betrayed, in the spirit of their alliance at least, and knowing that France could not find the smallest difficulty in settling her own affairs without their agency, the American commissioners proceeded to sign a treaty of peace in the very teeth of their instructions, without the knowledge of the French minister.—*Notions of the Americans, &c.* Vol. i. p. 77.

It would be difficult to comprise a larger number of errors within the same compass, than are contained in this extract, or to throw a more deceptive coloring over the few facts that are mingled with them. In the first place, the author's notions of the *truce*, which he mentions, are imaginary, having hardly a shadow of foundation. The idea of a truce was first suggested by Spain, three years before the negotiations for peace, when his Catholic Majesty made an effort to mediate between France and England. To relieve this mediation from the American difficulties, it was thought a long truce between England and the United States, something like that which existed formerly between Spain and Holland, might be resorted to in a manner advantageous to both parties. The idea seemed practicable to the French court, and the minister of his Most Christian Majesty at Philadelphia was instructed to lay the subject before Congress. This was accordingly done; and although there was a difference of opinion, yet a majority approved the project, on the supposition that peace could not be obtained on favorable terms, and the commissioners were authorized to treat for a *truce* on certain conditions. The instructions from the British ministry to Mr Oswald also purported, that he was to treat for a 'peace or truce.' But here the affair ended. The Spanish mediation failed; nor does it appear that the subject of a *truce* ever came into discussion in any way whatever between the British and American commissioners. From the very outset we hear of nothing but propositions for a *treaty of peace*. It is true, the truce was much talked about, both in

America and in Europe, after the proposal of Spain ; but we repeat, that the subject never came formally before the commissioners during their negotiations for peace. This fact alone destroys the whole superstructure of Mr Cooper's narrative.

If we pursue his remarks further, we shall find them to involve graver errors. The implied censure on the character of Franklin, and the part he took in these transactions, is equally unjust and incorrect. It is in fact directly opposite to the reality. The author would have us infer, that Dr Franklin was indifferent to the independence of his country, and that this acquisition, as preparing the way for a permanent treaty, was chiefly owing to the firmness and superior patriotism of Mr Jay. Let us see how this accords with facts.

Mr Jay arrived in Paris from Spain on the twenty-third of June. Two or three months before this date, the British ministry began to think seriously of peace ; and Mr Oswald was sent to Paris with instructions to converse freely with Dr Franklin, and endeavor to ascertain the nature and extent of the American claims, as well as the disposition of the French ministry in regard to peace. Mr Oswald accordingly had several interviews with Dr Franklin, talked over from time to time the general outlines of a proposed reconciliation and peace between England and the United States, and reported the substance of his conversations to his government. Dr Franklin was, at first, reserved in his communications, but assured the British agent, that the United States were ready to make a peace on honorable and equal terms, whenever it should appear, that their enemies were prepared to meet them on that ground. Being convinced at length of the sincerity of Mr Oswald's intentions, and that the British ministry were in earnest, Dr Franklin submitted to him certain propositions, which he said would come under consideration in negotiating for a peace. The following extract of a letter from Mr Oswald to the Earl of Shelburne, dated the tenth of July, 1782, will explain the nature of these propositions, and the views of Dr Franklin.

‘In consequence of Dr Franklin's appointment, as mentioned in my letter of the eighth, I went out to his house this morning, and staid with him near two hours, with a view of obtaining the information and advice I wished for, as to the terms and conditions upon which he thought a treaty between Great Britain and the commissioners of the colonies might be carrying on and proceeded to a conclusion. Having reminded him of what he in a

manner promised on the sixth, he took out a minute and read from it a few hints, or articles; some, he said, as necessary for them to insist on; others, which he could not say he had any orders about, or were not absolutely demanded, and yet such as it would be advisable for England to offer for the sake of reconciliation and her future interest; viz.

‘Points NECESSARY to be granted;

- ‘1. Independence, full and complete in every sense, to the thirteen United States, and all troops to be withdrawn from thence.
- ‘2. A settlement of the boundaries of *their* colonies, and the loyal colonies.
- ‘3. A confinement of the boundaries of Canada, at least to what they were before the last act of parliament, I think in 1774, if not to a still more contracted state on ancient footing.
- ‘4. A freedom of fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland. I own I wondered he should have thought it necessary to ask for this privilege.

‘Then as to the ADVISABLE articles, or such, as a friend, he would recommend to be offered by England;

- ‘1. To indemnify many people who had been ruined by towns burnt and destroyed. The whole might not exceed five or six hundred thousand pounds. I was struck at this. However the Doctor said, though it was a large sum, it would not be ill bestowed, as it would conciliate the resentment of a multitude of poor sufferers, who would have no other remedy, and who, without some relief, would keep up a secret revenge and animosity, for a long time to come, against Great Britain; whereas a voluntary offer of such a reparation would diffuse a universal calm and conciliation over the whole country.
- ‘2. Some sort of acknowledgment in some public act of parliament, or otherwise, of our error in distressing those countries so much as we had done. A few words of that kind, the Doctor said, would do more good than people could imagine.
- ‘3. Colony ships and trade to be received and have the same privileges in Britain and Ireland, as British ships and trade. I did not ask any explanation on that head for the present. British and Irish ships in the colonies, to be, in like manner, on the same footing with their own ships.
- ‘4. Giving up every part of Canada.

‘If there were any other articles of either kind, I cannot now recollect them, but I do not think there were any of material consequence; and I perhaps was the less attentive in the enumera-

tion, that it had been agreed to give me the whole in writing. But after some reflection, the Doctor said he did not like to give such writing, and, hesitating a good deal about it, asked me if I had seen Mr Jay, the other commissioner lately come from Madrid. I said I had not. He then told me it would be proper I should see him, and he would fix a time for our meeting, and seemed to think he should himself want to confer with him before he gave a final answer. I told him if I had such final answer, and had leave, I would carry it over to England. He said that would be right, but as Mr Grenville told him he expected another courier in four or five days, I had better wait so long, and he would write along with me.

‘Upon the whole the Doctor expressed himself in a friendly way toward England, and was not without hope, that if we should settle on this occasion in the way he wished, England would not only have a beneficial intercourse with the colonies, but at last it might end in a federal union between them. In the mean time we ought to take care not to force them into the hands of other people.

‘From this conversation I have some hopes, that it is possible to put an end to the American quarrel in a short time, and when that is done I have a notion that a treaty with the other powers will go more smoothly on. The Doctor did not, in the course of the above conversation, hesitate as to a conclusion with them, on account of any connexion with those other states, and in general seemed to think their American affairs must be ended by a separate commission. On these occasions I said, I supposed in case of such a commission he meant that the power of granting Independence would be therein *expressly mentioned*. He said, No doubt.’

In considering this letter, it is important to keep in mind, that it was written before the British commissioner had seen Mr Jay, and three months and a half before Mr Adams arrived in Paris. It must be deemed, therefore, as expressing the unbiassed opinions of Dr Franklin, and the results of his previous conversations with Mr Oswald. Let it be observed, that in this paper, *independence is made the preliminary step to all other proceedings*. Let it be moreover observed, that it contains *all* the essential outlines of the peace, as it was actually concluded. Certain histories have told us, that Franklin was lukewarm about the fisheries, and willing to pass them over, but in this paper they are enumerated as an **ESSENTIAL**. It is a fact capable of demonstration, that, from the beginning to the end of the negotiation, he was a strenuous assertor of this privi-

lege for the United States. In regard to his notion of *independence*, and *the fisheries*, Mr Grenville, the British commissioner for negotiating with France, writes as follows to Lord Shelburne, on the ninth of July; 'The other day, for the first time, Dr Franklin gave me to understand, that America must have her share in the Newfoundland fishery; that the limits of Canada would likewise be a subject for arrangement; nor does he cease to give the most decided discouragement to any possible plan of arrangement with America, short of *complete and distinct independence in its fullest sense*.' This was the very time when Mr Cooper tells us, that Franklin was 'stirring his mighty reason in maturing the terms of the remarkable truce,' and that 'in this state of mind' he was found by Mr Jay. The subject need not be pursued. The testimony is complete and irresistible.

As to another part of the extract, which tells of an extraordinary letter from Mr Jay to the English secretary of state, it is left without any meaning, when it is known, that no truce was in agitation; for the letter is said to have been caused by the dilemma into which the negotiators were thrown, on account of the instructions of Mr Oswald to negotiate only for a truce. As Mr Oswald had no instructions of this kind, the supposition of such a letter vanishes. It may be, that the author had in his mind a vague recollection of a circumstance which happened at another time. In the primary stages of the negotiation, the British ministry had declared through their commissioners in the most explicit terms, that the independence of the United States was to be recognised as a preliminary step to the treaty; but after the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, which happened on the first of July, there seemed to be a change in the views of the ministry. Lord Shelburne, who succeeded the Marquis of Rockingham as first lord of the treasury, was opposed to a direct acknowledgment of independence, and the commission sent to Mr Oswald by the new ministry signified, that this was to be granted *as an article of treaty*, and not by a previous acknowledgment, and the United States were also denominated *Colonies* in the instrument. The American commissioners were much surprised at this change in a point, which they supposed to be settled. Mr Jay, in particular, earnestly remonstrated against it, as being inconsistent with the dignity of the United States. Franklin did not see it exactly in that light, although he pre-

ferred the old method. He doubted, however, whether it was best to break off or delay the treaty on this account, as it was evidently the intention of the British government to acknowledge unqualified independence, although in a different manner from that first proposed. He considered the giving of such a commission to treat with them as a separate nation, to be a virtual acknowledgment of independence. In this opinion he was sustained by a letter, which he had some time before received from Mr Adams in Holland. 'In a former letter,' says Mr Adams, 'I hinted that I thought an express acknowledgment of our independence might now be insisted on, but I did not mean, that we should insist on such an article in the treaty. If they make a treaty of peace with the United States of America, this is acknowledgment enough for me.' When Count de Vergennes was consulted, he said that 'names signified little,' that he thought all the ends might be obtained under this commission, that 'Mr Oswald's acceptance of their powers, in which they were styled Commissioners from the United States of America, would be a tacit admittance of independence,' and that all they had to do was to secure this independence 'by inserting proper articles in the treaty, and fixing limits against all future claims.' Mr Jay was not satisfied with this view of the subject. He insisted, that the dignity of the United States required a formal acknowledgment distinct from the treaty.

Impressed with this idea, he had an interview with Mr Oswald, and explained to him fully the difficulties under which he labored. At Mr Oswald's request he stated his objections in writing, and urged the necessity of England's treating with America on an equal footing. Mr Oswald promised to acquaint the ministry with these reasons, and request a change in the terms of his commission.

Meantime the French cabinet, having heard frequent rumors of Lord Shelburne's insincerity in regard to proposals for peace, sent over secretly Mr Rayneval, secretary of the council, to consult with him, and ascertain from his own observations the actual designs of the British court. This journey, although kept secret at first, soon became known in Paris; and as it happened just at the time of the discussion about Mr Oswald's powers, Mr Jay's suspicions were awakened, and he could see nothing in this manœuvre but some concealed purpose against the United States. He believed that Count de Vergennes wish-

ed the acknowledgment of independence to be deferred, that he might take advantage of this state of things, till the French treaty with England was completed. Dr Franklin had no such fears, but said to Mr Jay, 'This court has hitherto treated us very fairly, and suspicion to their disadvantage should not be readily entertained.' The idea of some ill design on the part of France against America had seized Mr Jay's mind so forcibly, that it was not to be dislodged by this mode of reasoning. His imagination was fertile in devising the means of evil, which our ally had it in her power to practise upon the United States, in promoting her own selfish ends. As a specimen of these workings of the imagination, we quote what he considered to be the reasons of Mr Rayneval's visit to London.

- '1. To let Lord Shelburne know, that the demands of America to be treated by Britain as independent, previously to a treaty, were not approved or countenanced by this court, and that the offer of Britain to make that acknowledgment, in an article of the proposed treaty, was, in the Count's opinion, sufficient.
- '2. To sound Lord Shelburne on the subject of the fishery, and to discover whether Britain would divide it with France, to the exclusion of all others.
- '3. To impress Lord Shelburne with the determination of Spain to possess the exclusive navigation of the Gulf of Mexico, and of their desire to keep us from the Mississippi; and also to hint the propriety of such a line, as on the one hand would satisfy Spain, and on the other leave to Britain all the country north of the Ohio.
- '4. To make such other verbal overtures to Lord Shelburne, as it might not be advisable to reduce to writing; and to judge from the general tenor of his lordship's answers and conversation, whether it was probable that a general peace, on terms agreeable to France, could be effected, in order that, if that was not the case, an immediate stop might be put to the negotiation.'

Mr Jay thought this prospect very alarming for the treaty of the United States, and hastened to apply a remedy with the utmost expedition. A gentleman was then in Paris, who was on terms of intimacy with Lord Shelburne, and who, at the request of Mr Jay, agreed to go over to London and converse with his lordship on this subject. This gentleman was furnished by Mr Jay with the arguments, which he wished to operate on Lord Shelburne's mind, in neutralizing the supposed efforts

of Mr Rayneval against the interests of the United States, and in convincing Lord Shelburne, that it was better to make a firm friend of America, than to gain what might at first be thought a temporary advantage, by listening to the insinuations of France. The messenger went to London with these instructions, and performed his task faithfully.

As it turned out, however, there was no occasion for any alarm at all, on the part of the American commissioners. Mr Rayneval's visit had a purpose totally unconnected with their concerns. We have before us a copy of the '*Confidential Note*,' which he submitted in writing to the British ministers during his stay in London, and which contains the topics of his conversations with them. They are here printed from a literal transcript.

- '1. As the independence of America is a thing agreed upon, no remark needs be made on that subject.
- '2. Restitution of St Lucia, and retrocession of Dominica.
- '3. An arrangement for the fisheries of Newfoundland. This matter has been treated discursively with Mr Fitzherbert. If the ideas which have been proposed to him are judged impracticable, I am persuaded they will be weighed with equity at Versailles.
- '4. Senegal was an ancient possession of France; she claims to preserve it with its dependences.
- '5. The reëstablishment of France in India on the footing of 1754; or, to indicate another epoch, 1749. France does not pretend to acquire territory in India. She demands only an arrangement, which shall ensure the tranquillity of her factories, and provide for their expense.
- '6. An abrogation of all the stipulations relative to Dunkirk.
- '7. I have said in regard to the king of Spain, that I have been authorized only to give the strongest assurances of his pacific dispositions; but my personal desire to put his Britannic Majesty in a condition to appreciate the means of promoting the peace, has determined me to mention the king of Spain's intention to acquire Gibraltar either by conquest or otherwise. And presupposing that it would be for the interest of England to have in the Mediterranean a point of support for their commerce to the Levant, I have said that I was persuaded that in whatever manner the king of Spain might acquire Gibraltar, that prince would be disposed to assure to Great Britain such a point in the Mediterranean.
- '8. It is natural that Holland should demand a restitution of what she has lost. France will facilitate this restitution.'

From this note it seems, that nothing was said about American affairs, except to confirm the independence of the United States, the very topic which Mr Jay had imagined would be made the handle for gaining advantages over them, and which he believed to be the chief cause of Mr Rayneval's journey. This result justified Dr Franklin's opinion, and proved Mr Jay's apprehensions not to be well founded. It is certain, however, that they made a deep impression upon him, and had an influence over his mind, which was probably never removed. Mr Rayneval's confidential note was not made public, and Mr Jay had no means of knowing what had occurred in his interviews with the British ministry. Mr Oswald's commission was changed, in conformity with the first article of the above note, and the negotiators immediately entered upon their work in earnest.

We take occasion here to remark, that Mr Jay's correspondence generally, in regard to France, was too much tinged with suspicions for which he really had very slender reasons, but into which he was led by a series of incidents, that seemed to him inexplicable. The truth is, he had been but a few weeks in Paris, was unacquainted with the details of the French cabinet and the character of the ministers, and had joined the negotiation in its progress. Jealous of his country's rights, elevated in his political principles, true and firm in his patriotism, he watched with a keen eye whatever bore on these topics, and regarded with suspicion the acts and hints, for which he could not discover an obvious motive. When his confidence was once shaken, he gave a great latitude to his conjectures, as we have seen by the example already cited, and he allowed even his judgment to be carried out of its usual course. Dr Franklin, on the contrary, had lived in Paris during the whole war, and had been compelled, from his situation, to hold a constant and close intercourse with the French court; he had thus become intimately acquainted with the characters of the men, their system of policy, and habits of action. Repeated experiments had proved to him in what they were to be trusted and to what extent. Hence, when Mr Jay became alarmed, Franklin was cool and unsuspecting. Satisfied of the good faith of the men, whose entire course of policy he had known for years, he could not admit that there was a dereliction of principle, a deviation from the uniform consistency which he had so long witnessed, until he should see stronger evidence than had yet come to light; and he deemed it a duty to wait

for other events, before he committed the injustice of condemning the conduct of men, who, in all that related to his transactions with them, had been found true to their professions. The issue confirmed the correctness of Dr Franklin's views in this respect, and afforded another proof, if another were wanting, of his sagacity and wisdom.

In short, after an inquiry of no small extent, and with no common facilities, on the subject of our foreign relations during the Revolution, in which Franklin bore so conspicuous a part, we have been impressed with the firmest conviction, not more of his remarkable qualities and powers, than of his strict and undeviating integrity, the purity of his patriotism, his zeal in the cause of his country, and his firmness in maintaining its rights. Every step we have taken has developed some new proofs. The party rancor of the times, the personal jealousy of some of his coadjutors, and a combination of circumstances that may easily be explained, gave a currency to insinuations against his political character, which have been too readily incorporated into history. We shall only add, that we believe those insinuations to have been as ill founded in fact, as they have been unjust and hurtful in their effects.

Mr Pitkin's History is brought down to the close of Washington's administration, and the interest is well sustained to the end. The difficulties encountered under the old confederation, the origin and formation of the new constitution, and the eventful period of Washington's presidency, are dwelt upon in a manner which shows, not only the familiar acquaintance of the author with what he describes, but his knowledge of the spirit of the times, and of the aims and purposes of the principal actors.

ART. II.—1. *Observaciones sobre las Reformas Politicas de Colombia.* Por J. M. SALAZAR, LL. D. Filadelfia. 1828.

2. *Ensayo sobre la Conducta del General Bolivar.* Reimpreso de los Números 11, 13 y 14 del Duende de Buenos Ayres. Santiago de Chile. 1826.

3. *Proyecto de Constitucion para la República de Bolivia y Discurso del Libertador.* Guayaquil. 1826.

4. *Ojeada al Proyecto de Constitucion que el Libertador ha presentado á la República Bolivar.* Por A. L. G. [Antonio Leocadio Guzman.] Lima. 1826.

5. *Exposicion de los Sentimientos de los Funcionarios Públicos, asi Nacionales como Departamentales y Municipales, y demas Habitantes de la Ciudad de Bogotá, hecha para ser presentada al Libertador Presidente de la República.* Bogotá. 1826. Reimpresa en Nueva York, 1827.

THE period, at which we resume the history of Bolivar's life, was the darkest and most disastrous in the annals of the revolution.* New Granada had fallen a victim to the same hostile power which desolated Venezuela; and the patriots of Bogotá suffered the more severely from the vengeance of the Spaniards, because they came in a concentrated body of transatlantic troops, and were led by a chief as merciless in the domestic persecution of the insurgents, as he was terrible in the field of battle. But while Morillo was glutting his cruelty with the blood of the best men of New Granada,—men who, had they escaped the bitter trials of that hour, might have been the means of preserving Colombia from the catastrophe which now threatens her liberties; whilst he and his coadjutor Henrile were cutting off the prominent patriots by a systematic scheme of judicial murders, and crushing the spirits of the people with every engine of misrule which ingenious tyranny could invent; the unconquerable Bolivar, whose ardor no misfortunes quenched, and his persevering associates in arms, were preparing a day of dreadful retribution for the oppressors of their country. These very oppressions, in fact, were the primary cause of the signal overthrow

* For an account of Bolivar's early life and career, see the number of this Journal for January, 1829, p. 203.

of the Spaniards, which so speedily followed upon their complete triumph; for Morillo's injudicious cruelties produced a reaction in the minds of the people, who, maddened by despair, and stimulated by an eager desire to avenge the calamities they had suffered by a system of wanton persecution, stood ready to second any effort made for their deliverance from the yoke of the conqueror. Bolivar availed himself of the operation of this spirit to strike a decisive blow for his country.

Armed opposition to the Spaniards reappeared first in the plains of Cumaná, Barcelona, and the Apure. After the dispersion of the patriot soldiers in 1814, they gathered into small bands of *guerillas*, dispersed in isolated parties over an extensive region, so completely separated from each other, that for months together several of them continued ignorant that any but their own little troop were in arms against the Spaniards. In this partisan warfare, Monagas, Piar, Roxas, and Zaraza, among others, were particularly distinguished. Morillo soon became aware of the formidable character which such bodies, under such leaders, and in such a country, could assume. They unceasingly harassed, and frequently defeated, detachments of the Spanish troops; and by the suddenness of their incursions, and the celerity of their movements, justly acquired the appellation of the Tartars of America. Trained in this partisan warfare, they served as a nucleus, around which future armies might be formed, keeping alive the sacred flame of liberty, in despite of all the efforts of their invaders to extinguish it. At length, Arismendi raised again the standard of independence in the island of Margarita, and, by maintaining himself there, enabled Bolivar and other Venezuelan exiles to land supplies and renew the war. Pétion had received him in Hayti with the kindest hospitality, and furnished him with two battalions of black troops, with which to commence operations. Assembling the emigrants from Venezuela and other exiles from the Main, with a small fleet under the command of Brion, a patriot of Carthagená, he sailed from Aux Cayes in March, 1816, and landing at Margarita in May, compelled the Spaniards to shut themselves up in the fortress of Pampatar. Causing himself to be proclaimed supreme chief of the republic, he sailed for Carupano, a place near Cumaná, beat a detachment of royalists, and opened a communication with the patriot chieftains in the Llanos. Having thus augmented his force to a thousand men, by effecting a junction with some of the gueril-

las, he landed at Ocumare, between La Guayra and Puerto Cabello, and issued a proclamation calling the slaves on the plantations to his standard, and inviting the planters to enfranchise them for the purpose. This measure was not well received by the inhabitants; and Bolivar, who had counted upon their support, being attacked to disadvantage by Morales, and defeated by the loss of his bravest officers, was compelled to reëmbark and return to Aux Cayes.

Nowise disheartened by this misfortune, Bolivar collected fresh reinforcements, and again disembarked at Margarita in December, 1816, where he issued a proclamation summoning a general Congress of Venezuela; and then proceeded to Barcelona, which was in the hands of the patriots, and organized a provisional government, with the eminent patriot, Don Francisco Antonio Zea, as president of the council of state and intendant-general of the army. Bolivar had now made sure his foothold on the continent, and was prepared to recommence the war in earnest. Without entering minutely into the multitude of engagements which ensued, we merely indicate the general plan of operations, which led to such great results, and the more decisive and remarkable incidents which signalized the desperate struggle. In the beginning of 1817, Bolivar received reinforcements from the interior of Cumaná, and fixed upon the banks of the Orinoco as the immediate theatre of his efforts. Morillo had been justly alarmed by the first tidings of his early successes, and despatched a large force from New Granada to meet him; and was now in full march from Bogotá himself, with additional troops, to assume the direction of the war in person. He was encountered and severely handled, in his progress through the Llanos, by Paez, who, at the head of his hardy horsemen, was fighting his way to eminence. Meanwhile a division of the Spanish army under La Torre, having been defeated by general Piar, no obstruction remained to interfere with Bolivar's designs upon Angostura, which surrendered to the patriots, July 3, 1817; and Paez being equally successful in Apure, they now held possession of the whole extent of the plains from Guyana to Caracas. At Angostura, then, Bolivar established the seat of government for the time being, and spent the residue of the year 1817 in active exertions to organize a force to act against Morillo. An abundant supply of arms, received from England, was distributed in the interior, and placed the patriot corps in a condition to take the field in the shape of an army.

Bolivar formed a junction with Paez in January, 1818, and by a rapid movement arrived at Calabozo before Morillo knew that he had quitted Angostura, and after a series of skirmishes obliged the latter to retreat to Valencia, leaving him in possession of the valleys of Aragua. Subsequently to this, Morillo, having assembled the garrisons of La Guayra, Puerto Cabello, and Caracas, attacked Bolivar in his turn. Various indecisive engagements ensued, from time to time, each party being in turn defeated by the other. In one of these conflicts, Morillo was dangerously wounded, and was obliged for a time to quit the army. In another, at Cojedós, that was almost equally disastrous to both parties, the cavalry of Paez was so completely cut up, that he was compelled to retire to the Apure to remount it. In these reiterated engagements, Bolivar, Paez, and Cedeño, on the part of the patriots, and Morillo, Morales, La Torre, and Calzada, among the Spaniards, conducted the war with the determined bravery of men who felt, that the struggle now begun was a final one. At the close of the campaign, the Spaniards held Aragua, and the patriots San Fernando, the latter maintaining their ground in the Llanos and Guayana, while the former continued masters of all New Granada, and the most cultivated province of Venezuela.

Pursuant to the summons of Bolivar, as supreme chief, the second Congress of Venezuela assembled at Angostura, February 15, 1819, and elected Don Francisco Antonio Zea president. On this occasion Bolivar resigned all his authority, civil and military, into the hands of the Congress, and was unanimously reinstated as president of the state. This step was taken by him, not, as many have supposed, from any false modesty, or reluctance to continue in command; but because the authority which he had exercised hitherto, although acknowledged on all hands, from the necessity of the case, was not derived from any regular source; and it was desirable, that his government should possess a legal sanction, which it received from the unanimous vote of the Congress. The speech that he delivered at the installation of this body, is too remarkable, especially in connexion with recent events, to pass unnoticed. It is a long and elaborate exposition of his political principles, accompanied by a plan of government for the republic of Venezuela, and is entitled to careful consideration, as throwing light upon the character of Bolivar, and upon the

opinions which he promulgated, at a later period, in giving a fundamental code to the Bolivians. The doctrine which pervades the whole piece, the position which meets the eye in every page, and which all its arguments and illustrations aim to establish, is the dangerous nature of *liberty*. It cannot be said, that Bolivar has attempted to deceive his countrymen by holding up the idea that he is purely republican in his principles. The anti-republican tenets, which he professes in this address, are not merely confined to the particular case of the incompetency of *the people of Venezuela* to enjoy the blessings of liberty in their full extent. If they were limited in that manner, we might in part admit their justness, although not to the extent for which he contends. But he frankly declares his belief, that, as a general proposition in political science, an aristocracy is preferable to a free republic, and an absolute sovereignty to either. It is not Washington, whose example he cites for the imitation of South America ; but men who, in the same situation with the Father of his Country, availed themselves of circumstances to oppress the liberties of their fellow-citizens. Lest our readers should suppose, that we misrepresent the spirit of this singular piece, we take leave to extract a few of its characteristic passages.

After painting, in vivid colors, the tyranny of the Spanish government in relation to the colonies ; the consequent debasement of the people, and their total ignorance, as he expresses it, of every principle of political and civil economy ; he infers their incapacity for a purely republican government, and particularly for a constitution modelled after that of the United States. Even in this introductory part of the address, where they are less called for, he throws out continually general reflections inimical to freedom, such as that 'It is more difficult to maintain the equilibrium of liberty, than to sustain the weight of tyranny ;' that 'The people, more frequently than the government bring on tyranny ;' that 'Liberty is a succulent food, but difficult of digestion.' Reasoning of this nature paves the way for stating what he conceives to be indispensable to the welfare of a free people, and that is, an hereditary legislature and a powerful executive. The legislature, to be sure, shall be called senators, not peers ; and the executive shall be called a president, not king or emperor ; but in other respects it is impossible to see what should entitle his proposed government to be denominated a republic. His exemplar is

the constitution of Great Britain; of which he says; 'A greater degree of liberty cannot be enjoyed in any kind of republic, and *it may indeed claim a higher rank in social order.* I recommend that constitution as the best model to those who aspire to the enjoyment of the rights of man.' In the course of other general remarks, he says; 'Athens enjoyed the most splendid lot under an absolute sovereignty; free elections of magistrates frequently renewed,—mild, wise, and politic laws. Pisistratus, an usurper and a despot, did more good to Athens than her laws; and Pericles, although an usurper likewise, was the most useful citizen. The republic of Thebes existed only during the lives of Pelopidas and Epaminondas; for it is men, and not principles, that form governments.' Not only does he labor with great industry to show the utility of 'a legislative power similar to that of the British Parliament,' but he says, 'However exorbitant the authority of the executive power in Great Britain may appear, it would not perhaps be too great in the republic of Venezuela.' Nay he insists upon bestowing far greater authority upon the chief magistrate of the republic, than that possessed by a constitutional prince. In short, the whole scope of the address is to maintain the utter incompetency of the human race to subsist under a pure representative government, advancing, in so many words, the opinion, that 'Angels, and not men, can alone exist free, peaceable, and happy, in the exercise of sovereign power;'—a strange maxim, surely, for a professed friend of republican institutions.

We enter into this topic thus fully, not by way of seeking occasion to censure Bolivar for entertaining opinions, which he thus openly expressed, under circumstances that persuade us to believe he was honest and sincere in his principles, however much mistaken; but in order to show what those principles have been from the beginning; and how small occasion there is to feel surprise at his professing or acting upon them at the present time. It is impossible, however, to pass them by without lamenting the melancholy picture they present of the prospects of liberty in South America, when an individual, whose influence is so paramount as Bolivar's, is found to be thus warmly attached to monarchical institutions. For the rest, we take occasion to say, that, viewed as a political disquisition upon the question which it discusses, the address does no great credit to his talent as a writer, or his wisdom as a politician. Most of the well educated young men, who are bred to liberal

professions in the United States, could easily compose a better argument on the same side of the question, and still more easily produce a triumphant refutation of it. And it occurs to us as somewhat singular, that so little notice has been taken of this piece by the republicans of South America, in their speculations concerning Bolivar's ideas of government.

Dismissing this subject, we return to the progress of the war, as prosecuted in the eventful year of 1819. The Venezuelan forces were, at the opening of the campaign, concentrated on the banks of the Apure. It was the design of Morillo, if possible, to cut his way to Angostura, and deprive the patriots of the centre of their resources. To this end, having united his forces with those of La Torre, Morales, and Calzada, he crossed the Apure in January, with an army too powerful to be resisted in the field. It was successfully met, however, in another way, by general Paez and his brave *Uaneros*, who destroyed Morillo's foraging parties, deprived him of all means of subsistence, and compelled him, by a desultory system of warfare, to abandon his object, and retreat with immense loss to San Carlos. From May until August, the vast plains of the Apure and Casanare are rendered almost impassable by inundations. Knowing that Morillo would not dream of his penetrating through these plains into New Granada, and believing that Paez on the Apure, and generals Mariño, Arismendi, and Bermudez on the coast, would afford ample occupation for the Spaniards in Venezuela, Bolivar, with characteristic boldness, determined to effect a junction with Santander, who was in arms in Casanare, and laying the foundation of that brilliant reputation which he now enjoys. Bolivar encountered incredible difficulties in this march, first in crossing the inundated plains, and afterwards in climbing the mountains; but ere the close of June he had surmounted every obstacle and established his head quarters at Paya. He found everything in New Granada propitious for his enterprise. The talents and intrepidity of Santander had already effected wonders. A multitude of guerilla parties in the interior impatiently awaited Bolivar's approach. Meanwhile the viceroy Samano, hastily collected all the forces at his disposal, and appointed Don José Maria Barreyro, an officer of tried courage and ability, commander in chief. The armies met at Gamarra on the eleventh of July, and at Bargas near Tunja on the twenty-fifth, and each time Bolivar obtained the advantage. After

this, numerous recruits flocked to his standard ; and learning that Samano was on the march to support Barreyro, he threw himself between them, and, on the seventh of August, by this daring and masterly movement, compelled Barreyro to give battle at the bridge of Bojaca, the scene of one of Bolivar's most splendid victories. All the Spanish troops that survived the battle were made prisoners, with the commanding general ; and the deliverance of Santa Fe and all New Granada was the immediate consequence of the glorious day. Bolivar appointed general Santander vice-president of New Granada, in reward of his meritorious services, while generals Anzuategui, Soublette, and others, pursued the scattered remnants of the royalists yet remaining in some of the provinces. Morillo despatched general La Torre into New Granada, by the way of Merida, upon receiving intelligence of Bolivar's march ; but ere La Torre could reach Cúcuta, the decisive battle was fought, and New Granada once more was free.

Bolivar's entry into Angostura, after this campaign, was among the most triumphant scenes of his life. He wisely employed the authority and influence he possessed in procuring the union of Venezuela and New Granada, and the formation of the republic of Colombia. The decree to this effect, entitled the fundamental law of the republic of Colombia, was passed December 17, 1819, by the Congress of Venezuela, to which the people of New Granada voluntarily submitted. At the same time it conferred upon Bolivar the title of *Liberator* of Colombia, by which he is now universally known, and decided, that a general constituent Congress should assemble at Rosario de Cúcuta, in January, 1821, to frame a constitution for the new republic.

In consequence of the successful operations of the last year, Bolivar was enabled to take the field in 1820, with the most powerful army which the patriots had ever mustered ; and hopes began to be entertained, that the conclusion of a peace might be facilitated by the Spanish revolution of Isla de Leon. Negotiations having a view to this end were in fact commenced, and proceeded so far as to occasion a mutual relaxation of effort, and the conclusion of an armistice of six months, dating from November, 1820. On occasion of this armistice, Morillo and Bolivar had a friendly meeting at Truxillo. Each testified the highest respect for the character of the other, spending the day in common festivity ; and, as

evinced the confidence they reciprocally reposed in each other's honor, it is stated that they passed the night in the same room. Nothing effectual grew out of these circumstances. Morillo departed for Europe in 1821, leaving the command of the army to general La Torre, an officer fully competent to the task. At the termination of the period fixed for the armistice, Bolivar again took the field with a powerful army, and a determination to pursue measures to bring on a decisive engagement. He divided his army into three corps, under generals Paez, Cedeño, and Anzuategui. These divisions advanced by separate routes to the plains of Tinaquillo, and prepared to attack the Spaniards, who occupied a strong position at Carabobo. The heights, commanding the only pass by which their position could be approached, were crowned with artillery, and in their advance, the patriot army had to penetrate through a narrow, precipitous defile in the mountains. The leading division, commanded by Paez, without waiting for the other division to come up, advanced impetuously, defiled before the enemy, rushed to the assault, carried the intrenchments, and achieved a complete victory, June 24, 1821. The independence of Venezuela was the happy consequence of the battle of Carabobo. Bolivar immediately entered Caracas and La Guayra in triumph; and although Puerto Cabello, and a few other fortresses on the coast, held out awhile, the Spaniards never again made head against the patriots in Venezuela.

During the progress of these advantages in the field, the general Congress had assembled at Cúcuta, and agreed upon a form of constitution, that was proclaimed, August 30, 1821, as the fundamental law of Colombia. When it went into operation, Bolivar was elected President, and Santander, who, in the government of New Granada, had acquired great credit for his civil capacity, was elected Vice-President. In October the seat of government was transferred to Bogotá, as being central in its position, and uniting other advantages of climate, resources, and social comforts, with convenient buildings for the use of the government and of the public functionaries. These arrangements being completed, Bolivar devolved the duties of the executive upon general Santander, in order to devote himself to the prosecution of the war in the presidency of Quito, where the Spaniards had concentrated their forces subsequently to the fatal rout of Bojaca. Having collected the requisite forces, the Liberator marched to the

south, and directed his efforts against the province of Pasto. This region is almost impregvably fortified by nature ; and its hardy inhabitants are celebrated for their bravery, but not less for the obstinacy with which they cling to preconceived opinions. The *Pastosos* continued to adhere, voluntarily and perseveringly, to the old *régime*, when all the rest of Colombia had abandoned it. Bolivar's troops suffered severely in attempting to reduce this district, while general Sucre was liberating the provinces of Loja and Cuenca. Meantime Sucre, an officer who first became distinguished under Piar, and afterwards attained high reputation in the staff of Bolivar's army, gained the great battle of Pichincha, May 24, 1822, and completed the liberation of Quito ; a victory so important as to fix the public attention upon the commanding general, and create those anticipations of his future eminence, which the sequel so amply justified. Bolivar, having sufficiently repressed the *Pastosos* to remove all apprehensions from that quarter, entered Quito, June 16, 1822, and proceeded to Guayaquil, which claimed to be an independent state, but which, contrary, it is alleged, to the wishes of the inhabitants, he incorporated into the republic of Colombia.

Animated by the brilliant result of this campaign, which had completed the overthrow of the Spanish power in the southern provinces of Colombia, and left nothing to fear in that republic from the common enemy, Bolivar now began to turn his thoughts toward the neighboring government of Peru, torn by conflicting factions, and still the seat of obstinate warfare. A division of the Colombian army of two thousand men, unoccupied at home, was despatched to Callao, and public expectation looked to the Liberator of Venezuela and New Granada to perform the like service for Peru. In fact, soon after Bolivar's arrival in the south, the Protector, San Martin, repaired thither for the purpose of having an interview with his brother in arms. They met at Guayaquil, July 26, 1822. The particulars of the interview have not transpired, or at least have not come within our knowledge ; but General Miller intimates, that it was not wholly satisfactory to San Martin, who left Guayaquil in forty-eight hours after his arrival. One of its consequences, however, was the sending the auxiliary force of two thousand Colombians, under general Juan Paz del Castillo, to Lima. This happened previous to San Martin's resignation of the protectorate ; and the *junta gubernativa* which succeeded,

disagreeing with general Castillo respecting the conditions on which his division should serve, caused them to be transported back again into Guayaquil without calling them into the field. In order, therefore, to have a right understanding of the nature of the services rendered by Bolivar to Peru, and of the occasion which called for them, it is necessary to explain the situation of affairs in that country at this period.

San Martin, having achieved the independence of Chile, by the successive victories of Chacabuco in 1807, and of Maypu in 1818, was induced, by a conviction that no part of America, bordering on the Pacific ocean, could be secure of its liberty so long as the Spaniards retained possession of Lima, to organize an expedition in Chile for the invasion of Peru. After various military operations, he gained possession of Lima, July 9, 1821; and although La Serna, the viceroy, still maintained his ground in the interior, the independence of the country was proclaimed with great pomp on the twenty-eighth, and on the third of August San Martin assumed the title of Protector of Peru, with supreme authority in civil and military affairs. Still the war continued. The battle of Peruvian independence was not yet fought. The republic possessed only a nominal freedom, and met with no small difficulty in defending the name of independence. San Martin continued to administer the government, and to prosecute the war, until September 20, 1822, when the Congress assembled, and he resigned his authority, and bade farewell to Peru.

The control of public affairs now passed into the hands of a *junta gubernativa*, with general La Mar for president, which, by reason of their apathy and indecision, gave so little satisfaction to the chiefs and officers of the army, that they insisted upon its dissolution, recommending to the Congress to elect Colonel José de la Riva-Aguero, President of the republic. Whatever reluctance the Congress may have felt in adopting this suggestion, a recommendation, so backed, was not to be slighted; and accordingly on the twenty-seventh of February, 1823, Riva-Aguero became President. This revolution was mainly effected by General Santa Cruz, the particular friend of Riva-Aguero. The new government displayed great activity in making preparations for the approaching campaign. Santa Cruz, with the main body of the Peruvians, undertook an expedition to the southern provinces, thinking to strike a blow where it was least anticipated, and thus to strike the more

surely. For a while his success answered his expectations, and he advanced in triumph as far as La Paz, with the most flattering prospects of final good fortune. Riva-Aguero, meantime, conscious of the inadequacy of his own forces to bring the contest to a speedy conclusion, and feeling how injudicious it was in the junta to send home the auxiliary Colombian division under general Castillo, earnestly solicited Bolivar to supply an auxiliary army of sufficient strength to secure the immediate independence of Peru. As an earnest of more effectual succor, three thousand troops immediately embarked at Guayaquil, and Sucre, now rapidly rising to eminence, repaired to Lima as diplomatic agent of Colombia; a convention for the supply of the auxiliaries on the part of Colombia, and their support by Peru, having been concluded at Guayaquil, March 18, 1823, in a manner satisfactory to both parties. Unfortunately, the departure of Santa Cruz left Lima undefended, and the royalist general, Canterac, took advantage of the circumstance to march upon the capital, which he entered June 18, 1823, and thus threw the affairs of the patriots into most pitiable confusion. Sucre was appointed commander in chief of the forces, consisting chiefly of the Colombian troops, which he posted for security under the protection of the batteries of Callao, whither Riva-Aguero and the members of the Congress also retired. The Congress forthwith appointed Sucre supreme military chief, and divesting Riva-Aguero of his authority, compelled him to withdraw to Truxillo. Sucre being thus left in undisturbed command, resolved to despatch an expedition to the south, to coöperate with Santa Cruz; and in order to place himself at its head, caused the Marquess of Torre Tagle to be chosen President. The capital was now in the hands of the patriots once more, Canterac, on finding he could not reduce the castles of Callao, having evacuated Lima, July 17, 1823, and marched for Huancavelica unmolested. But intelligence soon arrived of the total destruction of the army under Santa Cruz in Upper Peru; and that party dissensions might come in aid of other public disasters, Riva-Aguero no sooner reached Truxillo, than he reassembled a portion of the members of the Congress who had followed him from Callao, called in question the validity of his deposition, and raised and equipped a body of three thousand recruits to maintain the war and his own pretensions. Peru was fast relapsing to the last degree of distraction and political abasement. At this pressing emergen-

cy it was, that Bolivar opportunely threw himself, his talents, fame, and influence, and all the disposable military resources under his command, into the cause of Peruvian independence, having obtained permission from the Congress of Colombia to quit the territory of the republic for that purpose, and leaving Santander to administer the executive authority in his stead.

Bolivar made his public entry into Lima, September 1, 1823. He was received with the strongest marks of enthusiasm, and invested with the authority of Dictator, which was needful enough, it must be admitted, in a country governed already by two Presidents, each at the head of a hostile army. In November, 1823, he marched to Pativilca, where he took a strong position, and devoted himself unceasingly to the task of organizing an army of adequate force to enable him to undertake offensive operations. Riva-Aguero being arrested by Colonel La Fuente, one of his own officers, and compelled to embark for Europe, everything might have proceeded prosperously but for the revolt of the garrison of Callao, which, owing to the folly of the Congress in withholding their arrears of pay, mutinied in February, 1823, and surrendered up the castles to the command of the royalist general Monet. This event was soon followed by the defection of Torre Tagle, San Donas, Portocarrero, and some others, fickle and interested men, who, despairing perhaps of the patriot cause, passed over to the Spaniards. Their loss was an eventual gain. The republican party was now thoroughly weeded of its lukewarm and doubtful adherents. Bolivar, invested with unlimited authority, freed from all apprehensions of insincerity in those about him, and supported by six thousand veteran Colombian troops of tried courage and unshaken fidelity, was enabled to exert all the powers of a military dictatorship with a degree of revolutionary energy demanded by the character of the times. But indications are not wanting, that many discerning persons in Peru were jealous of the intentions of Bolivar, and of the views of Colombia. It is probable they did not fear so much the personal ambition of Bolivar, as the disposition to territorial aggrandisement, which all the South American republics have more or less displayed. In reference to these fears, he made the celebrated declaration, contained in a proclamation, dated Truxillo, March 11, 1824, so often referred to in Peru; 'Your chiefs, your internal enemies, have calumniated Colombia, her brave men, and myself, saying, that we

aim to usurp your rights, your territory, and your independence. I declare to you, in the name of Colombia, and by the sacred liberating army, that my authority shall not extend beyond the period necessary to prepare you for victory ; that on the departure of the army from the provinces which it now occupies, you shall be governed constitutionally by your own laws and your own magistrates. Peruvians, the field of battle shall attest the valor of our soldiers and the triumph of your liberty ; the same fortunate field shall see me throw down the palm of the dictatorship, and from thence will I return to Colombia with my brothers in arms, *without taking away a grain of sand from Peru*, and leaving to you liberty.' We may presume that Bolivar sincerely felt what he expressed at this time ; since views of ambition, like the occasions which foster it, gradually arise out of the progress of circumstances. But the suspicions of a few did not retard his military arrangements ; on the contrary, the charm, the *prestige*, which enveloped his name like a glory, enabled him to urge forward the preparations for that splendid campaign of 1824, which finally established the independence of South America.

At the commencement of the campaign, the royalist army consisted of nine thousand men under Canterac, in the valley of Xauxa, and five thousand under Valdez in Upper Peru. Olañeta also, in Upper Peru, commanded another body of five thousand men, but had withdrawn his obedience from the viceroy La Serna, on the ground that the latter was a constitutionalist. The liberating army was concentrated at Huaras, preparatory to crossing the Andes, and compelling the enemy to a decisive battle. It consisted of about ten thousand men, forming three divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, commanded by generals Lara, Cordova, La Mar, and Necochea, with General Sucre as chief of the staff. Everything being done, which the military skill of the best generals in South America could devise, to facilitate the passage of the army to Pasco, and, when arrived there, to carry on the war in earnest, Bolivar reviewed his forces, August 2, 1824, on the elevated table land between Rancas and Pasco, in the midst of the towering peaks of the Andes, and on the margin of the lake of Reyes, the principal source of the Amazon. It is impossible for language to do justice to the enthusiastic excitement felt by the troops on this occasion. The scene, presenting one of the most magnificent prospects in the world,—the moment, when

a noble army was about to take the field to complete the political deliverance of a continent,—the troops themselves, assembled from the extreme parts of South America for this lofty enterprise,—and their leader, the conqueror in a hundred combats, who had borne the standard of liberty in triumph from Caracas to Guayaquil,—all conspired to constitute such a conjuncture, as happens but once in an age, and serves to form a fresh starting-point for the memory of successive generations. In surmounting the terrible defiles of the Cordilleras, the troops had sufficiently evinced their own spirit of determination. Confident of their courage and zeal, the Liberator caused an energetic address to be read to each corps of the army at the same moment, adapted to their peculiar circumstances, and conceived in that felicity of manner, which, combined with a certain orientalism of expression, distinguishes his occasional productions. However vicious in taste it may appear, when read in the closet, and by persons of less ardent temperament, it was exactly suited to the men and the season, and was received with cheers of enthusiasm by the assembled host.

Only three days elapsed before the liberating army had an opportunity of manifesting its courage. On the sixth of August, on ascending a height, they suddenly obtained a view of the hostile columns, marching along as it were beneath them, a few miles off, on the plains of Junin. Anxious lest the royalists should escape, the patriot cavalry dashed forward, and encountered the cavalry of Canterac, whose army was in full retreat. It was exclusively a cavalry action, fought with lance and sabre, not a shot being fired on either side. The impetuosity and superior discipline of the patriots proved irresistible; and after a short engagement the Spaniards were put to flight, and hotly pursued to the very bayonets of their infantry. Canterac hastily continued his retreat, followed up by Bolivar, who entered Guamanga on the twenty-fourth of August, and in September advanced as far as Abancay. As the rainy season would soon commence, and Bolivar did not suppose the enemy would immediately resume the offensive, he quitted the army in October, and repaired to Lima, to attend to affairs there, leaving Sucre to exercise the chief command in his absence. Contrary to expectation, however, La Serna now concentrated his forces, and advanced in his turn upon the patriots, with a design to cut off their communications with Lima,

and then destroy them by safe and bloodless means. But the impatience of his troops, weary of endless marches and countermarches among the horrid passes of the mountains, compelled him to relinquish his plan, and to give the patriots, what they ardently longed to obtain, an opportunity of concluding the conquest by an appeal to the sword. The battle of Ayacucho, December 9, 1824, pronounced by competent judges the most brilliant ever fought in South America, and certainly the most fatal to Spain, was the consequence, and decided the destinies of Peru for ever. La Serna being wounded and made prisoner, Canterac capitulated, the same day, for himself and all the Spanish forces in Peru; and nothing more would have remained for the liberating army to do, had not Olañeta in Upper Peru, and Rodil in the castles of Callao, refused to abide by the capitulation.

Bolivar was at this time residing at Chancay, in the vicinity of Lima, and of course did not participate in the toils of the glorious day of Ayacucho. The immediate honor of the victory, therefore, belongs to Sucre and his associates in command. Sucre lost no time in following up his advantage, and rapidly advanced upon Cuzco, and thence to Chuquisaca, the capital of Upper Peru, in pursuit of Olañeta. But this general having been mortally wounded in an affray with some of his own troops, Callao alone continued in the hands of the royalists. Bolivar immediately assembled adequate forces, and closely invested Callao, by sea and land; but found in Rodil a soldier as persevering and resolute as himself. The Liberator personally superintended the siege for several months, and pressed it with untiring energy; but finding Rodil to be well supplied with stores and resolved to hold out to the last extremity, he finally committed the command of the land forces to General Salom, to whom Rodil surrendered upon honorable terms, January 19, 1826, after maintaining the castles, with heroic constancy, for the space of thirteen months, in spite of every conceivable difficulty. This event terminated the war, and left the liberating army in peaceful possession of the whole of Peru. Whatever else remains to relate of the proceedings of Bolivar in Peru, is of a political nature altogether, and opens new views of his character, and introduces a new chapter in the history of his life.

Bolivar reassembled the deputies of the Congress of Lower Peru, February 10, 1825, and in his message to that body re-

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signed the dictatorship, adding, 'I felicitate Peru on her being delivered from whatever is most dreadful on earth ; from war by the victory of Ayacucho, and from despotism by my resignation. Proscribe for ever, I entreat you, this tremendous authority, which was the sepulchre of Rome.' On the same occasion he also said ; 'My continuance in this republic is an absurd and monstrous phenomenon ; it is the opprobrium of Peru ;' with other expressions equally strong ; while at the same time, at the pressing solicitation of the Congress, he consented, notwithstanding his many declarations of reluctance, to remain at the head of the republic. Nothing could exceed the blind submissiveness of this Congress to Bolivar. After investing him with dictatorial authority for another year, they voted him a grant of a million of dollars, which he twice refused, with a disinterestedness that does him the greatest honor. To accept of treasure, as a recompense for his exertions in achieving their independence, he said, would be unworthy of the spirit in which he had consecrated himself to the cause. Liberality of feeling, and entire freedom from rapacity of spirit, must be admitted as prominent traits in his character. After continuing in session about a month, the Congress came to a resolution, that, as they had granted absolute and unconditional power to Bolivar, in regard to all subjects, whether legislative or executive, it was unnecessary, and incompatible with his authority, that they should continue to exercise their functions ; and they accordingly separated.

Bolivar, being left without check or control in the government, after issuing a decree for installing a new Congress at Lima the ensuing year, departed from Lima in April, for the purpose of visiting the interior provinces of Upper and Lower Peru. He commenced his journey April 10, 1825, and proceeded through Arequipa, Cuzco, La Paz, and Potosí, to Chuquisaca, and remained in Upper Peru, until the close of the year. The whole tour, according to Miller, was one continued *ovation*. On his approach to the various capitals of departments, the public authorities, accompanied by a great part of the population, went out to meet him, and received him with every species of pomp and rejoicings, which the ingenuity of enthusiasm and gratitude could desire. Circumstances attended his reception at Potosí in October, of a nature peculiarly grateful to his feelings. Bull-fights, dinners, balls, illuminations, fire-works, and all the ordinary signs of public

festivity, continued during the whole time he remained in this city, as in other places on his route; in addition to which, a few days after his entrance, a deputation, consisting of Don Carlos Alvear and Dr Dias Velez, arrived from Buenos Ayres to congratulate the Liberator upon his successes, in the name of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata. On the twenty-sixth he ascended the far-famed Cerro of Potosí, accompanied by General Sucre, and all the persons of distinction in the city, and partook of a collation given upon the summit of the Cerro. On this occasion it was, that he observed, preparatory to giving a toast, that 'The immense riches, buried in the Andes, then beneath his feet, vanished into nothing, when compared with the glory of having borne the standard of liberty from the sultry margin of the Orinoco, to fix it upon the frigid peak of that mountain, whose riches had been the astonishment and envy of the world.' There is reason to believe, that the flattering reception, with which he was greeted on this tour, largely contributed to foster those views of ambition respecting Peru, which he betrayed in the sequel. Certain it is, at least, that the extravagant gratitude of the inhabitants of Peru, gave him occasion to assume the task of a legislator, and thus to bring his political principles more directly before the world.

When the victory of Ayacucho left the provinces of Upper Peru free to act, the great question presented to their consideration was, whether Upper Peru should be united to Lower Peru, or reannexed to Buenos Ayres, or constitute an independent state. Under the auspices of the Liberator and of Sucre, a general assembly was convened at Chuquisaco in August, 1825, which declared the will of the people to be, that Upper Peru should become a separate republic, and decreed, that it should be called Bolivia in honor of the Liberator. Here their functions should properly have ceased, with the fulfilment of the object for which they met. Regardless, however, of the limited extent of their powers, they proceeded to exercise the authority of a general Congress. They conferred the supreme executive powers on Bolivar, so long as he should reside within the territory of the republic. Sucre was made captain-general of the army, with the title of Grand Marshal of Ayacucho, and his name was bestowed upon the capital. Medals, statues, and pictures were bountifully and profusely decreed, in honor of both Sucre and Bolivar. To the latter was voted a million of dollars, as an acknowledgment of his pre-

eminent services to the country. With the same characteristic magnanimity, which he displayed on a like occasion in Lower Peru, he refused to accept the grant for his own benefit, but desired, that it might be appropriated to purchasing the emancipation of about a thousand negroes held in servitude in Bolivia. Finally, they solicited Bolivar to prepare for the new republic a fundamental code, that should perpetuate his political principles in the very frame and constitution of the state. Captivated by the idea of creating a nation, from its very foundation, Bolivar consented to undertake the task, if, indeed, which has been confidently asserted to be the case, he did not himself procure the request to be made.

The Liberator left Chuquisaca in January, 1826, and returned to Lima, to assist at the installation of the Congress summoned to meet there in February. He transmitted the form of a constitution for Bolivia from Lima, accompanied with an address, bearing date May 25, 1826. Of this extraordinary instrument, we feel at a loss to decide in what terms to speak. Bolivar has again and again declared, that it contains his confession of political faith. He gave all the powers of his mind to its preparation; he proclaimed it as the well-weighed result of his anxious meditations. Whatever his political views may have been, whether honest and true to his own country, and to others which reposed such boundless confidence in his integrity, or the reverse,—in either case, he must have been equally solicitous, that the code should be creditable to his understanding, and a plausible, if not a perfect instrument. If in good faith he labored to consult the welfare of the Bolivians, in preparing for them a constitution, then certainly he would spare no exertion to render it in the last degree perfect. If he wrote and sent it abroad merely as part of a machinery by the help of which to attain and preserve usurped authority, then also it would be his object to give it the show of good sense, if it did not possess the substance; for why should he embark his plans of ambition in a venture so sure to make shipwreck of all his hopes? We profess that these considerations embarrass our judgment; because, in our apprehension, the most remarkable quality in this code is its unqualified, supreme absurdity.

This constitution proposes a consolidated or central, not a federal, form of government; and thus far it is unobjectionable. Every ten citizens are to name an elector, whose tenure of

office is four years. The legislative power is to be vested in three branches, called tribunes, senators, and censors. Tribunes are to be elected for four years, senators for eight, and censors for life. So complicated is the arrangement proposed for the enactment of laws by means of this novel legislature, and so arbitrary and unnatural the distribution of powers among the several branches, that it would be impracticable for any people, having just notions of legislative proceedings, to conduct public business in the projected mode ; and much more impracticable for men, like the South Americans, not at all familiar with the business of orderly legislation. But the most odious feature in the constitution relates to the nature and appointment of the executive authority. It is placed in the hands of a president, elected in the first instance by the legislative body, holding his office for life, without responsibility for the acts of his administration, and having the appointment of his successor. The whole patronage of the state, every appointment of any importance, from the vice-president and secretaries of state down to the officers of the revenue, belongs to him ; in him is placed the absolute control of all the military force of the nation, it being at the same time specially provided, that a permanent armed force shall be constantly maintained. For the mighty power, the irresistible influence, which this plan imparts to the executive, the only corresponding security, assured to the people, is the inviolability of persons and property.

The constituent Congress of Bolivia assembled at Chuquisaca, May 25, 1826, and passively adopted the proposed constitution to the letter, as if it had been a charter granted by a sovereign prince to his subjects, instead of a plan of government submitted to a deliberative assembly for their consideration. It took effect accordingly, as the constitution of Bolivia, and was sworn to by the people ; and General Sucre was elected president for life under it, although one of its provisions expressly required, that the president should be a native of Bolivia.

Emboldened by the complete success of this introductory essay in the character of a maker of constitutions and founder of states, Bolivar now suffered his ulterior objects to meet the public eye. When the time approached for the Peruvian Congress to assemble, several of the deputies arrived in Lima in anticipation of the day. They ventured to express their

opinion, with some degree of freedom, upon the propriety of withdrawing the Colombian troops from the territory of Peru, the surrender of Callao having removed all pretext for retaining them any longer, unless their presence was required to oppress the country. They referred emphatically to the declaration of Bolivar, that the moment he had achieved the independence of Peru, he would return to Colombia with the liberating army, without taking away so much as a grain of sand. They recollected his despatch to Vice-president Santander, announcing the victory of Ayacucho, and written directly after that event, wherein he says; 'I have fulfilled my mission; and it is now time to comply with my promise, so often made to my country, to continue no longer in a public career, when America shall have been freed of her enemies.' They pondered his own declaration, of the year before, that his continuance in Peru was a monstrous phenomenon, and the opprobrium of the republic. Bolivar was alarmed by these indications of the temper of the Congress. He required the deputies to submit their qualifications (*poderes*) to the supreme court for examination. They contended, that they themselves constituted the only proper tribunal for such a scrutiny. Hereupon Bolivar threatened, that he would abandon Peru to her fate, if the point was not conceded, and the compliant deputies yielded up everything to the will of the Dictator.

Of the seventy deputies assembled, and necessary to constitute a quorum, it was found that eighteen had received full authority to deliberate on public affairs, when the decree convoking them referred only to certain specified subjects. Hence they were declared to be not duly elected. The fifty-two who remained, instead of meeting as a Congress, and taking measures to compel the attendance of the absent members, were at length prevailed upon, by various means of intimidation or persuasion, to subscribe a declaration, setting forth the advantages of a strong arm to maintain the tranquillity of the state and security of private persons and property, the inconveniences of a deliberative assembly, and the folly of maintaining a Congress, when the government was so ably administered by the favorite of fortune, and the chosen of Providence. These weighty reasons induced them to suspend the meeting of the Congress for another year, continuing the authority of Bolivar as Dictator, but recommending to him to consult the provinces as to the form of a constitution for the

republic, and to procure from them a nomination of a suitable person to be constitutionally invested with the supreme authority.

Bolivar received this act in the most gracious manner. Indeed, it bears evident marks of having been written at the dictation of some of his creatures, and merely presented to the deputies for their signatures. He thereupon issued a kind of decree, deciding that the electoral colleges should be consulted as to the two points designated by the deputies, namely, the form of the constitution and the person of the chief magistrate. The whole course of his policy was now apparent. Unwilling to hazard the proposing of his plans to a constituent Congress, in the usual way, because aware that it must contain men of sufficient discernment to perceive, and independence to resist, his purpose, he preferred to make use of the electoral colleges as instruments to give an outward show of popular sanction to his will. The electoral colleges, being scattered bodies, could the more easily be intimidated into adopting whatever he should dictate. The execution of this purpose was committed to his council of ministers. Circular letters, written in the name of Bolivar and the council, of which General Santa Cruz was at the time president, were transmitted to the several prefects of departments, commanding them to assemble the colleges, and submit to them for ratification the form of a constitution, a copy of which accompanied each circular, and was nothing but the Bolivian Code, so modified in phraseology as to be applicable to Peru. The circular is dated July 1, 1826, and contains a recommendation of the code, which, backed by the authority of the prefects, the irresistible power of the Colombian troops, and the weight of Bolivar's name, could not fail to effect, as we shall see it did, the end desired.

Still it was not accomplished, without some manifestations of power on the part of Bolivar, accompanied by acts of a very questionable tendency. Disturbances broke out in the interior, which afforded a pretext for marching the Peruvian troops out of Callao, and replacing them with Colombians. This measure was alleged to be necessary to maintain the public tranquillity; but in fact there was nothing to interrupt the public tranquillity, but the monstrous expense entailed upon the people by the very fact of the presence of the Colombians, who continued to occupy Peru without any assigned cause, and as if it were a conquered country. Connected with the same circumstances,

was the extraordinary measure of transporting a body of Peruvian troops to Panamá, seemingly in order to destroy the natural defenders of their country in that noxious region, and cantoning, at the same time, Colombians in various villages in Peru. About the same period, a conspiracy was discovered, or at least alleged, having for its object the assassination of Bolivar and the expulsion of the Colombians. Although many utterly deny its existence, and others maintain that it was the obscure plot of a few subalterns of the army, the strongest measures were adopted to meet the exigency. A special tribunal investigated the affair, and put on trial the accused or the suspected. A Peruvian lieutenant, named Aristizabal, was found guilty and shot. A guerilla chief, named Vinavilca, and several others, who escaped by flight, were condemned to be strangled; and others were condemned to be cashiered and banished. Admiral Guise was tried, but acquitted. Many Buenos-Ayreans and Chilenos of distinction, resident in Peru, were compelled to quit the country, and among them Generals Necochea and Correa, Colonels Estomba and Raullet, and others equally well known for their unquestionable love of liberty. No specific charge existed against these men. But the Liberator was aware they saw through the slight disguise that veiled his plans. While the fantastic speculator, De Pradt, was exalting Bolivar to a rank in the scale of patriotism above the peerless Washington,—while misguided Americans supposed at least, that Washington was his model,—it was not for the memorials from Arlington-House, transmitted to him with such kindly and respectful feelings, that he preserved his veneration; but portraits and busts of Napoleon were the chosen ornaments in his palace of La Magdalena. It was necessary to remove out of the way men too quick-sighted not to see, and too independent to approve, his ambitious views.

These events produced the greatest uneasiness among persons of property, and all others who had anything to lose by a disturbance of the public tranquillity; and their anxiety was augmented by a second announcement of Bolivar's determination to leave Peru. The timorous and the rich, who dreaded the return of the days of anarchy, were prompted by the friends of Bolivar and the advocates of a strong government, to employ all their influence to prevent his departure, from which they foreboded the most disastrous effects. Representations of the members of the municipality, deputations from

every section of Lima, processions of the people, petitions from all classes, addresses from the army and clergy, supplications from the peasantry of the adjacent villages, and even from the matrons of the capital,—all crowded in quick succession upon the Liberator, and all insisted that he should remain in Peru. He was told that if he would leave the country he must trample on the breasts of the people, of whose lives he had been the preserver ; who would form an impenetrable wall to prevent his departure. Overpowered at last, or professing to be overpowered by these demonstrations of gratitude and affection, the Liberator could no longer refuse himself to the claims of the Peruvians, and consented to delay his return to Colombia.

The object of this whole machinery was soon apparent. A tacit compact seemed to have been formed between Bolivar, and the Peruvians who acted in this precious mummery, as to the end of its enactment. It was to create an impression, that he was necessary to the Peruvians, and thus facilitate the adoption of the *Código Boliviano*, that all this fulsome adulation on the part of the people, and all this coquetry on the part of Bolivar, were elaborately displayed ; and they produced the desired effect. It was false, hollow-hearted, and fictitious, as the event showed ; not a natural expression of sincere feelings, nor a spontaneous exhibition of genuine attachment.

Everything was now arranged for the people to do, and the electors of Lima proceeded, on the very next day, August 16, 1826, to perform their part in the appointed comedy. Various statements are made of the means used to procure the colleges to adopt the proposed code, and Bolivar himself as president for life ; all which it is unnecessary to examine, because it is perfectly clear, from everything which relates to the business, that Bolivar and his constitution were forced upon the people by the authority of his own government. Did we not know this from a careful examination of the whole history of the proceedings, we might safely infer it from the circumstance, that, of the fifty-nine electoral colleges, only one, that of the little province of Tarapaca, demurred to the constitution, or to the proposed president. Such perfect unanimity could never result from the self-moving deliberations of a free people, disposing of their own rights according to their own will. The electoral colleges blindly and passively obeyed the commands of their dictator, and of course the Bolivian Code was declared

to be the fundamental law of Peru, and Bolivar president for life. Three months elapsed, however, before the official returns were all received ; and it was not until November 30, 1826, that the new constitution and new president were proclaimed ; nor until the ninth of December, the anniversary of the victory of Ayacucho, that the usual oaths of fidelity were administered to the public functionaries. Notwithstanding the evident symptoms of disgust betrayed by the majority of the people, the constitution was peaceably promulgated and sworn to in Lima and the provinces ; and on the surface everything told well for the change.

Bolivar, long ere this time, had returned to Colombia, and shifted the scene of his operations. Before entering upon the events which preceded and followed his return, we advert, for a moment, to a project of Bolivar's, which, when originally proposed, was hailed as a splendid design, replete with noble properties, and pregnant with the most admirable consequences. We allude to the Congress of Panamá. The proposition for assembling this body emanated from Bolivar, who, in 1823, as president of Colombia, invited the governments of Mexico, Peru, Chile, and Buenos Ayres, to form a confederacy of the Spanish American states, by means of plenipotentiaries to be convened, in the spirit of classic analogy, in the isthmus of Panamá. To this invitation the governments of Peru and Mexico promptly acceded. Chile and Buenos Ayres neglected or declined to be represented in the assembly, for the reasons which we shall presently state. This magnificent idea of a second Achæan League seized on the imaginations of many speculative and of some practical men in America and Europe, as destined to create a new era in the political history of the world by originating a purer system of public law, and almost realizing Bernardin de Saint Pierre's league of the modern nations. In its original shape, it was professedly a plan of a belligerent nature, having for its main object to combine the revolutionized states against the common enemy. But time was required for carrying it into effect. Meanwhile the project, magnified by the course of events, began to change its complexion. The United States were invited to participate in the Congress, so as to form an American policy, and a rallying point for American interests, in opposition to those of Europe ; and after the discussions which are so familiar to all, the government of the United States accepted the invitation, and des-

patched its representatives to Panamá. Don Bernardo Monteagudo, the notorious minister of San Martin in Peru, wrote a pamphlet, that was published in Lima, in lofty praise of the plan. The prolific Abbé de Pradt produced a still more visionary dissertation upon the subject for the benefit of unenlightened Europe. England, of course, was alive to such a project; and the Netherlands followed the example of Great Britain. In the interval, between the proposal of the plan and its execution, Central America was added to the family of American nations, and agreed to take part in the Congress. At length, after many delays, this modern Amphictyonic Council, consisting of plenipotentiaries from Colombia, Central America, Peru, and Mexico, assembled in the city of Panamá, June 22, 1826, and in a session of three weeks concluded various treaties; one of perpetual union, league, and confederation; others relating to the contingents which the confederates should contribute for the common defence; and another for the annual meeting of the Congress in time of war. Having thus promptly despatched their private affairs, the assembly adjourned to Tacubaya in Mexico, on account of the insalubrious climate of Panamá, before the delegation of the United States had arrived; since when it has justly acquired the epithet of *introuvable*, and probably never will reassemble in its original form.

Is there not a secret history of all this? Why did Chile and Buenos Ayres refuse to participate in the Congress? Why has it now vanished from the face of the earth? The answer given in South America is, that Bolivar proposed the assembly as part of a grand scheme of ambition,—ascribed to him by the republican party, and not without some countenance from his own conduct,—for establishing a military empire to embrace the whole of Spanish America, or at least an empire uniting Colombia and the two Perus. To give the color of plausibility to the projected assembly, the United States were invited to be represented; and it is said Bolivar did not expect, nor very graciously receive, their acceptance of the invitation. And whatever aid, if any, in his ambitious designs, he may have anticipated from it, he was wholly disappointed in the result. Don Manuel Vidaurre's speech for the opening of the Congress, much as it surprised the world, and greatly as it was ridiculed and denounced in various quarters, served to undeceive Bolivar as to his personal hopes from the assembly, if he

continued to entertain them, and on this very ground was loudly applauded in the journals of Buenos Ayres and Chile. And the disclosures which Vidaurre has made since the adjournment of the Congress, convert into certainty that which was but conjecture before. He states, that a gigantic plan was formed for subdividing America into four states. Mexico and Guatemala were to form one republic, and the United States another, which together would cover the northern continent; while Colombia, Upper and Lower Peru, Chile, and Buenos Ayres, melted into a single empire under the sway of Bolivar, and Brazil under Pedro, disposed in like manner of South America. If Bolivar has ever allowed such wild dreams of Titanian ambition as this to work upon his imagination, it serves to show how liable the judgment is to be warped by flatterers, and unsettled by the vertigo of immoderate power. Happily, the Congress attempted nothing of this kind. In regard to the welfare of Spanish America, it has been wholly without fruit, as judicious men in the South predicted it would be; and we dismiss it, therefore, to revert to the course of our narrative.

Bolivar, having waited at Lima until he was pronounced president of Peru for life by the electors of the capital, and feeling confident, perhaps, that the business could now be safely completed in his absence, prepared to return to Colombia. He invested Don Andres Santa Cruz with the supreme command during his absence, and took leave of Peru, September 3, 1826. His parting proclamation contained the significant words; '*Vuestros bienes y vuestros males serán los míos. UNA NUESTRA SUERTE.*' His return was *professedly* in consequence of the insurrection of Paez in Venezuela, and the distraction it entailed on the republic. Subsequent events have led to a very general belief in South America, that the time and the alleged cause of his departure were part of a design to subvert the constitution of Colombia, and substitute the Bolivian Code in its place. How far this belief is warranted by facts, will appear from the progress of events as we follow them step by step; for some attention to dates is necessary to show the proper construction of what relates to Bolivar personally.

At the commencement of the year 1826, the internal condition of Colombia was apparently prosperous and tranquil. Bolivar had been reelected president of the republic, and Santander vice-president, to enter upon their new term of service

in 1827. On occasion of this election, Bolivar signified his wish to retire from public life, anxious, he said, to satisfy the world of his abhorrence of supreme power, and to prove that his actions were not governed by ambition; but the electors do not seem to have been sufficiently persuaded of the sincerity of the renunciation to regard it. Santander had ably administered the executive authority, from the very foundation of the government, aided by the most eminent civilians and officers produced by the revolution. Still, under the outward seeming of political calm, there existed elements of confusion, which required only a convenient opportunity to burst forth into open disorder. Neither Venezuela nor Quito had been perfectly satisfied with the constitution adopted at Cúcuta, which merged their ancient provincial importance in the consolidated mass of the republic of Colombia. In Caracas, especially, a strong party existed, who zealously opposed the constitution when presented to them, and protested against it before taking the usual oath in its support. Nor had they ever ceased to urge their preference for the federal system. Similar feelings existed, although to a less extent, in Quito, and especially in Guayaquil, which had been forcibly aggregated to the republic. Yet as the constitution contained a provision for its own amendment, or entire abrogation, if the people so willed it, after an experimental trial of ten years, when a grand convention was to assemble to consider the subject, it is probable, that, if nothing had happened to stimulate the disaffected prematurely, they would have treasured up their opposition until the constitutional period arrived for causing it to be felt and respected.

Such was the state of things, when the city of Caracas, not unwilling, perhaps, to find cause of cavil against the general government, procured the impeachment of General Paez, commandant-general of the department of Venezuela, for certain acts of oppression, of no great consequence, in executing a law for the enlistment of the militia. When the summons for him to resign his authority and attend to take his trial before the senate came to him, Paez was prevailed upon to disobey it; and some of the officers about his person, aided by a few political agitators, induced or compelled the municipality of Valencia, where Paez then was, to pass a resolution reinstating him in the command, of which, by the express provisions of the constitution, and the consequent order of the executive, he was divested. This happened April 30, 1826.

Paez accepted, without hesitation, the authority thus illegally bestowed. When these proceedings were known at Caracas, the municipality hastily confirmed the act of Valencia, anxious, no doubt, by anticipating the wishes of Paez, to atone for the prosecution they had instituted. Paez being thus thrown into open opposition to the government, the disaffected party in Venezuela promptly embraced the occasion to promote their plans of change; and procured the act of Valencia of the eleventh of May, and that of Caracas of the sixteenth of May, appointing Paez independent civil and military chief of Venezuela, and declaring their object to be the alteration of the existing constitution. Paez and his coadjutors all professed their desire to have the change peaceably brought about, and united in appealing to the Liberator as the arbiter of the public differences; and Paez despatched two commissioners to Lima to solicit Bolívar to return to Colombia.

When the intelligence of this insurrectionary movement reached Bogotá, the vice-president wisely abstained from attempting what he could not perform,—the suppression of the disorder by force of arms,—and contented himself with an official defence of his conduct, and other pacific measures, hoping the contagion would not extend beyond the department of Venezuela. But in July the city of Guayaquil passed an act in favor of anticipating the grand convention. Quito and Cuenca followed in the same path, and then Maracaybo, which last expressly declared for the federal system; but neither of these places renounced its allegiance to the general government. These proceedings, of course, weakened the hands of Santander, in the same proportion that they strengthened those of Paez. Municipal acts of the same description were afterwards adopted in the department of Maturín, and in Margarita, Cumaná, Panamá, and other places; although without perfect unanimity in the letter, yet all calling for the anticipation of the convention. Such was the political condition of Colombia in the month of August, at the very time when Bolívar was openly forcing himself and the Bolivian Code upon Peru. Of the twelve departments, which composed the republic, eight were in a state of disorganization more or less complete; the national finances were in disorder, and discord seemed on the brink of stirring up the inhabitants to civil war. Santander continued to urge Bolívar, in the most pressing manner, to come and exert his influence to allay the

public ferment. The people everywhere expressed extreme solicitude for his return. No conceivable cause existed for his remaining in Peru, of a public nature, except the advancement of his own personal power, which began to be openly charged upon him as the inducement of his delay. In fine, the friends of the constitution did not stop short of suspecting him of acting in collusion with Paez, and throwing the public affairs into confusion, that he might be called to restore them, and have the opportunity of doing it in his own way.

Too many facts existed, which gave color to the suspicion. It does not appear, that, in the first instance, he instigated the insurrection; but it does appear, that, in an early stage of it, he had an understanding of some kind with Paez, and his own acts directly served to augment the public disorder. The coincidence of dates, in regard to events in Peru and Colombia, is singular at least, if it have no meaning. In April, Bolivar procures the dissolution of the Peruvian Congress, and the continuance of his dictatorship; and in the same April Paez raises the standard of revolt in Valencia. In May Bolivar publishes the Bolivian Code as his political creed; and in the same May Venezuela demands a reform of the constitution of Colombia. Confidential communications were interchanged, at this period, between Bolivar and Paez; and each, in recorded public acts or writings, signified his perfect reliance in the good faith of the other, in his patriotism, and in the rectitude of his intentions. It was not possible, however, for the constitutional party in Colombia to understand exactly Bolivar's policy, because the public developement of his ambitious projects in Peru, and the insurrection of Paez, *took place contemporaneously*. Of necessity, some time must elapse before the provisions of the Bolivian Code could become generally known in Colombia. And the arrangements for permanently fixing his authority in Peru seem to have been purposely so timed, or at least events happened so to turn out, that he should arrive in Bogotá, and obtain the control of the government, before the people of Colombia could gain any idea of the nature of his operations in Peru, or their final result. Rumors of his probable intention could not fail soon to reach Colombia, and undoubtedly individuals might possess authentic information on the subject; but months must elapse before facts of a decisive character would obtain general circulation in a credible shape.

Still many of the political agitators did not disguise their be-

lief, that Bolivar would, nay, that in order to tranquillize the nation he must, assume dictatorial powers in Colombia. A practice, curious in itself, and which, to the inhabitants of countries accustomed to the functions of self-government, and to men understanding the nature of written constitutions, must of course appear passing strange, has very generally obtained in South America. Early in the revolution, the untaught politicians of the new republics,—and every meagre province called itself a republic,—made a parade of elaborate constitutions, often wholly unfit for their situation and essentially impracticable. When danger came, their legislative bodies suspended, not a mere *habeas corpus* act, as Americans or Englishmen might perhaps do, but the fundamental articles of a whole constitution. They began, it is true, by suspending only some few articles, so as to enlarge the authority of the executive ; but when the inviolability that belongs to the constitution was once broken in this manner, it was no easy matter to fix limits to the practice. Cundinamarca set the example of this proceeding in Colombia, so early as 1811, in the case of Nariño, and the lesser states were not slow in adopting so convenient a plan. The next step was, whenever a season of peculiar peril arrived, to suspend a whole constitution in the mass, and elect a dictator in name and in power, to administer the government, in imitation of ancient Rome. In 1812, Pamplona, Popayan, and Cundinamarca, were each governed by a dictator. Other examples abound in South American history. Nay, to such a pitch did the abuse extend in New Granada, that the general Congress was obliged to interfere, in 1814, and prohibit the practice of nominating dictators on every occasion, as opening a door to tyranny and usurpation. But the expedient was adopted so generally, that men became familiarized with the name and the substance of a dictatorship ; and constitutions lost that august and venerable character, which they ought to have, to ensure their being religiously observed. Hence, although the constitution of Colombia had now subsisted in full vigor upwards of four years, still the idea of suspending it would not be abhorrent to the habits of thinking in Colombia. Men, who would shrink from the suggestion of submitting to a king, would not be startled at all by the idea of a dictator, exercising for the time being all the arbitrary powers of an oriental despot. We deem these explanations necessary, to show why many began to look to a dictatorship for

relief, and why the ardent friends of the constitution did not instantly take arms against it when openly proposed.

Bolivar himself began to sound the people of Colombia on the subject, as the crisis and consummation of his plans approached. He addressed a letter to Dr Cristóbal Mendoza, intendant of Venezuela, as the organ of communicating his ideas to his countrymen, wherein he says; 'I propose the Bolivian Code, which, with some slight alterations, appears to me suitable to the circumstances of Colombia.' And again; '*I myself* am the rallying point of all who love the national glory and the rights of the people.' To a communication of the city of Guayaquil, transmitting the municipal act before mentioned, Bolivar's secretary officially replied, under date of August 1, 1826, that the Liberator had given 'his confession of political faith' in the constitution presented to Bolivia, and at the same time signified his entire confidence in the political integrity of Paez. These intimations were the prelude to more decided acts. A pamphlet was prepared and published at Lima by Leocadio Guzman, setting forth the praises of the Bolivian Code in the most exalted and extravagant terms, stating and elaborately defending its various provisions. In August, 1826, but a few weeks before Bolivar set out for Bogotá, this very Leocadio Guzman was despatched on a mission along the departments of Colombia bordering on the Pacific, with credentials addressed to the several prefects, requiring each of them to assemble the municipality of his capital, and procure acts declaratory of their wish for the introduction of the Bolivian Code, and appointing Bolivar dictator. He proceeded openly in the execution of his commission, and by persuasion, intimidation, and the influence of Bolivar's name over the military, he procured the adoption of these unconstitutional acts successively in the departments of Guayaquil, Asuay, the Equator, and the Isthmus. These acts were passed at the absolute dictation of Guzman and the officers in command in these places; and in 1827, when the cause of the constitution gained a temporary ascendancy, the magistrates made official representations to the general government of the shameful intrigues and violence attending their adoption.

Bolivar landed at Guayaquil but a fortnight after his emissary Guzman, with a small retinue, and proceeded without delay to Bogotá, where he arrived November 13, 1826. His conduct in the capital was too ambiguous, either to allay entirely,

or absolutely to confirm the sinister forebodings of the constitutionalists. He encouraged their hopes by some acts, while he augmented their fears by others. Having assumed the extraordinary powers, which the constitution conferred on the executive in cases of civil commotion, and in virtue of those powers introduced sundry radical changes in the administration for alleged purposes of economy, he hastened onward to Venezuela, where all parties loudly demanded his presence. Previous to this, a person had arrived at Caracas, in November, professing to be a commissioner from the Liberator, at whose instigation, it would seem, the citizens held a public meeting, and on the supposition, that the constitution and the social compact of Colombia existed no longer, resolved that Venezuela should become an independent state as before the union. Bolivar issued a proclamation in Maracaybo, on the nineteenth of December, declaring the departments of Sulia, Orinoco, Venezuela, and Maturin, under his immediate authority. He was received everywhere with entire submission. Paez himself was the most forward to load the Liberator with extravagant marks of personal devotion, and received, for his reward, a continuance in his authority as supreme chief of Venezuela. With Bolivar's decree of amnesty, issued January 1, 1827, the insurrection was really at an end, whatever subsequent acts may have been requisite to complete the work of pacification. The meeting of Paez and Bolivar was that of attached friends, indissolubly united by the bond of reciprocal good services performed or expected, and afforded a melancholy presage of the union of political purpose, which has proved fatal to the constitution of Colombia.

Bolivar continued in Venezuela, chiefly at Caracas, for the space of five months, surrounded by the most ardent members of the reform party, who became his bosom friends and advisers. These persons devoted themselves unremittingly to the task of denouncing the constitutional party, the men, and the departments, that remained faithful to the laws, and especially Santander, as the leading supporter of the constitution. They urged the necessity of adopting the Bolivian Code, of uniting Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, and of committing all the powers of government to Bolivar as president for life, with a pertinacity of zeal, which, exerted as it was under the very eye of the Liberator, filled the friends of liberty with consternation and sorrow. Bolivar himself, in a communication

to the president of the senate, dated February 6, 1827, renounced the presidency of the republic, in language of the same tenor as that which he had used in Peru. His communication was discussed in the Congress with great warmth; and twenty-four members of that body, breathing a spirit worthy of Roman senators, manfully voted to accept the renunciation, reprobating, in terms worthy of the occasion, the unmeasured ambition of the Liberator. Meanwhile he continued in Caracas, retaining in exercise the extraordinary powers which he had assumed, although, by the terms of the constitution, they ceased at the meeting of the Congress, and although the Congress had passed a decree for the restoration of constitutional order throughout the republic.

Such was the condition of affairs, when intelligence of the extraordinary revolution in Peru, of January 26, 1827, reached Colombia. It appeared that the Bolivian Code was quite as odious to the Colombian army, on whom Bolivar had relied to maintain his power in Peru, as it was to the Peruvians themselves. The army had testified no reluctance in standing by Bolivar thus far, in fixing his authority in a foreign country; but they were alarmed by the proceedings at Guayaquil and Quito, which threatened the liberties of their own country; and seeing that Bolivar countenanced, if he did not instigate, the acts in question, they gradually wrought themselves up to such a height of resentment against the Liberator, that they determined to return to Colombia and forcibly resist his designs. Colonel Bustamante, a young Colombian of merit and talent, placed himself at their head, arrested Generals Lara and Sands, and others of their officers, whom they considered subservient to Bolivar, and invited the Peruvians to organize a government for themselves. The latter cheerfully embraced the offer, abolished the Bolivian Code, which they declared to have been forced upon them by the Liberator, and established a temporary government under General Santa Cruz himself, which gave place at length to regular constitutional authorities, with Don José La Mar as president. Meantime Bustamante and the army embarked at Callao, March 13, 1826, and landed in the southern department of Colombia, full of the most hostile feelings towards Bolivar, and supposing they should find the government totally disorganized by his machinations. They were agreeably surprised to discover, that the constitutional Congress and executive were still obeyed, and on obtaining

satisfactory assurances of this fact, peaceably received General Obando, who was appointed by the vice-president to quell the mutiny, if persisted in, and to take the command of the mutineers, if they submitted without resistance. There could be no doubt that the Bolivians would follow the example of the neighboring state, in renouncing the objectionable Code, placed as they were between Buenos Ayres and Peru, each extremely hostile to Bolivar; and it was reasonable to consider the defection of one as involving that of the other, as the event proved. Thus crumbled into ruin the labored fabric of Bolivar's towering ambition, reared at such irreparable sacrifice of fame and character, but wanting the necessary foundation of public opinion to support it, without which no government can permanently subsist in communities constituted like the South American republics.

Bolivar was moved by these events from the ominous inactivity, wherein he had persevered so long, and instantly put himself in motion for the south, to assume the presidency, and punish 'the audacity' of the 'new Prætorians,' as he characterized the late Colombian auxiliaries of Peru; and to march, he said, 'against the traitors who, after having trodden under foot their holiest duties, had raised the standard of revolt to invade the most loyal departments' of the republic. Indeed, the whole proclamation, announcing his altered purpose, singularly betrays the conflicting emotions, which the circumstances were calculated to awaken in his bosom. His glorious reputation was tarnished by the attempt at usurpation, without gaining even the inferior lustre of success to compensate him for the loss. He had sold his fame to the tempter, for the acquisition of power, and was cheated of that for which he had paid a price far exceeding all estimation. Even his brave associates in a life of victory had learnt to denounce his name, and he was driven to muster an army to oppose them, his chosen companions in arms. It became necessary for him to dissemble or defer his designs upon Colombia, therefore, and act for a season as her constitutional chief magistrate, until he could arrange measures to recombine the scattered fragments of his arbitrary power. He made his public entry into the capital, September 10, 1827, and took the constitutional oath as president in the forms prescribed by law, signifying his personal desire to abide by the result of the grand convention, which, by the decree of the Congress, was ordered to meet at

Ocaña in the ensuing spring. The submission of the Colombian troops in the south rendered his presence there unnecessary, and of course he entered upon the discharge of the executive duties at the seat of government. But nothing fell from his lips to encourage the republican party to expect anything at his hands ; nor did he intimate a disposition to relinquish the purpose, imputed to him and never disclaimed, of forcing the Bolivian Code and the presidency for life upon Colombia.

It is not our intention to continue the account of Bolivar's life through the past year, in which the worst prediction of the constitutionalists have been fearfully realized, in the events consequent upon the dissolution of the convention of Ocaña. Bolivar, at the head of the government, as irresponsible military dictator,—the constitution virtually abolished,—the assault on the government palace by armed men, bent on freeing the republic of her Cæsar in Roman fashion,—Padilla's execution, and the consignment of Santander to the fatal prison-house of Boca-Chica,—hostility between Peru and Colombia, heightened into open war by reciprocal wrongs, and by the personal feelings of Bolivar,—such are the successive incidents, which, in the year that has elapsed, have gathered and darkened around the individual character of the Liberator. They are contemporary history, which requires more extended examination than our space or time will now permit ; and here therefore we take leave of the subject. What is to be the result of the present state of things, time will show. We do not apprehend the establishment of a monarchy *eo nomine*. Mr Salazar discloses the curious fact, that a constitutional monarchy has been the subject of much debate in Colombia, although it has been confined principally to private discussions, and rarely mentioned by public writers. The name is too unpopular in South America to encourage its introduction. But recent events indicate, that the substance is regarded with no unfavorable eye ; and among military men especially, we fear too many agree to the assertion of Don Tomas de Heres ; ‘La cuestion está reducida á esta muy sencilla alternativa,—constitucion y ruina del Estado y de los hombres virtuosos, ó absolutismo y orden y paz.’ Yet impartial observers cannot fail to inquire, whose machinations they were that contributed to reduce the question to the desperate alternative of anarchy or despotism.

ART. III.—*Documents and Proceedings relating to the Formation and Progress of a Board in the City of New York, for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement of the Aborigines of America.* July 22, 1829.

THE destiny of the Indians, who inhabit the cultivated portions of the territory of the United States, or who occupy positions immediately upon their borders, has long been a subject of deep solicitude to the American government and people. Time, while it adds to the embarrassments and distress of this part of our population, adds also to the interest which their condition excites, and to the difficulties attending a satisfactory solution of the question of their eventual disposal, which must soon pass *sub judice*. That the Indians have diminished, and are diminishing, is known to all who have directed their attention to the subject. For any purpose we have in view, it is not necessary to go back to the remote periods of aboriginal history, and investigate the extent of the population, and their means of subsistence, and to calculate the declension of the one, and the reduction of the other, as the white man advanced in his progress from the seat covered by a buffalo robe,* first given to him on the shore of the ocean, to the dominion he now enjoys. Such an inquiry would be vain and useless. The materials for any comparative estimate of Indian population at different periods, are scanty and unsatisfactory, collected without care, and combined without judgment. They are in fact but vague estimates, received and given in a spirit of exaggeration, and serving little more than to exhibit the probable relative strength of the various tribes.

But although precision be unattainable, and, we may add, unimportant, yet the principal facts are indisputable. The Indians have gradually decreased since they became first known to the Europeans. The ratio of this diminution may have been greater or less, depending on the operation of causes we shall presently investigate; but there is no just reason to believe, that any of the tribes, within the whole extent of our boundary, has been increasing in numbers at any period since they have been known to us. This opinion is expressed by

* The Indian tradition respecting the quantity of land first given to the white men.

the Superintendents of Indian affairs, in the report submitted to Congress at its last session, by the war department ; and from the favorable opportunities possessed by those officers, of acquiring correct information upon this subject, their opinion must carry with it considerable authority.* The whole amount of Indian population, within the United States, east of the Mississippi, is estimated in this report at 105,060, and is divided as follows.

Within the states of Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode } Island, Connecticut, and Virginia	2,573
The state of New York	4,820
Pennsylvania	300
North Carolina	3,100
South Carolina	300
Georgia	5,000
Tennessee	1,000
Ohio	1,877
Mississippi	23,400
Alabama	19,200
Indiana	4,050
Illinois	5,900
Territory of Michigan	29,450
Florida	4,000
	<hr/>
	105,060

It will be seen, that in the original states the primitive stock has been reduced to 16,093 individuals, and that three fourths of the number now surviving, in the whole of the vast country east of the river Mississippi, are found in the states of Alabama and Mississippi, and in the Territory of Michigan, where the pressure upon them is now beginning to be felt, and will bring with it the usual process of deduction.

In the same report, the number of Indians west of the Mississippi is thus estimated,

Between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains	108,070
Within the ranges of the Rocky Mountains	20,000
West of the Rocky Mountains	80,000
Making a general aggregate of	313,130, within the United

* We are aware of the statements which have been made concerning the increase of population among the Cherokees, but we have seen no satisfactory evidence of it.

States, extending over twenty-four degrees of latitude and fifty-eight degrees of longitude. And these are the remnants of the primitive people, who, only two centuries ago, possessed this vast country; who found in the sea, the lakes, the rivers, and forests, means of subsistence sufficient for their wants.

It would be miserable affectation to regret the progress of civilization and improvement, the triumph of industry and art, by which these regions have been reclaimed, and over which freedom, religion, and science are extending their sway. But we may indulge the wish, that these blessings had been attained at a smaller sacrifice; that the aboriginal population had accommodated themselves to the inevitable change of their condition, produced by the access and progress of the new race of men, before whom the hunter and his game were destined to disappear. But such a wish is vain. A barbarous people, depending for subsistence upon the scanty and precarious supplies furnished by the chase, cannot live in contact with a civilized community. As the cultivated border approaches the haunts of the animals, which are valuable for food or furs, they recede and seek shelter in less accessible situations. The number of these animals may be diminished, but cannot be increased, by the interference of men; and when the people, whom they supply with the means of subsistence, have become sufficiently numerous to consume the excess annually added to the stock, it is evident, that the population must become stationary, or, resorting to the principal instead of the interest, must, like other prodigals, satisfy the wants of to-day at the expense of to-morrow.

The general principles regulating the population of the human race are as applicable to wandering tribes, deriving their support from the bounties of nature, as to stationary and civilized societies, where art and industry can increase almost indefinitely those products which minister to their wants. Population and production must eventually preserve a just ratio to each other. Whether the tribes upon this continent had attained the *maximum* of their population, before the discovery, we have not now the means of ascertaining. It is certain, however, as well from a consideration of their mode of life, as from a careful examination of the earlier narratives, that, greatly as they exceeded their present numbers, they were yet thinly scattered over the country. There is no reason to believe, that vegetable productions were ever cultivated to any

considerable extent by the Indians, or formed an important part of their food. Corn, and beans, and pumpkins were indigenous to the country, and were probably raised in small quantities around each Indian village. But they were left to the labor of the women, whose only instrument of agriculture was a clam-shell, or the shoulder-blade of a buffalo, tied to a stick. Their habits of life were then what they now are. They returned from their hunting grounds in the spring, and assembled in their villages. Here their few vegetables were planted. But although the seed-time came, no harvest followed; for before their corn was ripe, it was generally consumed, with that utter recklessness of the future, which forms so prominent and unaccountable a feature in their character. As the autumn approached, they separated and repaired to their *wintering* grounds, where, during eight months of the year, they were engaged alternately in the chase, and in those relaxations and amusements, peculiar to the condition of the hunter. This was the annual round of aboriginal life.

It is obvious, that the reduction or disappearance of the game, consequent upon the conversion of forests into fields, and the gradual advance of a civilized people, must have soon begun to press upon the means of subsistence, on which the Indians mainly depended. Other circumstances coöperated in the work of destruction. Fire-arms were introduced, and greatly facilitated the operations of the hunter. Articles of European merchandise were offered to the Indians, and they were taught the value of their furs, and encouraged to procure them. New wants arose among them. The rifle was found a more efficient instrument than the bow and arrow; blankets were more comfortable than buffalo robes; and cloth, than dressed skins. The exchange was altogether unfavorable to them. The goods they received were dear, and the peltry they furnished was cheap. A greater number of animals was necessary for the support of each family, and increased exertion was required to procure them. We need not pursue this subject further. It is easy to see the consequences, both to the Indians and their game.

Herds of buffaloes were once found upon the shore of Lake Erie, and at the base of the Allegany mountains. They have now receded to the plains beyond the Mississippi, and are every year migrating still further west. A few years since, they were unknown in the Rocky Mountains. They have now

passed that barrier, and will ere long reach the Pacific. The beaver has nearly disappeared upon all our borders, and hunters and trappers have followed them to the waters of the Columbia. Even the common red deer, once so abundant, is rarely found east of the Allegany, and is becoming scarce in the western regions.

But a still more powerful cause has operated to produce this diminution in the number of the Indians. Ardent spirits have been the bane of their improvement; one of the principal agents in their declension and degradation. In this proposition we include only those tribes in immediate contact with our frontier settlements, or who have remained upon *reservations* guarantied to them. It has been found impracticable to prevent the sale of spirituous liquors to those who are thus situated. The most judicious laws are eluded or openly violated. The love of spirits, and the love of gain, conspire to bring together the buyer and the seller. As the penalties become heavier, and the probability of detection and punishment stronger, the prohibited article becomes dearer, and the sacrifice to obtain it greater. We shall not attempt to investigate the cause of the inordinate attachment displayed by the Indians to ardent spirits. It is probably without a parallel in all the history of man, and is certainly so, with very few exceptions, in the whole range of their own society. There is a singular uniformity in its operation, destroying the effect of individual character, and substituting a common standard of feeling and deportment. These facts are known to all, to whom the Indians themselves are known. This predisposition was the subject of observation and regret two centuries ago; and the earlier historians and travellers, while they furnish the record of its existence, furnish also the evidence of its overpowering influence and destructive consequences.

Our object, as will be seen in the sequel, is not to trace the operation of all the causes which have contributed to the diminution of the population of the Indians. We confine ourselves to those which may be fairly attributed to the coming of the Europeans among them, and which are yet exerting their influence, wherever the two races are placed in contact. As we shall attempt eventually to prove, that the only means of preserving the Indians from that utter extinction which threatens them, is to remove them from the sphere of this influence, we are desirous of showing, that no change has occurred, or proba-

bly can occur, in the principles or practice of our intercourse with them, by which the progress of their declension can be arrested, so long as they occupy their present situation.

The consequences of their own wars, therefore, do not fall within this inquiry. These were in active operation long before our forefathers landed upon the continent, and their extent and effects have been gradually circumscribed by our interposition, until the war-hatchet has been buried by many of the tribes which are near us ; and if not buried, will, we trust, ere long be taken from those which are remote.

To the operation of the physical causes, which we have described, must be added the moral causes connected with their mode of life, and their peculiar opinions. Distress could not teach them providence, nor want industry. As animal food decreased, their vegetable productions were not increased. Their habits were stationary and unbending ; never changing with the change of circumstances. How far the prospect around them, which to us appears so dreary, may have depressed and discouraged them, it is difficult to ascertain, as it is also to estimate the effect upon them of that superiority, which we have assumed and they have acknowledged. There is a principle of repulsion in ceaseless activity, operating through all their institutions, which prevents them from appreciating or adopting any other modes of life, or any other habits of thought or action, but those which have descended to them from their ancestors.

That the aboriginal population should decrease under the operation of these causes, can excite no surprise. From an early period, their rapid declension and ultimate extinction were foreseen and lamented, and various plans for their preservation and improvement were projected and pursued. Many of them were carefully taught at our seminaries of education, in the hope that principles of morality and habits of industry would be acquired, and that they might stimulate their countrymen by precept and example to a better course of life. Missionary stations were established among various tribes, where zealous and pious men devoted themselves with generous ardor to the task of instruction, as well in agriculture and the mechanic arts, as in the principles of morality and religion. The Roman Catholic Church preceded the Protestant, in this labor of charity ; and the *Lettres Edifiantes* are monuments of her zeal and liberality. Unfortunately, they are monuments also

of unsuccessful and unproductive efforts. What tribe has been civilized by all this expenditure of treasure, and labor, and care? From the martyrdom of Le Père Brebeuf, in 1649, upon the shore of Lake Huron, to the death of the last missionary, who sacrificed himself in a cause as holy as it has proved hopeless, what permanent effect has been produced? Year after year sanguine anticipations have been formed, to be succeeded by disappointment and despondency. We are flattered with accounts of success, with explanations for the past and hopes for the future; and this, without the slightest intention to deceive. But the subject itself is calculated to excite these expectations. There are always individuals attending these establishments, who give fair promise of permanent improvement and usefulness. And as these prospects are blighted, others succeed to excite the same hopes, and to end in the same disappointment.

In the 'Remarks upon Indian Reform,' written by the Rev. Isaac McCoy, to whom and to whose labors and opinions we shall hereafter refer, there are some views upon this subject, so apposite and correct, that we shall submit them to our readers. It must be borne in mind, that the writer is a missionary, and a pious and laborious one.

'Societies and their missionaries should carefully guard against what we might term *high coloring*. We are naturally fond of telling the more favorable parts of the story, and rather desire the unfavorable parts to sink into oblivion. I could readily point to statements respecting missionary operations, which approximate this character too nearly. But I deem it sufficient to mention only this general and undoubted fact, viz. a man in Europe, by reading the whole of our missionary journals, narratives, reports, &c. would be apt to suppose the success of our labors was such, that the aborigines of our country were rapidly improving their condition, both in respect to Christianity and civilization. How would such a one be disappointed on visiting these regions to find, that, instead of improvement in general, they were rapidly decreasing in numbers, and perishing under their accumulating misfortunes.'

The Wyandots, who occupied so much of the care of the Roman Catholic Missionaries, have dwindled to about 700 individuals, who are seated upon a *reservation*, near the centre of the state of Ohio. Serious divisions of opinion exist among them, and a sedentary life begins to be irksome. Already

their attention is directed to the trans-Mississippian regions. The Delawares, to whom the Moravians so long and faithfully devoted themselves, have already passed over the Mississippi, where they are resuming their pristine habits. A small society yet exists in Upper Canada; but they are diminishing, and certainly their appearance indicates neither prosperity nor improvement. The Iroquois or Six Nations, the Shawnese, the Miamies, the Potawatamies, and the Ottawas, all of whom have engaged the care and attention of individuals and societies devoted to this object, furnish no evidence of any melioration in their condition, which has resulted from the prosecution of these efforts.

The cause of this total failure cannot be attributed to the nature of the experiment, nor to the character, qualifications, or conduct, of those who have directed it. The process and the persons have varied, as experience suggested alterations in the one, and a spirit of generous self-devotion supplied the changes in the other. But there seems to be some insurmountable obstacle in the habits or temperament of the Indians, which has heretofore prevented, and yet prevents, the success of these labors. Whatever this may be, it appears to be confined to the tribes occupying this part of the continent. In Mexico and South America, a large portion of the aboriginal race has accommodated itself to new circumstances, and forms a constituent part of the same society with their conquerors. Under the Spanish *régime* they existed as a degraded cast; but still they were sedentary, living under the protection of the laws, and providing by labor for their comfortable subsistence.

In other parts of the continent, particularly in California and Paraguay, where the Spanish sway had but a nominal existence, the Jesuits succeeded in collecting the Indians into regular societies, in improving their morals and condition, and in controlling and directing their conduct. In the usual progress of conquest, where permanent possession is retained, the victors and vanquished become connected together, and if they do not form one people, they yet acknowledge obedience to the same laws, and look to them for protection. But from the St Lawrence to the gulph of Mexico, under the French, or British, or Spanish, or American rule, where is the tribe of Indians, who have changed their manners, who have become incorporated with their conquerors, or who have exhibited any just estimate of the improvements around them, or any wish to participate in them?

The interesting nature of this subject, and the views we shall present to our readers, demand, that the sources of our information should not be withheld from them. Our Indian relations generally are a concern, not of speculation, but of action; and a just and intimate knowledge of the Indians, of their mode of life, of their peculiar opinions, and of all that they feel, and suffer, and want, can only be acquired in their villages, camps, and hunting grounds. They stand alone among the great family of man, a moral phenomenon, to be surveyed and observed, rather than to be described and explained. Our personal intercourse with them has been confined almost wholly to the tribes in the Northwestern regions of the United States, to the Iroquois, the Wyandots, the Delawares, the Shawnese, the Miamies, the Kickapoos, the Sacs, the Foxes, the Potawatamies, the Ottawas, the Chippewas, the Ioways, the Menomonies, the Winebagoes, and the Sioux. Our general facts and deductions will be principally founded upon what we have seen and heard among these tribes. With the Southern Indians, the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, we have not had the same opportunities of personal communication and observation. Of the Creeks and Cherokees, however, we have some knowledge; and so far as our personal intercourse with them has extended, they presented to us the same external appearance and the same general traits of character, which elsewhere mark the race of red men. And this similarity, we may almost say identity, of appearance and character, which prevails among our Indian tribes, is not the least striking of the peculiarities which designate them as a distinct variety of the human race. Speaking languages, which, in the present state of our knowledge of them, appear to spring * from four primitive stocks, and which are broken into many different dialects, in all the essential characteristics of mind, manners, and appearance, they are one people.†

We have made the inquiry respecting the permanent advantage, which any of the tribes have derived from the attempts to civilize them, with a full knowledge of the favorable

* We mean to confine this observation to the tribes east of the Mississippi.

† This fact was known to Dr Robertson. 'The qualities belonging to the people of all the different tribes, have such a near resemblance, that they may be painted with the same features.'—*Hist. Amer.* B. IV.

reports that have been circulated concerning the Cherokees. Limited as our intercourse with those Indians has been, we must necessarily draw our conclusions respecting them from facts which have been stated to us, and from the general resemblance they bear to the other cognate branches of the great aboriginal stock. It is due to truth, that this admission should be made.

That individuals among the Cherokees have acquired property, and with it more enlarged views and juster notions of the value of our institutions, and the unprofitableness of their own, we have little doubt. And we have as little doubt, that this change of opinion and condition is confined, in a great measure, to some of the *half-breeds* and their immediate connexions. These are not sufficiently numerous to affect our general proposition; and the causes, which have led to this state of things, are too peculiar ever to produce an extensive result. An analysis of these causes is not within the task we have assigned to ourselves. They have been operating for many years, and among the most prominent of them has been the introduction of slaves, by which means that unconquerable aversion to labor, so characteristic of all savage tribes, can be indulged. And another was the great road from Natchez through their country to the states on the Ohio, along which the persons employed in the trade to New Orleans returned, before the introduction of steam navigation. Favorable positions upon this road were occupied by some of their influential men, and the scanty supplies furnished to the traveller were sold at high prices. The benefit was exclusively confined to these persons. But, we believe, the great body of the people are in a state of helpless and hopeless poverty. With the same improvidence and habitual indolence, which mark the northern Indians, they have less game for subsistence, and less peltry for sale. We doubt whether there is, upon the face of the globe, a more wretched race than the Cherokees, as well as the other southern tribes, present. Many of them exhibit spectacles as disgusting as they are degrading. Only three years since, an appropriation was made by Congress, upon the representations of the authorities of Florida, to relieve the Indians there from actual starvation.

We are as unwilling to underrate, as we should be to overrate, the progress made by these Indians in civilization and improvement. We are well aware, that the constitution of the

Cherokees, their press, and newspaper, and alphabet, their schools and police, have sent through all our borders the glad tidings, that the long night of aboriginal ignorance was ended, and that the day of knowledge had dawned. Would that it were so. None would rejoice more sincerely than we should. But this great cause can derive no aid from exaggerated representations; from promises never to be kept, and from expectations never to be realized. The truth must finally come, and it will come with a powerful reaction. We hope that our opinion upon this subject may be erroneous. But we have melancholy forebodings. That a few principal men, who can secure favorable cotton lands, and cultivate them with slaves, will be comfortable and satisfied, we may well believe. And so long as the large annuities received from the United States, are applied to the support of a newspaper and to other objects, more important to the rich than the poor, erroneous impressions upon these subjects may prevail. But to form just conceptions of the spirit and objects of these efforts, we must look at their practical operation upon the community. It is here, if the facts which have been stated to us are correct, and of which we have no doubt, that they will be found wanting.

The relative condition of the two races of men, who yet divide this portion of the continent between them, is a moral problem involved in much obscurity. The physical causes we have described, exasperated by the moral evils introduced by them, are sufficient to account for the diminution and deterioration of the Indians. But why were not these causes counteracted by the operation of other circumstances? As civilization shed her light upon them, why were they blind to its beams? Hungry or naked, why did they disregard, or regarding, why did they neglect, those arts by which food and clothing could be procured? Existing for two centuries in contact with a civilized people, they have resisted, and successfully too, every effort to meliorate their situation, or to introduce among them the most common arts of life. Their moral and their intellectual condition have been equally stationary. And in the whole circle of their existence, it would be difficult to point to a single advantage which they have derived from their acquaintance with the Europeans. All this is without a parallel in the history of the world. That it is not to be attributed to the indifference or neglect of the whites, we have already shown. There must then be an inherent difficulty, arising

from the institutions, character, and condition of the Indians themselves.

On this subject the world has had enough of romantic description. It is time for the soberness of truth and reality. Rousseau and the disciples of his school, with distempered imaginations and unsettled reason, may persuade themselves of the inferiority of civilized to savage life ; but he who looks abroad over the forests of our country, and upon the hapless beings who roam through them, will see how much they endure, that we are spared. It is difficult to conceive that any branch of the human family can be less provident in arrangement, less frugal in enjoyment, less industrious in acquiring, more implacable in their resentments, more ungovernable in their passions, with fewer principles to guide them, with fewer obligations to restrain them, and with less knowledge to improve and instruct them. We speak of them as they are ; as we have found them after a long and intimate acquaintance ; fully appreciating our duties and their rights, all that they have suffered and lost, and all that we have enjoyed and acquired.

It is not our intention to undertake a delineation of the Indian character. We shall content ourselves with sketching such features as may serve to explain the difficulty which has been experienced in extending to them the benefit of our institutions, and in teaching them to appreciate their value.

Every Indian submits in youth to a process of severe mental and corporeal discipline. During its course, frequent intervals of long and rigid abstinence are enjoined, by which the system is reduced, and the imagination rendered more susceptible. Dreams are encouraged, and by these the novice is taught both his duty and his destiny, and in them his guardian *manitou*, who is to protect him in life and attend him in death, appears in the shape of some familiar animal, thenceforth to be the object of his adoration. He is taught to despise death, and during his whole life he regards it with indifference. An Indian seldom commits suicide, not because the grave does not offer him a refuge, but because patience and fortitude are the first duties of a warrior, and none but a coward can yield to pain or misfortune. This sternness of purpose is another lesson early taught.

He learns also to despise labor, to become a warrior and a hunter, to associate the idea of disgrace with any other em-

ployment, and to leave to the women all the ordinary duties of life. He is a stern and unbending fatalist. Whatever of good or of evil may happen, he receives it with imperturbable calmness. If misfortunes press upon him, which he cannot resist, he can die ; and he dies without a murmur. The opinions, traditions, and institutions of his own tribe, are endeared to him by habit, feeling, and authority ; and from early infancy he is taught, that the Great Spirit will be offended by any change in the customs of his red children, which have all been established by him. Reckless of consequences, he is the child of impulse. Unrestrained by moral considerations, whatever his passions prompt he does. Believing all the wild and debasing superstitions which have come down to him, he has no practical views of a moral superintendence to protect or to punish him. Government is unknown among them ; certainly, that government which prescribes general rules and enforces or vindicates them. The utter nakedness of their society can be known only by personal observation. The tribes seem to be held together by a kind of family ligament ; by the ties of blood, which in the infancy of society are stronger as other associations are weaker. They have no criminal code, no courts, no officers, no punishments. They have no relative duties to enforce, no debts to collect, no property to restore. They are in a state of nature, as much so as it is possible for any people to be. Injuries are redressed by revenge, and strength is the security for right.

The faithful portrait of the Indians drawn by Dr Robertson in the fourth book of his *History of America*, is creditable alike to his industry and sagacity. It evinces the hand of a master, and we are tempted to lay before our readers a few detached extracts from that work. They delineate the red man as we have found him ; neither elevating him above his true position, nor depressing him below it ; and we bear our testimony to the general fidelity of this description. Among the authorities to which the distinguished author frequently refers, is the able and judicious historian of New France, Charlevoix.

‘What they suffer one year does not augment their industry, or render them more provident to prevent similar distresses.’ ‘Such is their aversion to labor, that neither the hope of future good, nor the apprehension of future evil, can surmount it.’ ‘All the people of America, if we except some small tribes near the Straits of Magellan, whether natives of the tor-

rid zone, or inhabitants of its more temperate regions, or placed by a harder fate in the severe climates towards its northern or southern extremity, appear to be equally under the dominion of this appetite [love of ardent spirits].’ ‘The rude Americans, fond of their own pursuits, and satisfied with their own lot, are equally unable to comprehend the intention or utility of the various accommodations, which, in more polished society, are deemed essential to the comfort of life.’ ‘This preference of their own manners is conspicuous on every occasion.’ ‘Men thus satisfied with their condition, are far from any inclination to relinquish their own habits, or to adopt those of civilized life.’ ‘Even where endeavors have been used to wean a savage from his own customs, and to render the accommodations of polished society familiar to him ; even when he has been allowed to taste of those pleasures, and been honored with those distinctions, which are the chief objects of our desires, he droops and languishes under the restraint of laws and forms, he seizes the first opportunity of breaking loose from them, and returns with transport to the forest or the wild, where he can enjoy a careless and uncontrolled freedom.’

It is easy, in contemplating the situation of such a people, to perceive the difficulties to be encountered in any effort to produce a radical change in their condition. The *fulcrum* is wanting, upon which the lever must be placed. They are contented as they are ; not contented merely, but clinging with a death-grasp to their own institutions. This feeling, inculcated in youth, strengthened in manhood, and nourished in age, renders them inaccessible to argument or remonstrance. To roam the forests at will, to pursue their game, to attack their enemies, to spend the rest of their lives in listless indolence, to eat inordinately when they have food, to suffer patiently when they have none, and to be ready at all times to die ; these are the principal occupations of an Indian. But little knowledge of human nature is necessary, to be sensible how unwilling a savage would be to exchange such a life for the stationary and laborious duties of civilized society.

Experience has shown, that the Indians are steadily and rapidly diminishing. And the causes of this diminution, which we have endeavored to investigate, are yet in constant and active operation. It has also been shown, that our efforts to stand between the living and the dead, to stay this tide which is spreading around them and over them, have long been fruit-

less, and are now hopeless. And equally fruitless and hopeless are the attempts to impart to them, in their present situation, the blessings of religion, the benefits of science and the arts, and the advantages of an efficient and stable government. The time seems to have arrived, when a change in our principles and practice is necessary; when some new effort must be made to meliorate the condition of the Indians, if we would not be left without a living monument of their misfortunes, or a living evidence of our desire to repair them.

A retrospective view of the relations which have existed between the civilized communities, planted or reared upon this continent, and the Indians, and an examination of the principles of their intercourse, may assist us in the further prosecution of this inquiry. Not that their example or authority can justify us in any system of oppression, but that maxims of jurisprudence, applied and enforced by wise and learned men, and practically adopted by the rulers of the old world for the government of the new, may be fairly presumed to be founded in the just and relative rights of the parties. If the Christian and civilized governments of Europe asserted jurisdiction over the aboriginal tribes of America, and, under certain limitations, a right to the country occupied by them, some peculiar circumstances must have existed to vindicate a claim, at first sight revolting to the common justice of mankind. And if these circumstances were not then, and are not now, sufficiently powerful to justify such pretensions, their interference was culpable, and so would be ours. The Indians are entitled to the enjoyment of all the rights which do not interfere with the obvious designs of Providence, and with the just claims of others. Like many other practical questions, it may be difficult to define the actual boundary of right between them and the civilized states, among whom or around whom they live. But there are two restraints upon ourselves, which we may safely adopt,—that no force should be used to divest them of any just interest they possess, and that they should be liberally remunerated for all they may cede. We cannot be wrong while we adhere to these rules.

The discovery of the western continent by Columbus opened to the maritime states of Europe new prospects of gain. It is well known, that their first establishments were made with a view to commerce and to the collection of gold. The system of colonization was gradually introduced, as its advan-

tages were foreseen or disclosed. At a very early period, so early in fact, that the principle itself must have existed in some shape or other in the public law of Europe, before the discovery,* it was assumed by all the nations prosecuting these voyages, that the first discoverer of unknown regions should be entitled to their permanent possession. And as has been well observed by Chancellor Kent, if this question were now open for discussion, 'the reasonableness of it might be strongly vindicated on broad principles of policy and justice, drawn from the right of discovery; from the sounder claims of agricultural settlers over those of hunters; and from the loose and frail, if not absurd title of wandering savages to an immense continent, evidently designed by Providence to be subdued and cultivated, and to become the residence of civilized nations.' †

There can be no doubt, and such are the views of the elementary writers upon the subject, that the Creator intended the earth should be reclaimed from a state of nature and cultivated; that the human race should spread over it, procuring from it the means of comfortable subsistence, and of increase and improvement. A tribe of wandering hunters, depending upon the chase for support, and deriving it from the forests, and rivers, and lakes, of an immense continent, have a very imperfect possession of the country over which they roam. That they are entitled to such supplies as may be necessary for their subsistence, and as they can procure, no one can justly question. But this right cannot be exclusive, unless the forests which shelter them are doomed to perpetual unproductiveness. Our forefathers, when they landed upon the shores of this continent, found it in a state of nature, traversed, but not occupied, by wandering hordes of barbarians, seeking a precarious subsistence, principally from the animals around them. They appropriated, as they well might do, a portion of this fair land to their own use, still leaving to their predecessors in occupation all that was needed, and more than was used by them.

* In the commission granted to the Cabots in 1496, they are authorized to discover and take possession of countries *unknown to Christian people*. And in the famous bull of Pope Alexander the Sixth, by which he gives Ferdinand and Isabella the New World, he excepts what might have been in possession of some Christian power before 1493.

† Commentaries on American Law, Vol. III. p. 312.

In the progress of society in the old world, no similar circumstances had existed to render necessary any inquiry into the relative rights and duties of a civilized and barbarous people, thus situated, or to settle the principles of intercommunication between them. The nations of Christendom agreed in the general assumption of sovereignty, and of the ultimate dominion of the soil, as the consequence of discovery ; but their farther pretensions seem to have been a matter of internal policy, depending on the peculiar views of each power. 'The relations,' says Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court, in the case of *Johnson versus McIntosh*, 'which were to exist between the discoverer and the natives, were to be regulated by themselves. The rights thus acquired, no other power could interpose between.' Many subtle questions, arising out of these undefined and sometimes undefinable relations, have been agitated and warmly discussed. The controversy at Ghent, between our Commissioners and the British, wherein the latter endeavored to justify the interference of their government in the concerns of our Indians, by a resort to abstract principles and nice investigations into the natural rights of the parties, must be within the recollection of all our readers. The American ministers, by historical deductions, and by an appeal to the uniform pretensions and practice of the British, triumphantly repelled the new, and, we may add, most mischievous claim, then first advanced. They showed, and showed conclusively, that whatever was the relative situation of the United States, and of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting their territories, it was a question affecting the parties alone ; and that all the nations of Christendom, holding colonies where any of the primitive race yet remain, had excluded, with jealous care, every other power from any interference in their affairs. And this rigid exclusion is founded in the necessary principles of self-defence, and in the facility with which the Indians yield to any persuasion or impression, coöperating with their innate love of war. Let this principle be once conceded, and its practical application established upon the borders, and the Indians taught to look across the frontier for counsel and assistance, and we may abandon all hope of tranquillity, until our power is effectually employed in breaking the connexion, and in bringing them back to their pristine relations.

The position occupied by the Indians is an anomaly in the political world, and the questions connected with it are emi-

nently practical, depending upon peculiar circumstances, and changing with them. 'It is the law of the land,' says Chancellor Kent, speaking of the titles derived from conquest and discovery, 'and no court of justice can permit the right to be disturbed by speculative reasonings on abstract rights.'* 'We do not mean to say,' observes the Supreme Court of the State of New York, 'that the condition of the Indian tribes, at former and remote periods, has been that of subjects or citizens of this state. Their condition has been gradually changing, until they have lost every attribute of sovereignty, and become entirely dependent upon, and subject to, our government.'†

Our system of intercourse has resulted from our superiority in physical and moral power. 'The peculiar character and habits of the Indian nations, rendered them incapable of sustaining any other relation with the whites, than that of dependence and pupilage. There was no other way of dealing with them, than that of keeping them separate, subordinate, and dependent, with a guardian care thrown around them for their protection.'‡ All this, and much more than this, is incontrovertible. They would not, or rather they could not, coalesce with the strangers who had come among them. There was no point of union between them. They were as wild, and fierce, and irreclaimable, as the animals, their co-tenants of the forests, who furnished them with food and clothing. What had they in common with the white man? Not his attachment to sedentary life; not his desire of accumulation; not his submission to law; not his moral principles, his intellectual acquirements, his religious opinions. Neither precept nor example, neither hopes nor fears, could induce them to examine, much less to adopt their improvements. The past and the future being alike disregarded, the present only employs their thoughts. They could not, therefore, become an integral part of the people who began to press upon them, as time and circumstances have elsewhere generally united the conquerors and the conquered, but still remained in juxtaposition, and in such circumstances as rendered inevitable a continued intercourse between them and their civilized neighbors. The result of all this was necessarily to compel the latter to prescribe, from

* Commentaries on American Law, Vol. III. p. 310.

† Johnson's Reports, Vol. XX. p. 193.

‡ Kent's Commentaries, Vol. III. p. 310.

time to time, the principles which should regulate the intercourse between the parties ; keeping in view the great objects to be attained for their mutual benefit,—that the propensity of the Indians for war should be checked, and themselves restrained within reasonable limits ; that they should be protected in all their just rights, and secured from their own improvidence, as well as from the avarice of the whites ; and that the territory should be occupied for permanent improvement, whenever it was necessary for the one party, and could be spared without injury by the other.

The nature of the title, by which the Indians held their lands, is not easily reconciled to the principles by which the tenures of this description of property are regulated among civilized nations. Mr Adams, in the argument of the cause of Fletcher and Peck, before the Supreme Court, describes it as ‘mere occupancy for the purpose of hunting. It is not like our tenures ; they have no idea of a title to the soil itself. It is overrun by them, rather than inhabited.’

In accordance with this view, the ultimate dominion of the soil was asserted, by the European powers, to attach to the sovereign making the discovery. ‘Thus has our whole country been granted by the Crown, while in the occupation of the Indians. These grants purport to convey the soil, as well as the right of dominion, to the grantees.’ ‘It has never been objected to this, or any similar grant, that the title as well as possession, was in the Indians, and that it passed nothing on that account.’* A difference is however observable among different nations possessing colonies in America, in their practical application of this claim of soil as well as of jurisdiction. The French and Spanish, following up the principle of ‘*pupilage*’ and guardianship, judged for themselves as well as for the Indians, when land was wanted by one party and could be spared by the other, and what consideration should be paid for the right of occupation. We find no evidence of any treaties of cession formed between them and the Indians, nor even of any important councils, where the subject might be discussed, and the formal assent of the possessors obtained. And if we look to the influence acquired by the French over the Indians, in every part of the continent where they pene-

* Opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, *Johnson versus McIntosh*.—Wheaton’s Reports, Vol. VIII. p. 579.

trated, to the strong ties of friendship which connected them, and to the grateful recollection which is yet cherished of the French dominion, we shall be inclined to believe, that this system of acquisition could not be unsuitable to the condition of the parties. And it is our deliberate conviction, founded on some experience, that the Indians would have been at this day happier, and would have possessed far more useful and durable memorials of their sacrifices, had the government of the United States adopted a similar plan. We are prepared to expect, that many worthy and benevolent men will be shocked at a proposition, which would leave it to one party to judge what extent of territory should be yielded by the other, and what consideration should be allowed. This sentiment, so natural in cases of ordinary contracts, is the result of an entire misconception of the moral and intellectual attainments of the Indians. An artificial standard is established, and by this their claims to self-government and self-management are most erroneously adjusted. In the ordinary arrangements of an Indian treaty, the parties are placed in the relative condition of buyer and seller. Commissioners are appointed, charged with the interests of the United States, and instructed to procure a cession of land. These commissioners, feeling like other men for the wants and privations of the Indians, and commiserating their situation, are yet required by their duty to use all just and proper methods to effect the object of their mission. If the Indians, with the reckless improvidence which belongs to the savage character, demand a large portion of the consideration immediately, this demand must be granted; and stipulations must be inserted, of little permanent advantage to them. The commissioners occupy an arduous and responsible station. It is difficult for them to fix the value of the cession. As agents of one party, it is most natural they should endeavor to enlarge the extent of the purchase, and reduce the consideration demanded for it. But as the representatives of a powerful and intelligent nation, negotiating with a feeble, depressed, and ignorant remnant of the people, who once held the whole, and yet hold a portion of the country, they cannot disregard the just claims of such a people to protection and kindness. It is probable, as these views predominate at different treaties, that the stipulations in favor of the Indians are more or less liberal. And they would doubtless still oftener assume a decided character of liberality, were not the negotiators ap-

prehensive, that their motives might be arraigned, and themselves accused of favoritism or extravagance.

But instead of this convocation of the Indians and this system of traffic, what a different scene would be presented, were Congress to investigate the necessity and circumstances of each proposed purchase, and decide the consideration which should be allowed, and the various stipulations for the protection and permanent advantage of the Indians. The discussion would take place before the nation, and the decision would be made in view of their responsibility to the public opinion of Christendom and to the judgment of posterity. Who doubts that such a process would be more just and humane, than the practice now pursued.

This practice, however, has been followed since the commencement of our national existence. Under the colonial authorities, councils were generally held by the agents of the government, at which the assent of the Indians was procured to the occupation of tracts of land, granted by the Crown. Formal treaties of cession, however, requiring the ratification of the sovereign authority, were not formed. These seem to have been introduced into the United States alone. And to their introduction may be attributed much of the difficulty which speculative men have encountered in their investigations of this subject. In the ardor of a mistaken benevolence, they have elevated these little Indian communities to an equality with the civilized governments under whose protection they live. That in relaxing the principles of intercourse which many other nations had adopted with the Indians, we have introduced a system difficult to reconcile with our preconceived notions, cannot be disputed. We negotiate treaties with them, and deny their right to enter into an alliance with any other power, or to convey their lands without the assent of our government. We pass laws to punish them for offences committed in their own country, and acknowledge their right to declare war and conclude peace. We regulate their trade, prohibit the sale of strong liquors to them, and its introduction into their country, interdict the passage of our citizens across the boundary, except for specified objects, and forbid and require many other acts to be done for their safety or our own. If we are asked to reconcile these apparent inconsistencies, with what may be termed the natural rights of the parties, or with the consequences which may be logically deduced from

the premises, the answer is obvious. Such a reconciliation is unnecessary. The Indians themselves are an anomaly upon the face of the earth; and the relations, which have been established between them and the nations of Christendom, are equally anomalous. Their intercourse is regulated by practical principles, arising out of peculiar circumstances. Every nation has prohibited the interference of all others in these concerns, and each has assumed the right to restrain the Indians, whenever or wherever the necessary operation of their institutions, or their own licentious passions would endanger the safety of the bordering parties. From Cape Horn to Hudson's Bay, there is not an established government which has not practically acceded to this principle.

In the investigation of the rights secured to the Indians by the various treaties negotiated with them, it is important that a clear conception of the prior relations subsisting between the parties should be formed. When we find the words 'lands,' 'territory,' 'hunting grounds,' &c. used in these instruments, as descriptive of interests reserved or guaranteed to the Indians, the extent of their operation must be ascertained by the principles previously or contemporaneously regulating the intercourse between them and us. No terms in these compacts could have been intended to convey the sovereignty of the territory, or the absolute dominion of the soil; for such improvident concessions would be equally inconsistent with all the legislation over them, recorded in our statute-books, and all the transactions with them recorded in our history, and with their own incapacity to protect their property from the efforts of the whites, or *themselves from themselves*. These are not questions of technical construction, to be settled by subtle arguments like too many of those in our own municipal law, but questions of fair and liberal interpretation, depending on the established rights and duties of the parties, and on their obvious intentions, deduced from the circumstances in which they were placed. These reservations and guaranties, whichever they may be, were designed to secure to the Indians their preëxisting rights, as they had enjoyed and we had acknowledged them; to secure to them the possession of their lands; that right of occupancy, which is compatible with their habits and pursuits, and with our immediate jurisdiction and ultimate domain. And this is the interest which was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of

Fletcher and Peck, to exist in the Indians, and to be consistent with the paramount claim asserted over them by the general and state governments. And it is not unworthy of remark, that this case was founded upon a grant of land, made by the state of Georgia before the extinction of the Indian title, which grant was ruled by the Court to convey such an interest to the party as would enable him to maintain a suit.

Our compacts with the Indians assume the form of solemn treaties, passing through the ordinary process of ratification. These are obligatory upon them and us, for all the purposes fairly inferable from them, and we trust they will never be violated. But because we have resorted to this method of adjusting some of the questions arising out of our intercourse with them, a speculative politician has no right to deduce from thence their claim to the attributes of sovereignty, with all its powers and duties; and to do many other acts, which would be as certainly reconcilable with the character of independence, as they would be inconsistent with their acknowledged relations to us, and numerous enactments of our own laws.

The qualified submission which we exact from them, yields to the strong claims of humanity, when by their own passions, or *external influence*, they are induced to attack our borders. We relax the stern principles of allegiance, which recognise no right in any person, subject to our jurisdiction and enjoying its protection, to take up arms against the government; and commiserating their inferiority in knowledge and in all the elements of prosperity, we consider them as enemies, and not as traitors; we summon them to the council-house, and not to the judgment-seat. Providence has placed them in contact with us, and with habits and feelings, which render their incorporation into our society impracticable. The sight of the war-flag, or the sound of the war-drum, operates instantly and intensely upon the warriors, and coinciding with their institutions and opinions, irresistibly impels them to war. And yet the merciful course of procedure towards them, which we have adopted, founded on these obvious motives, furnished the British Commissioners at Ghent with an argument to support the doctrine which they advocated, of absolute independence in our aboriginal tribes. These negotiators were bewildered in metaphysical subtilities, and in the same spirit the general subject has lately been discussed in our own country. Principles are pushed to extremes, without recollecting that our su-

pervising care and control over the Indians give us the right of conducting our intercourse with them, in such manner as may appear to us most conducive to the prosperity of both parties, and that the key to our law and practice will be found in the proposition stated by Chancellor Kent, that 'they are placed under our protection and subject to our coercion, so far as the public safety requires it, and no further.' *

A serious controversy, growing out of our relations with the Indians, has existed in the South for some years. Its progress has been observed with much anxiety in other portions of the union. We have no intention to enter into the consideration of any branch of the subject relating to the rights of the state of Georgia, or the duties of the United States, as deduced from the instrument of cession, by which that state granted her western territory to the general government. The object we have in view does not render this inquiry necessary.

But the situation of the four southern tribes, and more particularly of the Creeks and Cherokees, seems to demand a dispassionate examination; and the considerations connected with it are assuming a character of great importance, both to us and to them.

The pamphlet, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, contains a number of documents which we shall examine in the sequel. The most important are a *talk* from the President of the United States to the Creek Indians, and two letters from the Secretary of War, one to a delegation of the Cherokees, and another to the Secretary of the Society for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement of the Indians. These papers disclose the views of the executive branch of the government respecting the interesting topics connected with our Indian relations, which are forcing themselves upon the public attention, in the evidently approaching crisis of our Indian affairs.

The phraseology adopted in the talk of the President, evinces much tact, and just conceptions of the Indian mode of expression and communication. The figures are in strict accordance with Indian usage, deriving their strength from sensible objects, and appealing directly to the feelings of the Indians. The criticism, to be sure, is not worth much; but all

* Gordell *versus* Jackson. Court of Errors of New York.—Johnson's Reports, Vol. XX. p. 740.

who have been in council with them, must have observed the happy effect sometimes produced by a lucky allusion ; and considering the forced metaphors, which are *inflicted* upon us, as specimens of aboriginal eloquence, it is well, when we meet just examples of their manner of public address, to notice them.

But it is with the principles and purposes of this document, that our business lies. There is nothing diplomatic in its composition, for it is plain and direct in the views it takes, in the advice it offers, and in the purposes it avows.

The Indians are reminded of the difficulty of living in immediate contact with the white people in a state of harmony ; and the diminution and destruction of their game, and consequent distress of their people, are brought to their notice. These are the two obvious topics to be pressed upon the consideration of the Indians, and are calculated, more than all others, to produce an effect upon them. The danger of collision, to which their present situation exposes them, is practically illustrated by a demand, in this very document, of the surrender of some of their people, who, not long since, murdered one of our citizens.

The President offers them a country beyond the Mississippi, to be guarantied to them by the United States, where there can be no interfering claim, and which they can possess ‘as long as the grass grows or the water runs.’ He also promises ‘to protect them, to feed them, to shield them from all encroachment.’ He informs them, that the state of Alabama has extended its laws over them, and that those who remain must submit to their operation, but that land will be assigned to them and their families in fee.

The letter of the Secretary of War to the Cherokee delegation, is in conformity with the views taken by the President ; but the subject is more fully considered, and some topics are introduced, which are applicable to that tribe only.

This letter was in answer to a communication from the delegation, complaining that the state of Georgia had extended her laws over the tribe, and asserting an exemption from her jurisdiction, as well upon general principles as from the compacts and relations subsisting between them and the United States. In repelling this claim, the Secretary adverts to the alliance subsisting between them and the British government during our revolutionary war, and to the rights of sovereignty which, by the issue of that war, devolved upon the states of North

Carolina and Georgia.* He contends, that the lenity which was shown to that tribe when conquered in war, gave them no rights which they did not previously possess, but left them merely the occupancy of the soil as they had enjoyed it under the British authority.

He then quotes some of the provisions of the treaty of Hopewell, by which the first war between them and the United States was terminated, and deduces from the nature and stipulations of the compact, and from general principles, the conclusion, that their rights were not enlarged, but merely secured by that instrument, and that the sovereignty and ultimate domain remained in the state governments. Our own view of this branch of the subject we have already given; and if the peculiar relations subsisting between us and the Indians are not to control and regulate the construction of our compacts with them, every Indian treaty is a virtual acknowledgment of their independence, and its conclusion with them a practical recognition of their right to all the attributes of sovereignty. If their claims to establish and maintain a government, and to possess the absolute title of the land, are deducible from the course of these negotiations, or from the general nature of the instruments themselves, we have in fact abandoned all just right to restrain or to coerce them. They are as independent as we are, and can come forward and take their stations among the nations of the earth. 'I know of no half-way doctrine on this subject. We have either an exclusive jurisdiction, pervading every part of the state, including the territory held by

* The view here taken is in strict conformity with the doctrine advanced by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Johnson versus McIntosh*.—Wheaton's Reports, Vol. VIII. p. 508.

'The British government,' says Chief Justice Marshall, 'which was then our government, and whose rights have passed to the United States, asserted a title to all the lands occupied by the Indians, within the chartered limits of the British colonies. It asserted also a limited sovereignty over them, and the exclusive right of extinguishing the title which occupancy gave them.' We presume, that by the term 'United States,' the Chief Justice did not refer to the confederated government merely, but to the states individually, as well as collectively. Some of the rights of the British government passed to the states in one capacity, and some in another. And whatever may be thought of the question, which once so seriously agitated the union, respecting the right to the soil of the western lands, no one ever doubted the claim of the individual states to the land lying within these reasonable and acknowledged chartered limits.

these Indians, or we have no jurisdiction over them whilst acting within their reservations.' *

This is unquestionably the true view of the case. Our right of jurisdiction over them, founded upon the principles we have already discussed, and supported by our own practice, and by that of every nation which has extended its sway over them, is perfect. But in the exercise of this jurisdiction, a just regard is due to the relative situation of the parties, and unnecessary restraints should not be imposed upon the Indians. Of the extent and necessity, however, of these restraints, we must, from the nature of the case, be the judges. And our judgment must be pronounced with that responsibility to the public opinion of the present day, and of posterity, which forms the best security for the virtuous administration of national affairs; recollecting, that 'they are placed under our protection, and subject to our coercion, so far as public safety requires it, and no further.' † And the paramount authority must also determine the manner in which this jurisdiction shall be asserted; whether the principles to be enforced shall pass through the ordinary process of legislation, and be recorded in our statute-books, or whether they shall be submitted to, and approved by, both parties, and embodied in a treaty. We have followed each course, without any very obvious difference in the principles or objects, which sometimes appear as a municipal regulation, and sometimes as a conventional arrangement; while, we believe, all other nations adopt the '*Sic volo*,' in their communications with the aboriginal tribes. And as 'their condition is gradually changing,' ‡ the time is probably not far distant, when our practice must change, and when the legislatures must speak to them as they speak to our own citizens, in terms of authority.

* Chief Justice Spencer. Supreme Court of New York.—Johnson's Reports, Vol. XX. p. 193.

† Chancellor Kent, *ut supra*. The learned commentator, by the expression 'public safety,' did not mean to restrict this right of interference to cases involving actual danger. For we should then be left, and so would the British government, which has adopted the same course, without any justification for our laws regulating trade and intercourse with them, for the restrictions upon their power to convey their lands, and for many disabilities, or, more truly, protections, found in our statute-books. The permanent interest of both parties must be the measure of this 'public safety.'

‡ Chief Justice Spencer, *ut supra*.

But we must return to the letter which we have had under examination. The Secretary, after alluding to the rights acquired by Georgia under the cession of 1802, proceeds to consider the claim of the Indians, as expressed by themselves, to be 'unshackled' by 'the laws of the individual states, because independent of them.' And after showing the fallacy of the proposition, he states very forcibly the disastrous consequences of an interference by the President to stay the exercise of jurisdiction by the state of Georgia, even if her claim were a doubtful one. The question would be one admitting no common arbiter, and the delegation is emphatically told, that 'the President cannot and will not beguile them with such an expectation. The arms of this country cannot and will not be employed to stay any state of this union from the exercise of those legitimate powers which attach and belong to their sovereign character.' Whatever may be thought of the view of this question taken by the government, the frankness of the reply is worthy of praise. Nothing is concealed, and nothing left to conjecture. The Secretary then assures them, that the United States will afford them protection, and secure to them the occupation of their soil; that 'this is demanded by justice, and will not be withheld;' but that in 'doing this, the right of permitting to them the enjoyment of a separate government within the limits of a state, and of denying the exercise of sovereignty to that state, within her own limits, cannot be admitted.'

The subject of a removal from their present residence, and an establishment in the trans-Mississippian regions, is then introduced, and the considerations in favor of the measure are ably urged. We quote the following portions of the letter, because the views which are taken are practical and just, and are enforced in a spirit of kindness and humanity.

'The President desires me to say, that the feelings entertained by him towards your people, are of the most friendly kind; and that in the intercourse heretofore, in past times, so frequently had with the chiefs of your nation, he failed not to warn them of the consequences which would result to them from residing within the limits of sovereign states. He holds to them now no other language than that which he has heretofore employed, and in doing so, feels convinced, that he is pointing out that course, which humanity and a just regard for the interest of the Indians will be found to sanction. In the view entertained by him of this

important matter, there is but a single alternative,—to yield to the operation of those laws, which Georgia claims and has a right to extend throughout her own limits, or to remove, and by associating with your brothers beyond the Mississippi, to become again united as one nation, carrying along with you that protection which, there situated, it will be in the power of the government to extend. The Indians being thus brought together, at a distance from their white brothers, will be relieved from very many of those interruptions which, situated as they are at present, are without a remedy. The government of the United States will then be able to exercise over them a paternal and superintending care, to happier advantage; to stay encroachments, and preserve them in peace and amity with each other; while with the aid of schools, a hope may be indulged, that ere long industry and refinement will take the place of those wandering habits now so peculiar to the Indian character, the tendency of which is to impede them in their march to civilization.'

The delegation is then informed, that instructions had been given to remove from their lands certain persons, who had intruded upon them, and of whom they had complained.

The letter addressed by the Secretary of War to the Secretary of the Society for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement of the Indians, contains the same general views upon these topics as the preceding letter; with some difference, however, in the argument and illustrations, and an unequivocal disavowal of any intention on the part of the President to effect the removal of the Indians by compulsory measures. The appeal to the law and practice of other states, is strongly put, and the *reductio ad absurdum* clearly stated.

'From the conversations had with the President, recently and formally, on the subject of the Indians, I am satisfied, that no man in the country entertains towards them better feelings, or has a stronger desire to see them placed in that condition which may conduce to their advancement and happiness. But to encourage them to the idea, that within the confines of a state, they may exercise all the forms and requisites of a government, fashioned to their own condition and necessities, he does not consider can be advantageous to them, or that the exercise of such a right can be properly conceded. What would the authorities of the state of New York say to an attempt on the part of the Six Nations, to establish within her limits a separate and independent government; and yet their authority to do so would be as undeniable as that of the Creeks or Cherokees, within the territory of Georgia or Alabama. Would they agree,

that the Indian law of retaliation on the next of kin should be enforced, for the accidental killing of one of their own tribe? * Or that nothing of trade and commerce by her citizens should take place within their limits, except in conformity to the provisions of their municipal code? Would they consent to have their citizens rendered liable to be arraigned at the bar of an Indian court of justice, and to have meted out to them the penalties of their criminal code? It is obvious that no state in the union would grant such authority. Concede, however, that these Indians are entitled to be considered sovereign within their own limits, and you concede everything else as matter of consequence. Admit the principle, and all is admitted.'

We have considered these able and interesting documents at some length, because they furnish the first disclosures, which have been publicly made by the executive department of the government, of its general views of the principles and policy of our Indian intercourse, since the message of Mr Monroe to Congress in 1825, communicating his sentiments upon the same subject. They are therefore important state-papers; and the doctrine maintained, and the purposes avowed, are well worthy of an impartial examination.

Three distinct propositions are deducible from these documents.

1. A direct avowal of the right of the individual states to assert and exercise jurisdiction over the Indians living within their limits, and an explicit declaration, that the general government will not interfere to prevent the exercise of this authority.

2. A conviction that the best interests of the Indians require their removal beyond the Mississippi, where only they can expect to increase and improve, and the advice of the President to them to adopt this course without delay; in which case a suitable country will be assigned and guarantied to them, and the necessary aid furnished by the United States to enable them to remove, and to establish themselves comfortably in their new residence.

* Let the Supreme Court of the state of New York answer this apposite question. 'This statute not only asserts the exclusive jurisdiction of this state over all crimes or offences committed within the Indian reservations, but it expressly *negates* any jurisdiction to the Indian tribes to take cognizance of offences committed therein, even by those of their own tribe.'—Johnson's Reports, Vol. XX, p. 192.

3. A solemn assurance, that no force will be employed to effect their removal, and that those who decline to remove will be suffered to remain upon their lands, and protected in their right of occupation. To which may be added, that land may be laid off in fee to such families as remain, and as, we presume, may wish to receive it.

Such are the views of the American government upon this interesting topic. It is evident, from many circumstances, that the time has arrived, when some change is necessary in this branch of our policy. The public mind in our own country is agitated by the doubts and difficulties attending it; and the Indians themselves seem aware, that their fate must, ere long, be finally decided. If the subject is considered in a spirit of wisdom and moderation, that decision may lead to their ultimate prosperity.

As we have already touched incidentally upon the rights and duties of civilized states, in their intercourse with savage tribes residing within their borders, we shall not enter into a formal discussion of the subject. After a few remarks upon the general question, a reference to some authorities, and an appeal to some examples, we shall dismiss the topic.

The relations which the nations of the world bear to one another, have been deduced from general principles of expediency and natural law; discussed and illustrated by learned and able men; settled by the practice of many ages, and acquiesced in by all the governments, sufficiently advanced in knowledge and improvement to comprehend the subject and estimate its importance. Their attitude is that of entire independence, acknowledging no superiority and applying to no common arbiter. In all disputes which arise, the subject is discussed upon general principles of reason and international law; and few claims are now made or resisted, for which plausible arguments cannot be advanced by each party. If these discussions are unsuccessful, war must follow; for, as is observed by the Secretary of War, the 'sword is the alone arbiter in any community, where questions of adverse sovereignty and power are to be settled.' In the actual condition, however, of civilized states, powerful restraints are imposed upon any disposition which may exist to appeal with too much facility from reason to force. These are found in the moral sentiments of all rulers, in the acknowledged obligation of public law, in the efficacy of public opinion, in the certain in-

jury and uncertain issue of war, and to these we may add, among the nations of Christendom, the influence of the Christian religion. It is fortunate for the peace of mankind, that the general progress of improvement and diffusion of knowledge, which are now taking place, will extend the obligation of these causes, and add vigor to their operation. But there are barbarous tribes in the world, who do not feel the force of these restraints, who have neither religion nor morality, neither public opinion nor public law, to check their propensity for war; whose code requires them to murder, and not to subdue; to plunder and devastate, and not to secure. Are such tribes to be admitted into the community of nations, ignorant of everything but their own barbarous practices, and utterly regardless of their own promises, and of any higher obligations? While they occupy distant islands, or remain insulated amid the forests of an immense continent, the question is purely speculative. But when they approach a civilized region, or a civilized region approaches them, it assumes a character of great importance; and a just regard to their own safety requires the people thus brought into contact with them, to investigate and settle the principles of intercommunication. Such is and has long been the situation of the European colonies planted in America, and of the independent states which have arisen from them.

From the commencement of these settlements, a rude and barbarous people were around them and among them; a people whose only business was war and hunting; who acted from impulse more than from reason; whose customs required blood for blood, injury for injury, without looking to the intention of the party; who could not feel the obligation of general principles, nor engage in their discussion; who had no governments to guide or control them, no laws to restrain them, no officers to punish them; who had no permanent, settled residence, where they could be found, nor any property to defend; whose institutions irresistibly impelled them to war; whose young men were despised, until they had shed the blood of an enemy, and whose old men were disregarded when too feeble to pursue that enemy; who, in all their intercourse with the whites, seem to be actuated only by a fear of consequences, or by the hope of obtaining some advantage;—and it is our decided conviction, that these are the ruling motives which influence their conduct.

It is evident, that two such races cannot exist in contact, independent of each other. Their wars would soon come to be wars of extermination ; or the civilized power, gaining the ascendancy due to superiority in arms, intelligence, and improvement, would exercise a wholesome restraint over the conduct, and a general supervision over the concerns, of their barbarous neighbors. A jurisdiction of this nature is essential to the safety of both, and its extent must be determined by those who are called to exercise it. Acknowledging the force of these principles, and acting in conformity with them, we have already seen, that the various European nations, possessing colonies in America, have assumed complete authority over the aboriginal tribes remaining within their limits. And can it be doubted, if one of these tribes were placed upon the continent of Europe, that some of the surrounding powers would take it under their protection, and exercise a general superintendence over it ? And this, without their consent, or even against it, but ‘from the necessity of the case.’ Thus, without going back to the question of right derived from conquest or discovery, or resorting to the received doctrine respecting the duty of cultivating the earth, it is enough for our present view, that we are here ; and that, whether the original system of colonization were right or wrong, a just regard to the safety of both requires, that we should govern and they obey.

This general right of control is not subject to the artificial rules of construction already referred to, which too often defeat the wholesome operation of municipal law. It depends upon higher principles, and appeals to the moral sense of mankind. It is founded in what is termed, by the writers upon the law of nations, ‘the right of security.’ ‘A nation may even,’ says Vattel, speaking of the consequences of this right, ‘if necessary, put the aggressor out of the condition to injure him. He makes use of his right in all these measures, when guided by reason.’* No candid man can look back upon the history of the Indians, or survey their habits, character, and institutions, without being sensible, that they are ‘a nation of a restless and mischievous disposition,’ and that ‘all have a right to join in order to repress, chastise, and put it ever after out of its power to injure them.’

Nor can it be objected to the practical application of this

* 2 Vattel, Book ii. Chapter 4.

doctrine, that the Indians have improved in their manners and morals, and are now less disposed than formerly to molest our frontiers. Some of the most unprovoked aggressions and atrocious barbarities have been committed within a few years; and nothing but the absence of foreign aid, and the impression of our strength, prevents the renewal of the scenes at Fort Mimms, at the Maumee, and at the River Raisin.

The elementary writers of Europe have frequently discussed the questions of the relative rights and duties of civilized and savage nations, to which the discovery of the New World has given rise. And their conclusions are in conformity with the view we have presented. 'Vattel had just notions of the value of these aboriginal rights of savages, and of the true principles of natural law in relation to them. He observes, that the cultivation of the soil was an obligation imposed by nature upon mankind, and that the human race could not well subsist or greatly multiply, if rude tribes, which had not advanced from the hunter state, were entitled to claim and retain all the boundless forests through which they might wander. If such people will usurp more territory than they can subdue and cultivate, they have no right to complain, if a nation of cultivators puts in a claim for a part. Though the conquest of the half-civilized empires of Mexico and Peru was a palpable usurpation, and an act of atrocious injustice, the establishment of the French and English colonies in North America was entirely lawful; and the colonists have not deviated from the precepts of the law of nature, in confining the natives within narrower limits.' *

The same general doctrine, variously illustrated and modified, will be found in the works to which we have referred in the margin. Any of our readers, who are disposed to pursue this investigation farther, will meet with an ample field for their research in the consideration of this subject, and of the authors who have discussed it. †

In the case before referred to, of *Johnson versus McIntosh*,

* Kent's Commentaries, Vol. III. p. 313, 314.

† Penn *versus* Lord Baltimore, 1 Vesey, 445.—2 Rutherford's Institutes, 29.—Locke on Government, Book ii. Chapter 7, Sections 87, 89. Chapter xii. Section 143. Chapter ix. Sections 123, 130.—Jefferson's Notes, 126.—Colden's History of the Five Nations, 2-16.—Smith's History of New York, 35-41.—Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, l. xviii. Chapters 11, 12, 13.—Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Book v. Chapter 1.—Martens' *Law of Nations*, 67, 69.

in the Supreme Court of the United States, the Chief Justice says, that ‘the United States then have unequivocally acceded to that great and broad rule by which its civilized inhabitants now hold this country. They hold, and assert in themselves, the title by which it was acquired. They maintain, as all others have maintained, that discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title by occupancy, either by purchase or by conquest, and gave also a right to such a degree of sovereignty, as the circumstances of the people would allow them to exercise.’ *

And again, ‘But the tribes of Indians inhabiting this country were fierce savages, whose occupation was war, and whose subsistence was chiefly drawn from the forest. To leave them in possession of their country, was to leave the country a wilderness; to govern them as a distinct people was impossible, because they were as brave and as high-spirited as they were fierce, and they were ready to repel by arms every attempt on their independence. What was the inevitable consequence of this state of things? The Europeans were under the necessity, either of abandoning the country and relinquishing their pompous claims to it; or of enforcing those claims by the sword, and by the adoption of principles adapted to the condition of a people with whom it was impossible to mix, and who could not be governed as a distinct society; or of remaining in their neighborhood, and exposing themselves to the perpetual hazard of being massacred. Frequent and bloody wars, in which the whites were not always the aggressors, ensued.’ †

‘For a long succession of years,’ says the Supreme Court of New York, ‘we have exercised an entire supremacy over all the tribes within the state, and have regulated by law their internal concerns, their contracts, and their property.’ ‡

But leaving these views, founded upon principle and authority, let us inquire into the actual relations which have been established between the colonies and states of European descent, and the aboriginal tribes. And we believe it will be found, that no doubts have heretofore existed, respecting the extent of the jurisdiction they *could* exercise. The only doubt has been, how far expediency and discretion required, that jurisdiction *should* be exercised.

France, as we have already stated, never suffered her au-

* Wheaton's Reports, Vol. VIII. p. 587.

† Idem, p. 590.

‡ Johnson's Reports, Vol. XX. p. 193.

thority to be controlled or questioned by the Indian tribes. Her laws and ordinances penetrated every part of her empire in America, and the extent of their operation was only determined by the sovereign power.

Spain, as is well known, assumed an entire jurisdiction over the savages occupying the country she acquired by conquest or discovery.

‘In America every Indian is either an immediate vassal of the crown, or depends upon some subject, to whom the district, in which he resides, has been granted for a limited time, under the denomination of an *encomienda*.’ *

‘For the farther relief of men so much exposed to oppression, the Spanish Court has appropriated an officer in every district, with the title of Protector of the Indians. It is his function, as the name implies, to assert the rights of the Indians; to appear as their defender in the courts of justice; and by the interposition of his authority, to set bounds to the encroachments and exactions of his countrymen.’ †

We need not go back to our colonial history, to discover the maxims of British policy upon this subject. From one end of her empire to the other, the acts of her Parliament are supreme, and all other authority bows before them. How far that nation has extended its authority over the territories of the Indians, will be seen by the following section of an act of the thirty-first of George the Third, passed August 11, 1803.

‘That from and after the passing of this act, all offences committed within any of the Indian territories, or parts of America, not within the limits of either of the said Provinces of Lower or Upper Canada, or of any civil government of the United States of America, shall be, and shall be deemed to be, offences of the same nature, and shall be tried in the same manner, and subject to the same punishment, as if the same had been committed within the provinces of Lower or Upper Canada.’

The third section provides for the appointment of persons to issue process into any of the Indian territories, and authorizes the apprehension and conveyance to Lower Canada for trial, of any one guilty of any offence in said territories.

We imagine it would be difficult for Georgia or Alabama to pass a more comprehensive law than this, or one assuming more absolute jurisdiction.

* Robertson’s History of America, Book viii.

† Idem.

The United States have provided, by municipal regulations, the mode in which trade shall be carried on in the Indian country, in which ardent spirits shall be excluded, trespasses punished, and horses purchased. Disabilities are imposed and securities are provided, evincing alike the opinion of Congress, that they possess jurisdiction over the Indian country, and that it was expedient to exercise it. Among the most important of the latter is the clause which creates a presumption in favor of an Indian who has ever been in possession of any property, the right of which is in dispute between him and a white man. The provision also, disabling Indians from selling clothing, cooking or farming utensils, arms, &c. is in fact an important protection. The military force is authorized to aid in the apprehension of offenders.

Who doubts that the authority which could enact the following clause, could embrace within its operation the whole 'life and conversation' of the Indians, did policy or necessity require it? It is a statute of the United States, and declares, 'that if any Indian, or other person or persons, shall, within the United States, or within any town, district, or territory, belonging to any nation or nations of Indians, commit any crime, offence, or misdemeanor, &c. he shall be punished, &c. Provided that no treaty stipulation shall be affected, and that the act shall not extend to any offence committed by one Indian against another within the Indian boundary.'

Connecticut, as early as 1669, extended the punishment for murder to all Indians living within the state; and in 1675, made it penal for any Indian to be drunk. In 1717, the civil authority is required to make the Indians acquainted with the laws of the state for the punishment of such immoralities as they may be guilty of, 'and make them sensible, that they are liable to the penalties, in case they transgress the laws.'

New York, as we have seen, has expressly taken from her Indian tribes all right to try and punish their own people, and has extended her criminal code over them, and rendered them responsible to her courts, declaring, that 'the sole and exclusive cognizance of all crimes and offences committed within this state, belongs of right to the courts holden under the constitution and laws thereof, as a necessary attribute of sovereignty.'*

* Johnson's Reports, Vol. XX. p. 192.

We may safely deduce, from this cursory examination, the general principle, that civilized states have a right to extend their jurisdiction over tribes of savages living within their limits; and that in the practical application of this principle, the usage has varied from an absolute jurisdiction, leaving no distinction between Indians and other citizens and subjects, to that general supervision exercised by the United States over the more remote tribes, which leaves in full vigor all their institutions. Each state must judge for itself, how much of this authority it will relinquish or retain.

Our peculiar form of government presents for consideration one question, which cannot exist in a monarchy or in a consolidated republic. Is the jurisdiction, which we may be called upon to exercise over the Indian tribes, to be assumed by the authorities of the confederation, or of the state, within which such tribes reside? It is a question growing out of our own municipal institutions, to be determined by ourselves, in which other nations have no right to interfere, and the decision of which can give no just cause of complaint to the Indians.

We have seen that the executive department of the Union has conceded the existence of this right in the state governments, and we think a few observations will be sufficient to show, that it is a concession demanded by the principles of our government, and by the usage which has prevailed among many of the members of the confederation. In the consideration of questions involving the powers of Congress and of the state legislatures, one principle of construction seems firmly established; that the latter possess all the legislative authority which is not withheld from them, and that the former possess none which is not granted to them. The power of the states, *ex vi termini*, extends over all the persons and objects within the boundaries of the states. This power, in the words of the statute of New York already referred to, is '*a necessary attribute of sovereignty*.' Has that portion of it, which operates upon the Indians, been granted to the general government? To the constitution of the general government we must look for the resolution of this question. And the only provision we there find, relating to the Indians, is the third clause of the eighth section, which grants to Congress the power 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.' Certainly this is too narrow a foundation upon which to erect so broad a superstruc-

ture, as that which would include within it the whole of the concerns of the Indians. The regulation of commerce can by no fair interpretation include, within the sphere of its operation, all the acts and duties of life, and thus confer the power of exclusive legislation. And the less so, as the same clause extends this power of regulating commerce to the intercourse with foreign nations, and among the several states; over the former of which Congress can have no legislative power, and over the latter a legislative power in certain specified cases only.

To the general government is also given authority to 'make all needful rules and regulations respecting the *territory*, or other property belonging to the United States.' But this power has no necessary connexion with the usual process of legislation. The jurisdiction over the territory may be in the states, and the power to dispose of it in the United States. And such, in fact, is the operation of this clause.

Congress regulate as they please the disposal of the public lands, punish trespasses upon them, and have created a system for their survey and sale and settlement. But the persons living upon these lands, before their sale, are subject, as well as afterwards, to the jurisdiction of the states within which they lie.

We are aware, that the treaty-making power may affect this branch of the inquiry. Treaties have been formed by the United States with most of the Indian tribes, and it is now too late to call in question their obligation, or the power of the government to conclude them; although it is difficult to point to any provision of the Constitution, which expressly or necessarily grants this power. The practice had prevailed under the Confederation, where the grant of power, relating to the Indians, was more comprehensive than in the Constitution. Instead of regulating commerce only, it conferred upon Congress the power of 'regulating the trade and management of *all affairs* with the Indians, not members of any of the states, provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not injured or violated.'

And this practice was probably continued by the new government, from a conviction of its utility, and from the relations of peace and war, which were allowed to exist between the United States and the Indian tribes. It is another of the anomalies, of which the general subject is so fruitful. If it

were a question now to be agitated for the first time, the decision would probably be adverse to the exercise of the power. But we consider it as settled by this practical exposition, and that all the rights, secured to the Indians by these treaties, are beyond the reach of any difference of opinion, which may exist among ourselves, concerning the relative power of the various parties to our government. And if, in these compacts, any pledge has been given, that the Indians shall be exempt from the legislative authority of the states within which they live, we have only to submit to an improvident stipulation, and leave them free, whatever be the consequences. But such an assurance cannot be found. The possession of their lands is guarantied to them, and this guarantee the President has avowed his determination to respect. It will be, we have no doubt, respected by the state governments.

We have cursorily examined the statutes of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and in each of these we find laws passed to restrain or protect the Indians, founded upon the general sovereignty of the states, and upon their assumption of jurisdiction over these persons and their property. Such laws may exist in all the states. We have not been able to extend the inquiry farther.

This question of jurisdiction over the Indian tribes is now, for the first time, seriously agitated. Heretofore, no one among them, or for them, has denied the obligation of any law passed to protect or restrain them. But new circumstances have intervened, and new pretensions are advanced. A government *de facto* has been organized within the limits of the state of Georgia, claiming legislative, executive, and judicial powers, and all the essential *attributes of sovereignty*, independent of that state.

The establishment of this government, thus claiming to be independent, and the probability, that a similar policy will be adopted by the other southern tribes, by which means they may become permanently established in their present possessions, necessarily presents to the states, within whose limits they reside, a serious question for consideration. It is evident, that if this pretension be not resisted now, resistance hereafter will be in vain. It is one of those questions, eminently practical, which a few years' acquiescence would settle. What might now be the assertion of a just and proper jurisdiction by the civilized communities, might then be an unjust claim, to be enforced only by war and conquest.

We have already expressed our convictions, founded on some knowledge of the Indian character, and of the efforts which have been formerly and recently made to change their condition and institutions, that so long as they retain positions surrounded by our citizens, these efforts will be unproductive, and that the Indians themselves will decline in numbers, morals, and happiness. If 'these things are so,' no just views of policy or humanity, require on their part the assertion of such a right, or the acknowledgment of it on ours. A false conception of their own interest, or a temporary excitement, which may have operated on some of their influential men; and led to the present state of things, ought not to affect our views or decision. This demand is now made, for the first time, since the discovery of the continent. Writers upon natural law, courts of high character and jurisdiction, the practice of other nations, are all adverse to it. We can discern no advantages which either party can reasonably anticipate from such a measure.

There can be none to the Indians; for if they are anxious and prepared for a stable government, which shall protect all and encourage all, such governments they will find in the states where they reside. What has a Cherokee to fear from the operation of the laws of Georgia? If he has advanced in knowledge and improvement, as many sanguine persons believe and represent, he will find these laws more just, better administered, and far more equal in their operation, than the *regulations* which the chiefs have established and are enforcing. What Indian has ever been injured by the laws of any state? We ask the question without any fear of the answer. If these Indians are too ignorant and barbarous to submit to the state laws, or duly estimate their value, they are too ignorant and barbarous to establish and maintain a government which shall protect its own citizens, and preserve the necessary relations and intercourse with its neighbors. And if there are any serious practical objection to the operation of these laws, growing out of the state of society among the Indians, it would be easy for the state authorities to make such changes and interpose such securities as would protect them now, and lead them hereafter, if anything can lead them, to a full participation in political rights.

New York has acted upon this principle, in authorizing the Brothertown Indians to hold town meetings and elect town

officers. No doubt can exist of the disposition of the state legislatures thus to accommodate their laws to the actual condition of the Indians. And in fact it is the criminal and not the civil code, from which they have anything to fear. The former extends to them all, and at all times, and in its process, its prohibitions, and its punishments, introduces regulations utterly at variance with all they have seen, or heard, or believed. The rights and remedies, secured and provided by the civil code, would affect them less, as they have little for them to operate upon, and the obligation of a promise is not wholly unknown to them. But the experiment has already been made, in many of the states, of extending over them the action of the criminal laws, and, as we have seen, the general government has done the same, through the whole vast extent of the Indian country, however rude or barbarous may be the tribes inhabiting it, in all cases where an injury has been committed against a white man. We have yet to learn, that any injustice has resulted from this legislation.

But if it is difficult to perceive the advantages which the Indian tribes would derive from these independent governments, it is not difficult to foresee the mischiefs they would produce to the states and people, within whose limits they might be formed.

The progress of improvement would be checked. Extensive tracts of land would be held by the Indians in a state of nature. The continuity of settlements, and the communication between them, would be interrupted. Fugitives from labor and justice would seek shelter, and sometimes find it, in these little sovereignties. Questions of conflicting jurisdiction would frequently occur, not easy to be determined; for in vain might we search for principle, analogy, or precedent, by which to adjust them. There is already enough of the *imperium in imperio* in our government. Another wheel is not wanted, to render the machinery still more complicated. In the whole extent of Christendom, can a single instance be produced, where a state has voluntarily permitted, within its acknowledged boundaries, the establishment of a government, independent of, and unconnected with its own? Faithless to themselves would be those states interested in this subject, and regardless of their duties of 'self-preservation,' which, Vattel says, are obligatory upon all nations, were they to assent expressly, or by implication, to these demands.

But in the firm assertion of their rights, it becomes them cautiously and tenderly to approach this subject. The character of our country is involved in it. Many excellent men believe, that the Indians have advanced, and are advancing in knowledge and improvement, and that they have both the right and ability to reorganize their political institutions, and assume a station which shall be coequal with the state governments. Erroneous as such an opinion is, both in principle and policy, still something is due to the feelings and motives of those who entertain it. In the practical assertion of jurisdiction, which circumstances now require some of the state governments to make, their authorities will no doubt accommodate their measures to the helpless, defenceless, and sometimes, we fear, hopeless condition of the Indians; taking care that such checks and limitations are imposed, as their ignorance and the superior intelligence of the whites may render necessary.

Impressed with the conviction, that a removal from their present position and from the vicinity of our settlements, to the regions beyond the Mississippi, can alone preserve from final extinction the remnant of our aboriginal population, a number of benevolent men have associated themselves, and established a society under the appellation of 'The Indian Board, for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement of the Aborigines of America,' the objects of which are distinctly indicated by this title. The Society avows its intention to 'afford to the emigrant Indians all the necessary instruction in the arts of life and the duties of religion,' and pledges itself 'to coöperate with the federal government of the United States in its operations on Indian affairs, and at no time to contravene its laws.' The constitution and first proceedings of the society are contained in the pamphlet named at the head of this article; and the same pamphlet contains also an address from Colonel McKenney to the Society, and a letter from that gentleman to Mr Evarts, in both of which the general subject of Indian emigration is considered, and in the latter the peculiar circumstances of the Southern tribes are stated and explained.

Colonel McKenney's investigations into the condition of the Indians, and into the causes which have obstructed their advancement in civilization and religion, and have counteracted our efforts to improve them, are just and striking, and evince an intimate knowledge of their character and disposition.

‘Need I stop to demonstrate,’ he observes, ‘how utterly impracticable it is, to remodel the Indian character, and fashion it after the civilized form, situated as those tribes are within our states? Where is the example of a single transformation in a tribe, of this sort? I know of not one. But I know of many, in which, even amidst efforts the most untiring, the Indians have (although individuals have profited) disappeared; until, now, many of our states, that once swarmed with an Indian population, contain not a vestige of one. Whence comes this decay and final disappearing of the red before the white man? It comes not of the color, nor of physical nor moral malformation, nor of destiny, —but from causes the most natural, which a change in our relations to each other would work, even upon us. The elements may all be found to be in the intellectual, moral, political, and social relations which exist between them and us.’

In his Address to the society, Colonel McKenney takes a rapid glance at the efforts which have been made to meliorate the condition of the Indians. He does justice to the ardent zeal and untiring labor of ‘the Eliots, the Mayhews, and Brainerds, and Kirklands,’ and all who, before our day and in our day, have devoted themselves or their treasure to this holy work. He also does justice to the result of these efforts, when he describes them as unavailing and unproductive; having no permanent effect, and leaving no permanent memorial. His analysis of the moral and physical obstacles which have prevented success, corresponds with the view we have already presented. They are found in the recesses of the human heart, and in the external circumstances which have moulded the character of the Indian, and taught him to walk through his own world of forest and game, satisfied with himself, and dreading no evil but a change in his condition. The following considerations are stated with fairness and candor.

‘That men, and good men, should differ in their views of what ought to be done for the preservation and improvement of our Indians, is natural. We know there are men, and good men, who are opposed to the emigration of the Indians. We respect them and their motives. They seek to save and civilize these people. We profess to aim at the accomplishment of the same end, and differ only as to the mode. We once entertained similar views of this question with them, and thought it practicable to preserve and elevate the character of our Indians, even in their present anomalous relations to the states, but it was “distance that lent

enchantment to the view." We have since seen for ourselves, and that which before looked like flying clouds, we found, on a nearer approach, to be impassable mountains. We believe, if the Indians do not emigrate, and fly the causes which are fixed in themselves, and which have proved so destructive in the past, *they must perish*. We might distrust our own conclusions, though derived from personal investigation, did not experience confirm them. But alas! it is the admonition of experience, more than anything else, that claims and urges us to employ all honorable means to persuade these hapless people to acquiesce in the policy which is proposed to them.'

Colonel McKenney discloses some important facts, which would justify the interposition of the government to secure to individuals in the various tribes, disposed to emigrate, their own choice, unawed and uninfluenced.

'We esteem it to be our duty, on this occasion, to correct an error which has obtained in regard to this business of emigration. It seems to be thought by some, that the Indians are opposed to removal, and that force is meditated to be employed to compel them to go. In regard to the disposition of the *great body* of the Indians within our states, we speak advisedly when we say, they are *anxious to remove*. The present excitement is occasioned, in great part, by the opposition of those persons, whose interest it is to keep the Indians where they are. Protection has actually been sought of the government by those who wish to better their destiny, against the threats of others, in which an enrolment for emigration has been forbidden on pain of death. This may be received as the real state of the case, obtained in good part by us on personal opportunities, and from official information, confirming our observation and experience. In regard to the employment of force, to drive the Indians from the country they inhabit, so far from this being correct, they have been told by the Executive, in one of the documents read to you to-night, that if they choose to remain, they shall be protected in all their rights.'

The plan for their removal, establishment, and gradual improvement, sketched by Colonel McKenney, is just to ourselves, and liberal to them; offering a fair exchange of property, insuring present subsistence and future support, and holding out rational prospects of melioration in their external circumstances and their moral relations.

'It is proposed in the first place to give them a country, and to secure it to them by the most ample and solemn sanctions, suitable in all respects, in exchange for theirs; to pay them for all their improvements, and see them, free of cost, to their new

homes; to aid them after their arrival, and protect them; to put over them at once the frame-work of a government, and to fill this up, as their advancement in civilization may require it; to establish schools over their country, for the enlightening of the rising generation, and give them the gospel. In fine, it is proposed to place them in a territorial relation to us in all respects, and in the enjoyment of all the privileges consequent upon such a relation, civil, political, and religious. Thus will they attain an elevation to which, in their present relations, they can never aspire. And then would new influences be created, ennobling in their tendencies, and animating in their effects. Under these the Indian would rise to the distinction to which he has always been a stranger, and live and act, with reference to the corresponding honors and benefits of such a state.'

Those who have regarded with deep interest the condition of the Indians, and who doubt the issue of any attempt to save them upon their present reservations, have looked with much anxiety to the country west of the states and territories beyond the Mississippi, for a land of refuge, where this unhappy race may find rest and safety. Their misfortunes have been the consequence of a state of things which could not be controlled by them or us. Planted, as our ancestors were, in the course of Providence, upon the skirts of a boundless forest, they gradually subdued it by toil and industry. Year after year, the cultivated border advanced, bearing before it the primitive people, who would not mingle with their invaders, and who could not stop their progress. The decree had gone forth, that the race of pale men should *increase and multiply*, and they did *increase and multiply*. Who, that looks upon human life as it is, could expect, that superiority in arts, in arms, in intelligence, in all the elements of physical and moral power, would not elevate the one party and depress the other; and that this elevation and depression, rendered still more obvious by characteristic differences, could not produce the results which history has recorded? And who, under such circumstances, would impeach the motives or conduct of the adventurers or their descendants, because the people, who preceded them, disappeared or receded before the circle of civilization? Not the nations of Christendom, for they sent out their colonies to take possession of the new-found world, and to supplant its primitive inhabitants. Not the government or people of England, for their sovereigns assumed jurisdiction over immense regions, and granted them by their charters, encouraging

them in peace, protecting them in war, and extending their sway, without any regard to the imperfect right given by their mode of life to the Indians. Not the jurist, who deduces from maxims of natural law the duty of reclaiming and cultivating the earth. Not the practical politician, who surveys the principles and progress of society, satisfied with their operation, and with the circumstances which control it. The testimony of Vattel is too honorable to the character of the first occupants of our country to be withheld. 'People have not then deviated from the views of nature, in confining the Indians within narrower limits. However, we cannot help praising the moderation of the English Puritans, who first settled in New England [and he might have added, the first settlers of the other colonies], who, notwithstanding their being furnished with a charter from their sovereign, purchased of the Indians the lands they resolved to cultivate. This laudable example was followed by Mr William Penn, who planted the colony of Quakers in Pennsylvania.' *

For many years after the first settlement of the country, the colonists were engaged in the duty of self-preservation, and they had neither leisure nor inclination coolly to examine the condition of the Indians, and investigate the causes of their degradation, and the mode by which they might be counteracted. And when they began to survey the subject, the facts were not before them, as they are before us. That the Indians were borne back by the flowing tide, was evident; but that this tide would become a deluge, spreading over the whole country, and covering the summits of the loftiest mountains, could not be foreseen, and was not anticipated. Nor was it known, that these people were incapable of permanent improvement, upon fixed reservations, within the limits of the civilized country. The duty, therefore, of providing a residence for them, where they could say to this ocean, heretofore as irresistible as the great deep itself, 'Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther,' neither the government nor the people understood. The infant communities became powerful colonies; the colonies, independent states, and these states a great empire. Their boundaries were established, and their jurisdiction was granted or assumed. New territories, and eventually new states, were formed, each looking to its own political advance-

* Vattel, Book i. Chapter 18.

ment, and to the extension of population and cultivation over its dominion, with an anxiety as natural and salutary, as that which impels individuals onwards in the strife for wealth and influence. And now, when we begin to suspect, that the white man and the red man cannot live together, we find no country where we can plant, and nourish, and protect those children of misfortune, until we pass the farthest limits of the governments formed beyond the Mississippi. There is a region belonging to the United States, admirably adapted to the situation and habits of the Indians, where no state authorities have, or can have jurisdiction, and where no attempt will be made to disturb or molest them. Because no permanent barrier has heretofore been raised between them and us, let it not be supposed, that a country, occupied by them and guaranteed to them, upon the Red river and the Arkansas, would not secure them from future demands. There would be neither local government nor people to urge the extinction of their title. No claim could be interposed to conflict with theirs. And if, in the course of ages, our population should press upon that barrier, it would be after the Indians had acquired new habits, which would cause our intercourse to be without danger to them and without pain to us, or after they had yielded to their fate and passed the Rocky Mountains, or disappeared. These are events too remote to influence any just view of this subject.

In 1825, Mr Monroe, then President of the United States, submitted to Congress his own views and those of Mr Calhoun, then Secretary of War, on the condition and prospects of the Indians, with a plan for their transmigration and for their permanent settlement in a new region. These eminent statesmen, in looking back upon the history, progress, and consequences of our intercourse with them, could discover no prospect of their preservation and improvement but in a retreat beyond a fixed and stationary boundary, where they might be relieved from that ceaseless pressure, which, like an incubus, paralyzes their exertions, and where our citizens could neither mingle with, nor surround them. 'Under the operation of existing causes,' says Mr Calhoun, 'they behold the certain degradation, misery, and even final annihilation of their race, and no doubt would gladly embrace any arrangement which would promise to elevate them in the scale of civilization, and arrest the destruction which now awaits them.' Mr Monroe is equally

decided in the avowal of his opinion. 'Experience,' he says, 'has clearly demonstrated, that, in their present state, it is impossible to incorporate them, in such masses, in any form whatever, into our system. It has also demonstrated, with equal certainty, that without a timely anticipation of, and provision against, the dangers to which they are exposed, under causes which it will be difficult, if not impossible to control, their degradation and extermination will be inevitable.'

The plan, thus enforced, and ably supported and illustrated, has been so long before the public, and is so well known, that we shall merely state its outlines; referring such of our readers as feel interested in the subject, and are ignorant of its details, to these valuable state-papers, equally conspicuous for the soundness of their views and for the spirit of humanity in which they are conceived.

Briefly then, it was proposed, that negotiations should be opened with the various tribes east of the Mississippi, for the purpose of explaining to them the views of the government, and procuring their assent to a removal west of that river; that ample means should be provided for their support, both on the journey and during a reasonable period after their arrival in their new country; that a sufficient extent of suitable territory should be assigned and guarantied to them; that a government should be provided for them, to the administration of which they should be admitted, as soon as they were fitted, from time to time, for that duty, by education and habits; and that a system of education, looking to their eventual emancipation from the thralldom of their ignorance and prejudices, and their participation in the advantages of civilization and religion, should be adopted and vigorously supported.

Nothing can evince more strongly the tender caution with which Congress approaches the subject of our Indian relations, than the delay which even the consideration of this project has encountered. Five years have elapsed, since, by an executive Message, it was spread before the national legislature and the country, and it has not yet been formally considered. Were we justly liable to the serious charges which have gone forth against us in some of the foreign journals, of indifference to the situation of the Indians, and of a desire to oppress them, the subject would long since have been disposed of. But it is because we are not indifferent, and because, we say it in a spirit of submission to the feelings of others, a false humanity

has led us to postpone taking those decided measures which, the experience of every year proves more and more, can alone meet the exigencies of the case, and rescue the Indians from inevitable destruction. We have ourselves felt doubts upon this interesting subject, and we felt them when this project was first conceived and communicated. But they have gradually given way before the experiments we have seen, and before the imposing circumstances which have gathered and are gathering around this controversy.

Again we have the sanction of an executive recommendation of the same measure, supported in like manner by the views and illustrations of the present Secretary of War. To the duties and high responsibility of Mr Monroe, the President adds an intimate knowledge of the Indians, of their habits, character, and condition, acquired during many years' intercourse with them, while ably and faithfully serving his country in high civil and military stations. The opinions of such a man, given under such circumstances, are entitled to great consideration.

On one point only has he proceeded farther than Mr Monroe, and that is, in the unequivocal avowal of his opinion, that the states can extend their jurisdiction over all persons living within their boundaries, and an explicit declaration, that the Indians will not be supported by the United States in any efforts to resist this procedure. And who does not see, that the time has arrived, when this question must be fairly met? The interval, which has elapsed since the promulgation of Mr Monroe's views, has been pregnant with events deeply interesting to the parties, whose relative rights and duties are involved in this controversy. The Cherokee government is acquiring the sanction of time, and their claim has assumed a definite shape. The laws of Georgia will operate upon them on the thirtieth of June next, and their chiefs have formally appealed to the general government for protection against this measure, urging their claim to be independent of that state, and affirming, that this act is to be viewed 'in no other light, than a wanton usurpation of power, guarantied to no state, neither by the common law of the land, nor by the laws of nature.'

It was necessary that this appeal should be answered. And it has been answered, as we have seen, in a spirit of just regard to the Indians and to the rights of a member of the confederacy. And what rational man could expect any other an-

swer? Is the general government to interpose the arm of power between the state of Georgia or Alabama, and the assertion of rights essential to their 'attributes of sovereignty?' A President of the United States would assume a fearful responsibility, who should thus employ the force of the Union. It would be presumptuous to say, that such a case can never occur. But we may safely predict, that when it does come, it will shake the confederacy to its centre, and that a foreign war would be light in the balance, compared with such a fearful calamity. And who does not see, that in this contest for sovereignty, the uncivilized tribes must yield? Do not truth and humanity equally require the declaration of this fact? There is no mercy in suffering these Indians to believe, that their pretensions can be established and their independent government supported. In the actual state of the world, none but an enthusiast can expect or hope for the success of such a scheme. We have long passed the period of abstract rights. Political questions are complicated in their relations, involving considerations of expediency and authority, as well as of natural justice. If the laws of the various states, founded essentially upon the English common law, modified by our peculiar circumstances, and administered in a spirit of fidelity and impartiality, which even in this land of violent political feuds, has left the judiciary without suspicion, excite the apprehensions of the Indians, and if they are anxious to escape from their operation and establish governments for themselves, ample provision has been made for their gratification. A region is open to them, where they and their descendants can be secured in the enjoyment of every privilege which they may be capable of estimating and enjoying. If they choose to remain where they now are, they will be protected in the possession of their land and other property, and be subject, as our citizens are, to the operation of just and wholesome laws.

We cannot enter into a full examination of the effect of planting colonies of Indians in the Western regions. From the retrospective view furnished by their history, it is evidently the only means in our power or in theirs, which offers any probability of preserving them from utter extinction. As a *dernier resort* therefore, apart from the intrinsic merits of the scheme itself, it has every claim to a fair experiment. But when viewed in connexion with the peculiar notions and mode of life of the Indians, the prospect it offers is consolatory to every

reflecting person. Upon this subject we shall adduce the opinion of an able and dispassionate laborer in the great field of aboriginal improvement. The reverend Mr McCoy has for many years devoted himself with an industry, equalled only by his zeal and disinterestedness, to the life and labor of a missionary. Ten years since, he commenced a school for the instruction of youth, at Fort Wayne in Indiana, but the progress of the settlements soon compelled him to retire, and he removed his establishment to the St Joseph of Lake Michigan. He here founded an institution for the benefit of the Indians, and adopted a course of procedure well calculated to be permanently beneficial to them. The youths were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and also agriculture, the mechanic arts, and domestic duties. Their mental discipline, moral advancement, and progress in the business and occupations of life, went on together. The principal and his coadjutors were indefatigable in their application, and sanguine in their expectations, and for a time everything promised success. And we ourselves, from a personal examination of the establishment, augured favorably of its permanence and usefulness. We have never seen a similar institution managed with more purity or judgment. But the novelty soon wore off, the Indians became dissatisfied, the institution has declined, and Mr McCoy is convinced, that nothing but removal, and speedy and entire removal, can save from utter ruin those who have been taught, or those who are untaught. During the year 1828, he repaired to the country west of the Mississippi, to examine its adaptation to the purposes of the Indians, and has returned, satisfied with the prospect it offers. He is now directing his efforts to procure their emigration. Such a man has a right to speak upon this subject, and we shall quote some passages from an interesting pamphlet he has published.

‘ You have your missionaries at Gayhead, Stockbridge, Brothertown, Oneida, among the Tuscaroras, Tonnewantas, Senecas, Wyandots, Ottawas, Potawatamies, Miamies, &c.; but the most they can do in the present posture of affairs, is to soften, as it were, the pillow of the dying. They have been instrumental in benefiting a few; nevertheless, in a national point of view, all these tribes, as well as others near at hand, west of Lake Michigan and west of the Mississippi river, continue to dwindle,—they are positively perishing, and perishing rapidly.

‘ Through the instrumentality of your missionaries, some of

the natives, no doubt, have become pious, and have gone, or will go, to a better country in the heavens, where their condition will be ordered by principles, very different from those which have governed the conduct of men towards them while upon earth. A few have acquired some knowledge of letters and of labor; so far, this is well. But let none imagine, that these tribes and many others are, as tribes, improving their condition generally. I say it without fear of contradiction, that their condition is becoming more and more miserable every year. I repeat it,—*they are positively perishing.*'

'It is a lamentable truth, that the evil [the use of ardent spirits] increases annually, and occasions a fearful waste of human life. As a specimen, take the following. In the fall and winter of 1825—6, in the neighborhood of the Carey Missionary Station, near Lake Michigan, twenty-five Indians were either directly murdered by the hands of their own people, or otherwise *lost their lives by drunkenness.*'

'I took the liberty, not long since, of suggesting, that the condition of these small bands, who are on little reservations in New England, New York, and Ohio, surrounded by white population, is worse than that of those who have more latitude on our frontier. It is probable they may be more plentifully supplied with food and raiment, but I have no hesitation in repeating, that their numbers decrease faster than those of the other tribes; and that they are more debased in principle, and positively more worthless, than those with whom I am comparing them. This sentiment is the result of my own personal observation, as well as of the concurrent testimony of the most authentic information.'

'But we say, that their depravity and sufferings have been increased by our proximity to them, and their hopes cut off by our policy. They are too deeply sunk in the mire, to be able to extricate themselves. It therefore rests with us to say, whether they shall be left to perish, or whether they can be or shall be "taken out of the horrible pit and miry clay, and set upon a rock, and their goings established,"—or rather, they established in a home which they can call *their own.*'

'But let the policy of our government, in relation to them, continue as it has been and as it now is, and with the exception of the Cherokees* and their immediate neighbors, I know of no tribe, nor part of a tribe, no, not one, within, or near to all the frontiers of Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, or

* Mr McCoy is ignorant of the actual state of things among the Cherokees, and of the utter poverty and misery, and we may add, oppression, of the great body of these people.

Ohio, not one of those bands on small reservations in New York or New England, of whom we can indulge any better hope than that of their total extermination. Even over those, whom we have excepted above, a gloomy cloud is gathering, of which we shall speak hereafter.

‘I fear the public are not fully aware of this fact, especially the Christian public, who would more especially shudder at the thought, and who have been hoping for better things. I fear too, that missionaries are sometimes afraid to tell the worst part of the story, lest the benevolent societies and individuals, who patronize the missions, should become discouraged, and decline the undertaking. I know that there cannot exist with them any sinister motive to such a forbearance, because their labors, the labors of their whole lives, are gratuitously devoted to this enterprise. But they have been eye-witnesses of Indian wickedness and sufferings. They have heard fathers begging them to have mercy on them and their offspring, and entreating them not to forsake them; they have seen the mother digging roots for her children, and have beheld the emaciated frames of those who, in winter, had lived weeks upon acorns only, or who, in summer, had fed for days upon boiled weeds alone. They have heard the cries of children suffering with hunger, and seen the frozen limb of the half naked sufferer.’

Although we do not coincide with Mr McCoy in all the opinions advanced by him, particularly in his views of some of the more prominent obstacles which have impeded, or rather prevented, the progress of the Indians in civilization and improvement, yet in his general statement of their condition, and the utter failure of our hopes and efforts, we unite our testimony with his; as we do also, when he urges the necessity of removal, of speedy and entire removal, if a remnant of this race is to be saved. Mr McCoy, from personal observation, describes the country west of Missouri and Arkansas, as suitable for the colonization and permanent residence of the Indians. ‘This country,’ he says, ‘is generally high, healthy, rich, its extent adequate to the purposes under consideration, and the climate desirable.’ He approves the general plan originally submitted by Mr Monroe and Mr Calhoun, and recommended anew by the present Executive and the Secretary of War, of removing, with their own consent, the various tribes to that region, and establishing over them such a government as will protect, and restrain, and improve them. The details of such a plan he considers at length, obviating the objections which may be urged against it, and stating and explaining the

considerations immediately or remotely favorable to its adoption. The length of our article already warns us, that we have neither time nor space to devote to this branch of the subject. And it is the less necessary, because the first object is to satisfy the country, the government, and the Indians, that this great measure of removal is the only remedy for the evils which we have depicted. And if the conviction of its importance should lead to its adoption, and to the voluntary acquiescence of the Indians, it would be easy to regulate hereafter the practical details of the subject, and to accommodate them to the progress and prospects of the migrating colonists and of the permanent settlements formed by them.

We have been led, in the preceding discussion, to a general consideration of the complicated relations, subsisting between the United States in their federative and their individual characters, and the various Indian tribes which yet survive to demand their care and protection. We trust that our sentiments upon one branch of this subject will not be misunderstood. In asserting the ultimate title of the general or state governments to the land lying within their respective jurisdictions and occupied by the Indians, we interpose no claim to the possession, without their free consent. And for all useful purposes, this is the only interest they can enjoy ; particularly as their right of disposal is restricted to a sale to the proper government, or to those to whom the right of purchase has been assigned. We have presented our views and illustrations of this subject, not because the Indians can be practically affected by it, but because it involves interesting considerations, both historical and juridical, and meets the objections of speculative writers who maintain the absolute title of the Indians, and seem disposed to carry this claim to its legitimate consequences ; to the right of conveyance, whensoever and howsoever they may feel disposed to exercise it.

Since our first intercourse with the aborigines, they have generally been ready to cede this possessory interest, as fast as it was required by our advancing settlements. Had it been otherwise, and had they been determined to retain extensive regions, out of all proportion to their numbers and wants, our ancestors would have been driven to a practical recognition of the doctrine asserted by the elementary writers, and taken such districts as were necessary for the relief of a superabundant population. It is not now probable, that this question can

ever present itself for actual solution. But there is another, the consideration of which is perhaps much nearer, and which we may soon be required to discuss and decide. That a considerable portion of the Southern tribes has been restrained by fear from acceding to the propositions for a cession and emigration, is evident from the statement made by Colonel McKenney, already quoted, from the murder of McIntosh, from some sanguinary regulations which the men of influence have adopted, and from many circumstances that have found their way to the public. In the civil polity of the Cherokees, and, we believe, of the Creeks, as now established, there seems to be a severity of property among themselves, regulated we know not how, and a community of property with respect to the federal and state governments. Cessions can only be made in a pre-established manner; and the principles of Draco are revived in these little communities, by the terrible punishments annexed to a violation of this regulation, which will no doubt be enforced with as little compunction as it has been prescribed. But why should a community of property be allowed for this purpose and for no other? Why should not a part of the population be permitted to cede their interest to the government, and receive an equivalent in other regions, where they may anticipate a comfortable support and a permanent establishment? Must they be anchored to a soil which they are desirous of leaving, and where they are poor and depressed, because a few powerful chiefs choose to be surrounded by abject dependents, rather than be brought into contact with our citizens, and subjected to the operation of just and equal laws? We state the case plainly, as we are satisfied the truth demands. Let the son of the Big Warrior enjoy in peace and security the six-score slaves and the fifty thousand dollars, he is reported to have inherited from his father; and let the other chiefs, both among the Creeks and Cherokees, whom it would be invidious to mention, possess in like manner the property they have acquired, whether in money, in slaves, or in valuable improvements. But let those, who have not been and cannot be thus fortunate, go to the Western regions, if they desire to go; not in abject poverty, suffering and dying on the way, but after having yielded their interest in their ancient possessions for a valuable consideration, and obtained another in their new; and obtained also the means of subsistence on the route, and after their arrival and permanent establishment.

Let the right thus acquired by the government, and the right remaining to those who choose to stay behind, be equitably divided. There would be no difficulty in a partition upon just principles. If one moiety be prepared to go, let a moiety of the land be assigned to the State or the United States; and if one fourth, let a fourth be assigned; and if only one man is anxious to change his residence and attempt to meliorate his condition, for ourselves we can see no objection to the purchase of his interest, and to its partition from the general stock, whenever the government may deem such a measure expedient.

It is idle to meet this proposition by the assertion, that the Cherokee or other Indian authorities have prohibited this course of procedure, and would visit it with the punishment of death, and that they have a right to enforce their own regulations in their own way. In the actual state of things, they have no such right. The attempt itself is an omen unfavorable to their future prosperity. If their first essay in the science of government is to sink a tomakawk into the heads of all their people who may endeavor to relinquish their present possessions, and migrate where they can acquire others, which may, or may be supposed to be, better, it is time that the paramount authority should interfere and abolish institutions thus written in blood. The mode of acquiring the possessory right of the Indians is a question of expediency and not of principle. Far be it from us to advocate any proposition, which would divest them unjustly of the smallest interest, to which they are entitled. But we propose that their interest should be rendered more secure and more valuable, by assigning to every one, a separate share, and the power to retain or to cede it; and this might essentially aid the whole and could injure none. It would insure to each a just compensation, and would put an end to that system of gratuities and annuities, which all, who have eyes to see and ears to hear, must be sensible, has been so grossly abused by many of the chiefs of the southern tribes, and has rendered them rich and their countrymen poor. And it would put an end to influence unjustly acquired and unjustly exerted.

This view is distinctly stated by Mr Jefferson in his talk to the Cherokees in 1809. 'When this party shall have found a tract of country suiting to the emigrants and not claimed by other Indians, we will arrange, with you and them, the exchange

of that for a just portion of the country they leave, and *to a part of which, proportioned to their numbers, they have a right.*' And in the treaty concluded at the Cherokee agency, July 8, 1817, this principle of a division of the community and a partition of the land, was substantially adopted, and a provision made for its practical application and adjustment. The assent of the whole tribe was given to that measure. But if that assent is now withheld whenever any of their people are desirous of passing over the Mississippi, the freedom of choice and action should be assured to them, and their interest fairly purchased, and equitably separated from the common stock.

But after all, it cannot be denied and ought not to be concealed, that in this transplantation from the soil of their ancestors to the plains of the Mississippi, some mental and corporeal sufferings await the emigrants. These are inseparable from the measure itself. But by an appropriation liberally made, and prudently applied, the journey may be rendered as easy for them, as for an equal number of our own people. By a continuation of the same liberality, arrangements may be made for their comfortable support, after their arrival in the land of refuge, and until they can accommodate themselves to the circumstances of their situation; until they can secure from the earth or the forests, the means of subsistence, as they may devote themselves to the pursuits of agriculture or of the chase.

The amount of the expenditure necessary for their migration and establishment is not a subject for serious consideration. All should be given, and all no doubt will be given, that can be reasonably employed in their comfortable support. It is not a question of profit or loss, but a great question of national policy, involving the rights and feelings of those, from whom we have obtained much, and for whom we have done little.

Providence, for wise purposes, has given to us, in common, principles of association which bind us together and connect us with the land of our birth, and with those who have inhabited it before us. These associations of time and place belong to the human family. 'Bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt,' said the Patriarch who had gone down to live and die with his son; 'but I will lie with my fathers, and thou shalt carry me out of Egypt and bury me in their burying-place.' And from the earliest migration of a community recorded in profane history, to the latest that has occurred in our own day,—from the going

forth of the remnant of Troy, to the abandonment of Parga, when her whole people went out houseless and homeless, leaving the waning crescent to glimmer over a deserted region,—the feelings of the exiles have been expressed by the Trojan leader ;

‘Litora tum patriæ lacrymans portusque relinquo,
Et campos ubi Troja fuit.’

Although the Indians are migratory in their habits, yet their local attachments are strong and enduring. *The sepulchres of their fathers* are as dear to them, as they ever were to the nations of the East. Those ties have bound them to their native regions longer and stronger than any other or all other considerations. Now, when the time of severance has approached, we owe it to them, to ourselves, to the opinion of the world, that the process should be conducted with kindness, with liberality, and above all, with patience. The assurance of the Secretary of War ‘that nothing of a compulsory course to effect the removal of this unfortunate race of people has ever been thought of by the President, although it has been so asserted,’ is honorable to the government, and consolatory to those who are looking with most solicitude to the condition of the Indians. The intimation of the Secretary that the object of the President was ‘to explain fully to them and to the country, the actual ground on which it was believed they were rightly entitled to stand,’ is equally in accordance with justice, policy, and the public feeling.

This is the course we had a right to expect, and to which there can be no just objection. Let the whole subject be fully explained to the Indians. Let them know that the establishment of an independent government is a hopeless project ; which cannot be permitted, and which, if it could be permitted, would lead to their inevitable ruin. Let the offer of a new country be made to them, with ample means to reach it and to subsist in it, with ample security for its peaceful and perpetual possession, and with a pledge, in the words of the Secretary of War, ‘that the most enlarged and generous efforts, by the government, will be made to improve their minds, better their condition, and aid them in their efforts of self-government.’ Let them distinctly understand, that those who are not disposed to remove, but wish to remain and submit to our laws, will, as the President has told the Creeks, ‘have land laid off for them and their families, in fee.’ When all this is done, no

consequences can affect the character of the government, or occasion regret to the nation. The Indians would go, and go speedily and with satisfaction. A few perhaps might linger around the site of their council-fires; but almost as soon as the patents could be issued to redeem the pledge made to them, they would dispose of their possessions and rejoin their countrymen. And even should these prefer ancient associations to future prospects, and finally melt away before our people and institutions, the result must be attributed to causes, which we can neither stay nor control. If a paternal authority is exercised over the aboriginal colonies, and just principles of communication with them, and of intercommunication among them, are established and enforced, we may hope to see that improvement in their condition, for which we have so long and so vainly looked.

ART. IV.—*An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova-Scotia, in two Volumes, illustrated by a Map of the Province, and several Engravings.* By THOMAS C. HALIBURTON, Barrister at Law, and Member of the House of Assembly of Nova-Scotia. Halifax. 1829. 8vo.

MR. HALIBURTON, the author of these volumes, we understand, is a citizen of Annapolis in Nova-Scotia, a young lawyer of respectability, and a member of the House of Assembly. He has given us a history and description of his native province, which not only do great credit to himself, and to Nova-Scotia, but will safely bear a comparison with any of the works of a similar kind, that have appeared in the United States. Making use of Mr Haliburton's work, and of some little knowledge derived from personal observation, we will proceed to lay before our readers a few particulars respecting that province.

The continent or mainland of North America was discovered by Sebastian Cabot. He first descried land on the twenty-fourth of June, 1497. There is reason to believe, that the point which he then made was a part of Nova-Scotia. More than seventy years, however, elapsed before any attention was paid by England to the discovered territory.

In 1578, Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert a patent for discovering, occupying, and peopling such portions of it as were not at that time possessed by Christian people. He sailed from England on the eleventh of June, 1583, and arrived at Newfoundland on the eleventh of July. He took formal possession of the whole country as the representative of the English sovereign. Sir Humphrey Gilbert set sail on his return during the month of August of the same year. The vessel in which he embarked foundered at sea, and every soul on board perished. In the year 1607, Sir John Gilbert, although far advanced in years, in prosecution of his brother's enterprise sailed for America. He arrived at the mouth of the Kennebec River; but his fate was equally disastrous with that of Sir Humphrey. Having commenced a settlement upon that river, he fell a victim to the severities of the succeeding winter. This melancholy event broke up the colony, and the people all returned to England entirely disheartened. The discovery by Cabot, the formal possession taken by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the actual residence of Sir John Gilbert, are the grounds upon which Great Britain places her original right to her North American possessions.

In the mean time the French had undertaken many voyages, for purposes of trade, to different parts of the coast; and in the year 1598, a formal attempt at colonization was made by them under the direction of the Marquis de la Roche. He attempted a settlement upon the Isle of Sable, which is thirty-five leagues from the main land, or from any other island. It is a dreary and solitary spot, far out in the ocean, barren and uninhabitable, covered with briers, sand hills, and small fresh-water ponds. Its length is thirty miles, and its breadth not more than one and a half. It presents the shape of a bow. It seems to answer no other purpose than to afford a sporting ground for seals, and other marine animals. It is covered with a race of exceedingly wild horses, and has heretofore been infested by large numbers of ferocious hogs, which are now, however, exterminated. This desolate reef of sand, has been the grave of innumerable mariners. The government of Nova-Scotia support a family upon it, and provide them with the means of affording the requisite aid and supplies to wrecked vessels and their unfortunate crews. This ocean-desert having been absurdly selected as its site, it followed of course that the colony of the Marquis de la Roche soon came to a miserable end.

In 1603 Monsieur de Monts was appointed by Henry the Fourth, governor general of the country. On the seventeenth of March, 1604, he sailed from Havre de Grace, accompanied by Champlain, afterwards celebrated as the founder of Quebec, be Poutrincourt, and by other gentlemen volunteers and adventurers. After having explored the outer shore of Nova-Scotia, they sailed up the Bay of Fundy; and entering a strait, found themselves enclosed in a spacious and beautiful bay. So delightful was the scene around them, that Poutrincourt determined to establish himself there; and having received a grant of it, he called it Port Royal.

It is not surprising that its first visiters were so much charmed by the aspect of this place. As the voyager is coasting along the bold and elevated shores of the southeastern side of the Bay of Fundy, he is suddenly brought to a narrow passage through which the tides rush with great violence and rapidity; the banks rising on either side, with almost a perpendicular ascent, to a mountainous height. In a few minutes he is swept through into a wide, calm, and sheltered bay, large enough, it would seem, to hold the navies of the world. The circuit of the horizon is traced on every side by ridges of mountains, richly wooded to the very summit; the lowland is spread out in wide prairies; and there is no visible outlet to the sea, the narrow strait being entirely concealed by the projecting hills and lofty forests. At the head of this noble harbor, the Annapolis River, after having flowed through an extended valley of uncommon beauty and amenity of aspect, and watered as rich a soil as any in this part of the continent, alternately pours itself forth in a rapid current with the retreating, or yields to the irresistible pressure of the advancing tide. Here, in 1605, was laid the foundation of the first permanent settlement in all British North America.

Under the name of Port Royal, this ancient town was the scene, for more than a hundred years, of the most interesting and romantic military adventures and vicissitudes. And now under the name of Annapolis Royal, two centuries and a quarter from its foundation, it presents, in its beautiful and expansive scenery; in its apparent seclusion from the world; in its historical recollections; in its ancient fortresses, its deep and verdant moat, and narrow draw-bridge, and mouldering batteries; in its rich and prosperous back country; in its peaceful tranquillity; and above all, in its amiable and intelligent

gent population, one of the most interesting villages in North America. It is probable that no place in the new world has passed through so many and so remarkable changes, as the little town of Annapolis. It was twice deserted by its inhabitants in the earliest years of its history ; it has been invested by hostile forces ten times ; five times had it surrendered to the prowess of the English, and again been restored to France, when by the treaty of 1713, it was finally ceded to Great Britain. It has repulsed five assaults ; the Indians having invested it unsuccessfully three times, and the French twice.

Louisburg, so celebrated in American history, is within the limits of the Province of Nova-Scotia. It is memorable as having been the scene of two remarkable sieges ; and its fortifications were so skillfully arranged, and combined great advantages of position with such formidable batteries, that it was for a long time considered as impregnable. It was reserved however for New-England troops, provincial and undisciplined, to remove this impression. It was an army from Massachusetts and the surrounding provinces, that first bid defiance to all its artillery and surmounted all its intrenchments ; an army, as Mr Haliburton happily observes, composed of husbandmen and merchants, and pursuing its operations in conformity to a plan which was projected by a lawyer ! The first reduction of Louisburg by the New-England yeomanry has justly been regarded as one of the most daring and brilliant military achievements on record. It was besieged again, some years afterwards, by a large army of British regulars and a powerful fleet, and was once more captured. Great skill and courage were displayed on this occasion also.

This place, so famous in the annals of colonial warfare, where the hardy inhabitants of New England prepared themselves, as in a school, for the gallant part which they were afterwards called to bear in the conquest of Quebec, and finally in the war of their own independence, is at present nearly destitute of inhabitants ; a few fishermen pursue their humble calling on its banks, but its massive fortifications are all demolished, and its lofty towers are reduced to a level. There is a sublime and affecting contrast between the desolation, which now marks its unpeopled site, and the proud armies that once shone on its ramparts, and busy crowds that once thronged its streets ; between the deep silence which broods over its unruffled harbor, and the thunders which were wont to burst along its bosom from embattled navies.

The most remarkable event in the history of Nova-Scotia is the seizure and transportation of the Acadians. The fortune of war had often thrown this province into the hands of the British, previous to its final surrender to them by treaty. Circumstances, however, of various kinds, had prevented its colonization by English people. The French were the first occupants, and had established themselves wherever an opening had been made into the wilderness; and the strong antipathy, incidental to the rivalry between these two nations, rendered the English reluctant to settle with the French, and the French unwilling to receive them. The Indian tribes had been made to sympathize with the French in their peculiar hostility to the English, so that it was extremely dangerous for any of the latter people to reside near them. It was accordingly found, when the country was finally ceded to Great Britain, that the inhabitants were mostly of French descent. As their countrymen gave the name of Acadia to the part of the continent where they resided, they were called Acadians. They spoke the French language, were Roman Catholics, and naturally entertained a strong affection towards the country, which had been the home of their fathers. After the cession of Nova-Scotia to England, they were required to take the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign or to quit the province. They agreed to take the oath, provided it was guaranteed to them, that they never should be required to take up arms against their former country, France, or their ancient allies, the Indians. The governor of Nova-Scotia assured them that the condition which they demanded would be assented to; and accordingly they took the oath. The government in England, however, refused to sanction the assurance given them by the governor of the province, and peremptorily required that they should unconditionally take the oath. This they unanimously and invariably refused to do; and thus matters stood from year to year, for nearly half a century.

It so happened, that in the of wars the English with the French in Canada, or the Indians, many individuals of the Acadian population were found several times fighting with the latter; and although it is quite evident, that the great body of the Acadians were sincerely peaceable, and had endeavored to keep as much as possible aloof from all contention, yet it was very certain that their sympathies were

prone to direct themselves towards the enemies of the province, and it was well understood that the French missionaries were unwearied in using their influence over them, which was great, in opposition to the English. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the officers of the British government regarded the presence of the Acadians as highly injurious to the peace, and dangerous to the safety, of the province; and although it was a strong measure, it is perhaps still the opinion of many, that they were authorized to decide, as they did, upon the expulsion of this unfortunate people from Nova-Scotia. But, let that be as it may, it was secretly determined to drive the whole Acadian population from the province; and, as their removal to Canada would only strengthen the power of the great enemy, it was resolved to transport them to different parts of the British American Colonies, and distribute them in such small numbers in the various provinces, that they would not be able to combine together, and would soon become mingled and lost in the great mass of the English population. Before we advert to the execution of this severe decree, let us take a view of the character and condition of the devoted race. In describing them we have no occasion to do more than quote from Mr Haliburton's narrative.

'Hunting and fishing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might have still supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture, which had been established in the marshes and low lands, by repelling with dikes the sea and rivers which covered these plains. These grounds yielded fifty for one at first, and afterwards fifteen or twenty for one at least; wheat and oats succeeded best in them, but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common. At the same time these immense meadows were covered with numerous flocks. They computed as many as sixty thousand head of horned cattle; and most families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen. Their habitations, which were constructed of wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as substantial farmers' houses in Europe. They reared a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, at once wholesome and plentiful. Their ordinary drink was beer and cider, to which they sometimes added rum. Their usual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own sheep; with these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of

them had a desire for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louisburg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs. The neutral French had nothing else to give their neighbors, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves; because each separate family was able, and had been accustomed, to provide for its own wants. They therefore knew nothing of paper currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North America. Even the small quantity of gold and silver which had been introduced into the colony, did not inspire that activity in which consists its real value. Their manners were of course extremely simple. There was seldom a cause, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the Court of Judication, established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to time among them, were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills; for which, and their religious services, the inhabitants paid a twenty-seventh part of their harvest, which was always sufficient to afford more means than there were objects of generosity.

Real misery was wholly unknown, and benevolence anticipated the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt, without ostentation on the one hand, and without meanness on the other. It was, in short, a society of brethren; every individual of which was equally ready to give, and to receive, what he thought the common right of mankind. So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connexions of gallantry which are so often fatal to the peace of families. This evil was prevented by early marriages, for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man arrived to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life for a twelve-month. There he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others. In 1755, all together made a population of eighteen thousand souls. Such is the picture of these people, as drawn by the Abbé Raynal. By many, it is thought to represent a state of social happiness, totally inconsistent with the frailties and passions of human nature; and that it is worthy rather of the poet than the historian. In describing a scene of rural felicity like this, it is not improbable that his narrative has partaken of the warmth of feeling for which he was remarkable; but it comes much nearer the truth than is generally imagined. Tradition is fresh and positive in the various parts of the United States, where they were located, respecting their guileless, peaceable, and scrupulous character; and the descendants of those, whose long cherished and endearing local attachment

induced them to return to the land of their nativity, still deserve the name of a mild, frugal, and pious people.' Vol. i. pp. 170-173.

As it would have been impossible for the English to get them into their possession, if the design of carrying them away had been made known; and as it was in the power of the Acadians to disperse and place themselves beyond the reach of detection in the recesses of the forest, secure, as they were, of the alliance and sympathy of the Indians; it became necessary to devise the means of collecting and taking them by stratagem. It was determined that a proclamation should be issued requiring their attendance at specified places, in their several settlements, on the same day. The proclamation was so framed in its phraseology, that the design could not be discovered, and so severe in its penalties, that none would dare to disobey. By this cunning contrivance, nearly the whole population was surprised simultaneously throughout the province. The reader may form an idea of the scene presented on this fatal day throughout the Acadian settlements, by the following account of the proceedings at Grand Pré, in King's county.

Colonel John Winslow of Marshfield, in Massachusetts, was entrusted with the management of the affair at this place. He is described by Mr Haliburton, as an officer of great humanity and firmness. Having issued his proclamation requiring them to assemble on the fifth of September, 1755, at three o'clock in the afternoon in the church at Grand Pré, the unsuspecting and innocent Acadians, to the number of four hundred and eighteen able-bodied men, were found, at the appointed hour, in the appointed place. Colonel Winslow, accompanied by his officers, standing in the centre of the church, addressed them to the following effect.

'Gentlemen; I have received from his Excellency Governor Lawrence, the King's Commission, which I have in my hand; and by his orders you are convened together to manifest to you, his Majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this his Province of Nova-Scotia; who, for almost half a century, have had more indulgence granted them than any of his subjects in any part of his dominions; what use you have made of it you yourselves best know. The part of duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you, who are of the same species; but it is not my business to animadvert, but to obey such orders as I receive, and therefore, without hesitation, shall deliver you his Majesty's orders

and instructions, namely—that your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds and live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the Crown; with all other your effects, saving your money and household goods, and you yourselves to be removed from this his Province.

Thus it is peremptorily his Majesty's orders, that the whole French inhabitants of these Districts be removed; and I am, through his Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods, as many as you can without discommoding the vessels you go in. I shall do everything in my power, that all those goods be secured to you, and that you are not molested in carrying them off; also, that whole families shall go in the same vessel, and make this remove, which I am sensible must give you a great deal of trouble, as easy as his Majesty's service will admit; and hope that, in whatever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects, a peaceable and happy people. I must also inform you, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you remain in security under the inspection and direction of the troops that I have the honor to command.' Vol. I. pp. 176, 177.

After this address, Colonel Winslow declared them the king's prisoners. Mr Haliburton adds, that

'The whole number of persons collected at Grand Pré, finally amounted to four hundred and eighty-three men, and three hundred and thirty-seven women, heads of families; and their sons and daughters, to five hundred and twenty-seven of the former, and five hundred and seventy-six of the latter; making in the whole one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three souls. Their stock consisted of one thousand two hundred and sixty-nine oxen, one thousand five hundred and fifty-seven cows, five thousand and seven young cattle, four hundred and ninety-three horses, eight thousand six hundred and ninety sheep, and four thousand one hundred and ninety-seven hogs. As some of these wretched inhabitants escaped to the woods, all possible measures were adopted to force them back to captivity. The country was laid waste to prevent their subsistence. In the District of Minas alone, there were destroyed two hundred and fifty-five houses, two hundred and seventy-six barns, one hundred and fifty-five out-houses, eleven mills, and one church; and the friends of those who refused to surrender, were threatened as the victims of their obstinacy.' Vol. I. pp. 177, 178.

In consequence of their earnest entreaties, the men were permitted, ten at a time, to return to visit their wretched families, and to look, for the last time, upon the beautiful fields of their loved and lost homes.

‘They bore their confinement, and received their sentence, with a fortitude and resignation altogether unexpected; but when the hour of embarkation arrived, in which they were to leave the land of their nativity for ever—to part with their friends and relatives, without the hope of ever seeing them again, and to be dispersed among strangers, whose language, customs, and religion were opposed to their own, the weakness of human nature prevailed, and they were overpowered with the sense of their miseries. The preparations having been all completed, the 10th of September was fixed upon as the day of departure. The prisoners were drawn up six deep, and the young men, one hundred and sixty-one in number, were ordered to go first on board of the vessels. This they instantly and peremptorily refused to do, declaring that they would not leave their parents; but expressed a willingness to comply with the order, provided they were permitted to embark with their families. This request was immediately rejected, and the troops were ordered to fix bayonets and advance towards the prisoners, a motion which had the effect of producing obedience on the part of the young men, who forthwith commenced their march. The road from the chapel to the shore, just one mile in length, was crowded with women and children; who, on their knees, greeted them as they passed with their tears and their blessings; while the prisoners advanced with slow and reluctant steps, weeping, praying, and singing hymns. This detachment was followed by the seniors, who passed through the same scene of sorrow and distress. In this manner was the whole male part of the population of the District of Minas put on board the five transports, stationed in the river Gaspereaux; each vessel being guarded by six non-commissioned officers, and eighty privates. As soon as the other vessels arrived, their wives and children followed, and the whole were transported from Nova-Scotia. The haste with which these measures were carried into execution did not admit of those preparations for their comfort, which, if unmerited by their disloyalty, were at least due in pity to the severity of their punishment. The hurry, confusion, and excitement, connected with the embarkation, had scarcely subsided, when the Provincials were appalled at the work of their own hands. The novelty and peculiarity of their situation could not but force itself upon the attention of even the unreflecting soldiery; stationed in the midst of a beautiful and fertile country, they suddenly found themselves without a foe to subdue, and without a population to protect. The volumes of smoke, which the half expiring embers emitted, while they marked the site of the peasant's humble cottage, bore testimony to the extent of the work of destruction. For several successive evenings the cattle assembled round the smouldering ruins, as if in anxious expectation of the return of

their masters; while all night long the faithful watch-dogs of the Neutrals howled over the scene of desolation, and mourned alike the hand that had fed, and the house that had sheltered them.' Vol. i. pp. 179-181.

A similar scene was presented throughout all the Acadian settlements. In many places the most desperate resistance was attempted, but all was unavailing; they had been ensnared by stratagem, and were overpowered by numbers. The inexorable decree was carried into complete effect. The whole population, amounting to eighteen thousand souls, were suddenly and violently torn from the fertile fields, which their ancestors had cleared and cultivated, and on which they were born and had hoped to die; were robbed of their most valuable property; were separated from their families and friends, and crowded, as in slave-ships, into small vessels, at the rate of two persons for each ton; were transported to distant provinces, and scattered, in humiliation, in poverty, and with broken hearts, in communities hostile to their religion and country, and averse to their manners and customs, without knowing each other's fate, and without the least ground of hope, that they should ever meet again on earth.

The following instance will enable the reader in some degree to realize the misery produced by the consummation of this cruel edict. Those Acadians, who had uniformly befriended the British authorities, were treated in the same manner as the rest; no exception was made, no dispensation granted, no favor, no meritorious service remembered. There was a notary public, named René Leblane, who had formerly suffered in consequence of his attachment to the English, having been carried into captivity by the Indians, and kept a prisoner four years, solely on that account. At the time of the expulsion of the Acadians, he was still living, having attained a venerable age. He had twenty children, and about one hundred and fifty grand-children. They were all transported like so many convicts. They were compelled to embark in different vessels, and were scattered in distant provinces. The unfortunate old man was put on shore at New York, with his wife and his two youngest children only. Bent as he was by the infirmity of age, and overpowered by the weight of affliction, his parental affection still prompted him to seek out his lost children. He reached Philadelphia. There he found three of them. But his strength was exhausted, and he could go

no farther. His misfortunes were greater than he could bear. He despaired of discovering his remaining children, and in penury, obscurity, and sorrow, sunk into his grave.

It may be questioned if the history of the world exhibits a more heart-rending incident than the exile of this amiable and happy people, or a more sad and affecting spectacle, than the desolation of their depopulated homes; their moaning flocks and herds; their rich and waving meadows turned into a desert; and the smoking ashes of their houses and barns. While the traveller contemplates the noble dikes reared by their industry, by means of which whole regions have been won from the rivers and the sea; while he walks beneath the shade of their abundant orchards, and stands over the ruins of their cottages, or muses among their graves, his imagination goes back to a scene of rural felicity and purity, in which the fables of antiquity were realized; his heart melts in sympathy with the sudden misfortunes and the dreadful fate of the poor Acadians.

Nova-Scotia is remarkable for the number of spacious and sheltered harbors along the whole line of its northern, eastern, and southern coasts. It is intersected by many beautiful rivers, and is dotted by lakes of every variety of size and shape. Its geographical outlines suggest the advantages, and point out the routes of several canals, which have already, under the direction of the public-spirited legislature of the province, been explored, and will soon, without doubt, by means of the patronage and aid of that body, be completed. Throughout the circuit of its shores (and it is connected with the continent by a very narrow isthmus), the sea affords an abundant supply of fish. Some parts of its soil are barren, but a large proportion is rich and fertile, and in several districts equal to any in the Atlantic States. There are few, if any, better agricultural townships in America, than Cornwallis and Horton in Nova-Scotia. Beneath the soil there is an abundance of lead and iron ore; indeed the natural advantages of the province are uncommonly great, and it cannot be doubted that under the judicious and liberal administration of the local legislature, they will be rapidly and fully improved.

Halifax, the capital of the province, is one of the most convenient sea-ports and beautiful cities on the Atlantic coast. Its public and private dwellings present an aspect remarkably neat and agreeable to the eye. Mr Haliburton speaks with

great enthusiasm of the Navy Yard and the Province House. The latter indeed is a remarkably fine structure, and although we are disposed to hesitate in admitting that they surpass everything of the kind in North America, we cannot take offence at his positive and unqualified assertion to that effect.

The political condition of the northeastern British American provinces, is in many respects favorable. The legislature consists of a Governor and Council, deriving their places and authority from the crown, and a House of Assembly, elected by the qualified voters among the inhabitants. The House holds the purse of the province, and controls the expenditures of the civil department of government. The whole sum derived from the customs goes into the province treasury, and is subject to the disposition of the House of Assembly. The consequence is, that but little is needed from the people in the way of direct tax. Mr Haliburton rather boastingly compares the situation of the inhabitants of the province in this respect with that of the people of the United States. Yet the records of the proceedings of the legislature of Nova-Scotia exhibit several instances of a great waste of money. The House of Assembly, merely to gratify Lord Dalhousie, granted several thousand pounds towards erecting a college in Halifax, which Mr Haliburton acknowledges is not needed. There are too many instances of votes granting large sums of money to be expended upon swords and stars for the British generals and admirals, who have happened to be in command there. It is very undignified and quite discordant with the principles of their own constitution, for the popular and native branch of the legislature to pay this obsequious court to a foreign executive.

There is a college at Windsor, established by a charter from the king, and supported by the unremitted and profuse bounty of the Assembly. It is beautifully situated, possesses an excellent library, and has the reputation of giving a very good classical education to its pupils. But although it has been in existence since 1803, it has bestowed only on sixty-seven persons the degree of bachelor of arts. This is probably owing to the untoward circumstance, that the doctrinal test of the Church of England is imposed upon its students. There is also an excellent academy at Pictou, for the education of dissenters; but the legislature, by refusing to continue to it any patronage, seem to be disposed to permit it to languish. The Council, deriving their

seats from the British government, have determined to negative any law granting assistance to this dissenting institution ; and the representatives of the people in the House of Assembly, although three quarters of their constituents are opposed to the English Church, still continue to grant a large annual sum to the Royal Episcopal College at Windsor.

Mr Haliburton has added much to the value of his work, by prefixing to it a large and well executed map of Nova-Scotia, by inserting several plates, representing the aspect and outlines of places of interest, and by some very useful and instructive statistical tables. Among the latter is one giving a view of the religious opinions of the people of Nova-Scotia, as they were ascertained by means of a census. Among the principal evils of a colonial condition, is the want of a stirring spirit of enterprise in the mass of the people, and the degradation of the civil and professional pursuits, produced by the glare and glitter of an elegant and imposing military life, as it is exhibited in the finely arrayed British regiments, that are quartered in the provincial garrisons.

In closing our remarks upon Mr Haliburton's work, we would again recommend it to those who are interested in American history. It is written with clearness, spirit, industrious accuracy, and with great candor and justice. It needs a more copious index, and is perhaps rather deformed, than improved by the chronological table of events from 1763 (where the history terminates) to 1828. It must necessarily be very defective, and, brief as it is, it contains much useless matter. What connexion, for instance, is there between the history of Nova-Scotia, and the fact, that 'Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, was born June 5, 1771.' Still, notwithstanding these slight blemishes, the 'Historical and Statistical Account of Nova-Scotia' is a valuable work, honorable to its author, and worthy of the thanks of his native province, which have so handsomely been communicated to him by the speaker of the House of Assembly, in compliance with a vote of that body.

It is very desirable that the people of the United States and of the British Provinces should become better acquainted, and be led to take a more lively interest in each other. Their fathers were united by the bond of a common country ; and it needs no spirit of prophecy to foresee that the time must come, when, in the natural course of events, the English colonies on our borders will be peaceably dissevered from the re-

mote mother country, and the whole continent, from the Gulf of Mexico to the coast of Labrador, present the unbroken outline of one compact empire of friendly and confederated states.

ART. V.—*Legal Outlines, being the Substance of a Course of Lectures now delivering in the University of Maryland.*
By DAVID HOFFMAN. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 626.

THE author of this work has, in several previous publications, such as a 'Course of Legal Study,' a 'Syllabus of Law Lectures in the University of Maryland,' and various introductory discourses delivered there, explained at large his views on the subject of legal education. In his 'Course of Legal Study,' an unpretending volume, addressed to students, he has rendered them essential service by indicating, with a just selection, the most instructive works, but especially by displaying the order in which the multitudinous parts of a various science may most usefully be considered. In none is such a systematic mode of elementary study more necessary, and in none is it more generally neglected, than in the law. The 'Syllabus' just mentioned had the same object of giving sequence and coherence to the complicated topics of legal learning, and of reducing them to a series where each should spring naturally from another, and lead easily and gradually to a succeeding one. Mr Hoffman's views on this subject are large and liberal. He demonstrates, in these publications, and in his several introductory lectures, that he has himself minutely surveyed the extensive field, whose boundaries and divisions he has described for the student. His learning is ample, his diligence indefatigable. His classification and arrangement are such, that, if strictly pursued, all difficulties (and they are many), arising from the usual want of method, must vanish, and none remain but such as are intrinsic to the science. If he opens a long path before us, he takes all pains to make it smooth; and, by his process, the abrupt steepes of jurisprudence are insensibly surmounted by a gentle acclivity.

It is evident, however, that our author does not pretend to have discovered any royal road to legal learning. He manifestly contemplates a long course of assiduity for his student,

and while he would lessen the fatigue, he would extend the sphere of his acquisitions. He aims chiefly to give his labors the right direction, and to solve for him the problem, not how to read the least (which seems to be the more common one), but how he may compass the most, and with the most understanding, in the shortest time. Thus he traces indeed each path distinctly, but he carries it far and high into the recesses of jurisprudence ; he disentangles the topography, but he does not contract the limits of this particular domain of learning ; he even makes excursions into contiguous regions. He has an enlarged conception of the duties and of the qualifications of the lawyer, and seeks therefore to extend his views beyond the limits of mere positive and municipal jurisprudence, so as to embrace those original principles in which it has its birth, and by which it must always be controlled and illustrated. He has accordingly devoted this first volume of his '*Legal Outlines*,' the only one which has yet appeared, to a consideration of the elements of Natural and Political Law. He treats of the nature of the being who is the subject of this law ; of his supposed condition before the institutions of civil society, and of the rights arising in that condition, and independent of civil government ; of the origin of the latter, its true foundation, and its effects upon natural rights ; of the general properties of law, and of the source and sanction of that universal '*law of nature*,' which is itself the fountain and standard of all other law ; of political, as distinguished from civil law ; and of the various forms of government. The last lecture of the present volume contains a sketch of that remarkable system, the feudal law, which has left such strong traces in the jurisprudence of Europe and of our own country.

The entire work is designed as an analytical outline (the only one, the author remarks, which has yet appeared) of the whole body of jurisprudence proper to be studied in this country ; none of the many excellent elementary works which have been published on the laws of England having aimed at presenting this complete analysis of every part. The two succeeding volumes will treat of the elements of the municipal law, including various titles which have scarcely been alluded to by Blackstone ; of the law of real and personal property ; of equity and mercantile law ; of the law of crimes and punishments ; of the Roman civil law ; of the law of nations, and admiralty and maritime law ; and of the constitution and laws

of the United States. Some subsidiary subjects will be appended, as legal biography and bibliography, forensic eloquence, and professional deportment. Mr Hoffman's pretensions are modest. He diffidently dedicates his book 'more especially to students,' who, he remarks, 'if they find no more in these volumes, will at least see pointed out to them the purest sources of information in the different departments of the science.' The nature of the topics discussed in this first volume has induced him to treat them in a more diffuse method, than will be observed in the remaining ones; and the whole, he hopes, may serve as an introduction to Blackstone's Commentaries, and to those of Chancellor Kent on American Law. So far as he has proceeded, the author has much more than accomplished the objects thus modestly proposed. His forthcoming volumes will complete, in our opinion, a very valuable accession to elementary legal works, so far as we may infer from the learning and the clearness with which, in that under review, he has discussed various questions of interest in ethics and natural jurisprudence, whether regarded in themselves, or in their bearing on municipal and international law.

In his exhortations to the study of ethics, natural law, universal jurisprudence, or by whatever other name it may be called, Mr Hoffman duly appreciates the informing and controlling influences of right reason, even in a technical and somewhat arbitrary science. It is often objected to the study of our municipal jurisprudence, that, not always depending on natural principles of reasoning, and reposing, in a great degree, on precedent and decision, it fetters, instead of enlarging the mind. Men may certainly study and practise law (and doubtless not a small number do), who know no other reason why a contract should bind, than its being in writing or duly proved, and whose idea of *obligation* is an instrument under seal, or an agreement upon some consideration. As there are many able accountants, who know nothing of transcendental mathematics, and many skilful workmen equally ignorant of mechanics; so are there many clever attorneys that drive a good business, who may marvel to see Mr Hoffman beginning legal education at so remote a point as the nature of man. The point is certainly not necessary for gaining a suit, nor need we quarrel with those who think it therefore useless. But when the question is about forming able advocates, wise judges, and perspicacious lawgivers, it is plain that this ordinary education will

do no longer. When the file affords no precedent ; when we are to travel out of the record ; when the index presents no case in point ; we are obliged to revert to first principles, and spin for ourselves that thread of ingenious deduction, which is not ready made to our hands. It is this kind of legal education that our author contemplates in his different publications, and in the work under review. Students will fill up his outline with more or less diligence. Many (for the world is not full of capacious geniuses) will slight these elementary and auxiliary studies ; perhaps he himself expects few disciples of that constancy of purpose and enlarged ambition, which he would prompt and aid. The standard of science however, like that of morals, ought not the less to be set forth, because the greater part of persons may be confidently expected to fall short of it ; and we are well assured, that such as explore the paths he has indicated, will neither find that they lead too far, nor fail to gather intellectual force and vivacity from the excursion.

The present volume will not be without some attractions, however, of a general nature. While it enables the law student to push his researches in a just order, and with the least waste of his energy, it may answer the different purpose of satisfying the curiosity of cursory readers on a number of interesting topics in ethics and universal law. There will be many of this sort, who, prevented from seeking the fountains from which the author has drawn, will be glad to contemplate their streams thus collected in a reservoir. Numbers read Blackstone's Commentaries with pleasure and profit, who would be appalled at the thought of mastering the tomes of black letter, which swell the knowledge, and please in the beautiful method, of those delightful volumes. And so, while the law student will learn to estimate from this work the importance of questions of natural jurisprudence, and their intimate influence on those parts of the science which are positive or conventional, others will be content to limit their inquiries into these subtle topics, by the work itself. Among these topics there are some sufficiently absurd, and in which learning and argument have been very idly squandered. These have necessarily passed under review in this volume, one part of the design of which is to save the student some useless investigations by exhibiting their futility or their folly. One can hardly know the nature and state of true learning without some knowledge of the false. For general readers, in fine, these distillations of learning, these

concentrations of the odor of the flowers of science into portable essences, are quite invaluable in the present state of letters. As the empire of knowledge expands its surface, it seems to require its easy roads and its locomotive engines. But durable reputation must continue to be founded on large and correct knowledge in a particular department; and while, in the branches of learning not nearly akin to our proper pursuits, we may bound our inquiries with the labors of the abridger or the analyzer, in those where we aim at excellence, we must only employ them as guides to larger and loftier acquisitions.

In another part of this article, we shall attempt to show how many points of municipal and international law have derived light and authority from the doctrines of natural jurisprudence. We cannot, of course, go into this very extensive subject at much length, any more than we can regularly analyze the contents of the present volume, extending, as it does, to six hundred pages, and touching on most of the questions alluded to. But we may remark, that, in turning over the work, we have been impressed with new convictions of the importance of natural jurisprudence; and thus convinced of the salutary influence of these more general and abstract branches of legal acquirement, we must take this occasion to speak a little at large on the subject.

It may not, indeed, be very obvious at first sight to a student, why he is detained, for example, in the outset of his studies, with an examination into the unity of the species, and whether this be reconcilable with its variety of color; or into the true origin of political power, whether from divine right, inheritance, prescription, or consent of the governed; or into the actual existence and true meaning of the state of nature; or into the distinction between perfect and imperfect rights; or the extent of the right of extreme necessity, &c. &c. Yet a wrong understanding of some of these points, we doubt not, has had its share in diffusing some of the greatest moral calamities, and exciting some of the most violent political convulsions, which have desolated the race. The history of the slave trade may induce a doubt whether the victims of this tyranny could have been deemed by their oppressors to be of the same rank of being with themselves; nay, we believe it has been justified on a presumed inferiority, of which their color and shape were seriously asserted to be the badge. It will hardly be denied, that the absurd notions which have been

upheld, of the origin and sanction of political power, have contributed to the number of unwise and arbitrary kings, and of brutish and servile subjects ; while false notions of what is called the state of nature, and of the rights of nature, may have added something to the folly and fury of popular and revolutionary delusions. A notion of the true distinction between perfect and imperfect right, might have wrought some modifications in the conventional law of nations, or rather that of kings ; and some resorts to the right of extreme necessity might have been spared to the people, if its existence had been recognised by sovereigns, and had inspired a salutary terror in them. Again, in the identity of a state, one of the nice points which are agitated in the books, may be sometimes involved the question of indemnity for spoliation. The origin and objects of civil government enter into the vexed question of expatriation. And the distinction between the social and constitutional compact has, with very opposite results on the tranquillity of the nation, been regarded in one revolution, and lost sight of in another.

How else than by the principles of the natural law, are we to discuss the questions of religious toleration ; the obligation of mere positive laws, with the distinction between *mala prohibita* and *mala in se* ; the alleged omnipotence of parliament ; the rights of extreme necessity (a branch of which has been already alluded to), and of harmless profit ; the nullity of *ex post facto* and retroactive laws ; the right to pursue fugitives and their abducted property into the territories of other nations, upon the ocean, or into regions where jurisdiction is unknown ; the extra-territorial operation of civil laws ; the right of capital punishment, and the true theory of punishment in general ; the nature and effects of occupancy, whether particular or in gross ; the appropriation of the ocean, and the doctrine of *mare clausum aut mare liberum* ; the extra-patrimonial nature of certain things, such as air, running waters, &c., and the limitations of the same ? How, the legality of usury, independently of positive laws ; the right of parents to disinherit their offspring ; the perpetuity of the marriage contract ; the exclusion of aliens from inheriting or holding lands within the territory of a nation ; the like exclusion in the case of personal property, and the validity of the *droit d'aubaine* ; the extent of parental power, with the crime of infanticide ; the numerous questions of intestacy ; questions of insanity, and others in medi-

cal jurisprudence ; the validity of foreign marriages ; the nullity of marriages for incest, natural or civil, with the effect on this contract of prior or supervenient frigidity ? How ascertain the right and extent of eminent domain, and the limitations of despotic sovereigns ? All these questions of grand consideration can be solved only by a reference to the principles of the *jus naturæ et gentium*, and those also of human physiology and mental philosophy.

Many of these examples are drawn from public law ; but it is equally obvious from others, that the vast body of positive enactments, decisions, precedents, and customs, which together constitute municipal law, have the same fundamental reference to universal jurisprudence. The science, however artificial and technical it may seem, has its pervading abstract principles, from which we must commence all our learning, and to which we must return for a clue, whenever the deductions from them become remote or complicated. These principles, though varied and modified by the genius of the government, or the accidental circumstances of the people, however they may 'take a tincture and taste' from regions and policies, are those of that necessary and eternal justice which we call the law of nature. Grotius, indeed, was led to the contemplation of it, and to the composition of his elaborate work, by tracing the laws of his country to their principles. The student of mere municipal laws, who begins his inquiries into them instructed in the general topics which occupy the writers on ethics and natural jurisprudence ; in the nature of obligation, the meaning and essential requisites of a contract, the principles of evidence, the natural rules of interpretation, &c., will find a light continually shed on the path of acquisition, as, at a future day, he will from the same source be able to direct it on his own expositions and demonstrations. By these studies, he will only draw back, as it were, to bound forward with more effect in the field of positive legislation and judicial decision.

A different train of considerations will suggest themselves to those whose views and objects in the law are of a more enlarged kind. The code of natural equity is a body of rules deduced from the constitution and natural condition of man ; or it may be considered in another aspect, as that body of rules which is the best adapted to promote his moral happiness. But innumerable accidents give rise to peculiar policies which, however adapted to instant emergencies, may thwart in

some degree the true aims of political society ; and as these particular policies have also their peculiar principles, as their laws are fashioned to promote their ends, the impress of their institutions is felt long after the causes have passed away to which they owed their birth. The rule remains, though the reason of it has ceased ; and the facility is wonderful, and not fully conceived by ourselves, with which we become reconciled to institutions which shock, or ought to shock, the natural justice of the mind. It is thus that the feudal nations established, and transmitted to us, the barbarous right of primogeniture, the ungentle law of baron and feme, the cruelty of escheat and attainder, the iniquitous exemption of lands, in most cases, from liability for debt ; the injustice of all which, we forget from habit, or excuse because, forsooth, they have a nice consistency with the general aim of the feudal system. A student rises from the elementary writers of the common law so struck with this general coherence, that he forgets the original barbarousness of the system from which the alleged doctrines are drawn. Now though time and necessity work the cure of these defects, and gradually fashion laws to the occasions of society, it is certain that this salutary process of modification and change will be retarded in proportion as the lawyer confines himself to his indigenous jurisprudence. The pedantry thus begotten, made a large part of that jealousy of the English common lawyers, which so long resisted the benign influences of the Roman code ; and if it subsists no longer, if we are prepared to select what is most convenient to our altered circumstances, or to that 'universal fitness of things' to which it is the supposed aim of all laws to approximate, our lawyers, judges, and legislators must drink at the fountains of natural equity, in order to scrutinize the written by the unwritten reason, and institute that just comparison of various codes which is a preliminary step to the improvement of any one of them.

These views of the importance of natural jurisprudence are abundantly confirmed by the testimony of lawyers and philosophers. 'Ratio ipsa,' says Bynkershoek, 'ratio juris gentium est anima.' 'The law of nature,' says an eminent jurist of our own country,* 'is the philosophy of morals ;—it lies at the foundation of all other laws.' Sir James Mackintosh has indicated the just process of inquiry into it. 'We should,' he re-

* Story's Inaugural Discourse.

marks, 'first search for the original principles of the science in human nature; then apply them to the regulation of the conduct of individuals; and lastly, employ them for the decision of those difficult and complicated questions that arise with respect to the intercourse of nations.' 'Between the most abstract and elementary maxim of moral philosophy,' he continues, 'and the most complicated controversies of civil or public law, there subsists a certain connexion. The duties of men, of subjects, of princes, of lawgivers, of magistrates, and of states, are all parts of one consistent system of universal morality.'* It was the perception of the existence of this universal and necessary justice, and of the necessity of reverting to it as the standard of comparison for all positive codes, which suggested to the perspicacious mind of Bacon the notion of a philosophical system of jurisprudence, an investigation (to use his significant phrase) of the *leges legum*; an idea which, by his advice and that of Peiresc, was executed, however imperfectly, by Grotius. The same views prompted the following passage, from Adam Smith. 'It might have been expected,' he says, 'that the reasonings of lawyers upon the different imperfections and improvements of the laws of different countries, should have given occasion to an inquiry into what were the natural rules of justice, independent of all positive institution. It might have been expected, that these reasonings should have led them to aim at establishing a system of what might properly be called natural jurisprudence, or a theory of the principles which ought to run through, and to be the foundation of the laws of all nations.'

Such is the importance, and such the intimate relation with both municipal and public law, of the subjects with which Mr Hoffman has principally occupied this introductory volume. We should transcend all reasonable limits, were we to pursue the speculations which the perusal of it has awakened. We find in the first lecture, for example, a statement of the controversy respecting the unity of the species. It might not be guessed, at first view, how a physiological question, respecting the diversity of complexion and features in the different races of mankind, could involve the very foundations of natural jurisprudence. So it was, however, that some curious physiologists, having doubted the common descent of mankind from

* Mackintosh's Introductory Lecture.

Adam and Eve, a new doubt arose as to the identity of their moral constitution, and consequently as to the universal obligation of the rules of morals. This was a grave difficulty. The question as to the standard of beauty, whether the Hottentot could by any canon of taste be deemed on a footing in that respect with the European, though not less perplexing, was not quite so serious as this ; which seemed to imply some doubt whether a negro might not be kidnapped and flogged with less remorse, as not being a brother of the same family ; or whether there was not more reason in a Musselman's having two wives, than was generally allowed by Christian people. Our author, while he contends for the unity of the whole race, as the opinion most consistent with physical facts as well as with sacred history, remarks, however, that the diversity of species might not necessarily destroy the universality of the moral law. We certainly do entertain the same opinion. For even should we allow, that the 'crisped hair' of the Negro, and the high cheek bone of the Tartar, rendered it necessary to allot them a different genesis, it would remain to be shown how this altered their moral organization, or why moral rules must vary on their account, any more than for a dyspeptic or hypochondriac patient, both of whom would probably require, with more reason, a relaxation of them. This seems to us to be nearly the amount of all the grave argument on this question, for gravely argued it has been ; and most of our author's readers will agree with him as to the universality of a code, of which the great principles have been recognised alike by all races and lineages, and 'to which Moses and Confucius, Seneca and Socrates, have rendered equal homage.'

This has been denied indeed by another class of casuists, who, with the true rage of theory, have ransacked the history of mankind and the narratives of travellers, for the horrible and unnatural in customs and institutions, and set them in terrible array against the generality and uniformity of the code of morals. Our author has given us a pretty copious list of these monstrous deviations from natural feelings and justice in his lecture on the 'Laws of Nature.' We leave it to him to reconcile these exceptions with the general rule, or rather, according to the law maxim, to prove the rule by them. But we may observe here the opposite inferences which have been drawn from these moral dissimilarities in nations. While one party deduces from them the nullity of any universal moral code,

another out of superserviceable zeal for it, has made them the apology for the most frightful barbarities. Those who excuse the actors of such enormities on the plea of ignorance, of established custom, and the like, have improperly argued from this excusableness of individuals the abstract innocence of the thing; if there is no guilt, say they, there is no penalty, and if no penalty, no law. The other party, again, have argued from the abstract error the individual guilt. Now it might have been wholesome for each to have remembered, that there exists a penalty sufficient both to supply the sanction which seemed wanting to the first, and to have dispensed with the practical zeal of the last. Every deviation from the principles of right reason is accompanied by a corresponding mischief to human happiness. This is the penalty we speak of, and it will seem sufficiently severe to such as contemplate the general condition of those nations in which these more monstrous deviations have been observed. It may not be easy to decide which of these two theories is the more erroneous; but it is not difficult to see of which the disciples have done the most harm; and it is to be wished, that the religious conquerors and the furious zealots, who have roasted misbelievers and depopulated nations for the glory of God, had been better casuists.

We shall advert here to a disquisition in Mr Hoffman's third lecture, both for the sake of the criticism contained in it, and because it leads us to notice some observations of Dugald Stewart on the science of Natural Jurisprudence. Rights have generally been divided by writers on natural law, into *perfect* and *imperfect*. Our author objects to the latter term, as inconsistent with the nature and definition of a right. A right is a power of doing or having a thing consistently with law; and to call any right *imperfect* is to say, in other words, that it is imperfectly consistent with law, a proposition not very intelligible, as there seems to be no middle point between consistency and inconsistency. The distinction arose from its being observed, that the *subject* of some rights was fixed and determinate, while of others it was vague and undefinable; a reason, indeed, why the last could not be ascertained and vindicated, but not for altering their nature, or considering them as infirm or, in the usual phrase, imperfect. There might be a difficulty, says our author, so to limit the subject of the right that it could be claimed and enjoyed, but none to originate the right itself, nor any reason to impair its completeness or per-

fection. While all rights, too, are equally rights, they are not all of equal importance; and that general utility which has originated the rules of the voluntary law of nations, would consider as subordinate such as would interfere with the exercise of others more essential to the peace of mankind and the good order of nations. These subordinate rights have likewise been classed with the imperfect; but the use of this nomenclature has produced confusion among writers, some classing as imperfect what others have recognised as perfect rights. Some phraseology would be preferable, which should indicate the importance and definiteness of rights, without seeming to impugn their equal abstract consistency with natural justice. Mr Hoffman proposes to call them *primary* and *secondary*, and *determinate* and *indeterminate*. As the abstract perfect right becomes imperfect in practice, because its extent and subject cannot be accurately defined, it might be called indeterminate; and as it is not enforced lest it should interfere with another, the rigorous exercise of which it is of more moment to sustain, it may be termed secondary.

Dugald Stewart thus explains the introduction of the distinction between perfect and imperfect rights in use among the writers on natural law. Justice, he says, is obviously distinguished from the other virtues by two circumstances; 'its rules may be laid down with an accuracy of which other moral precepts do not admit,' and they may be enforced, 'inasmuch as every transgression of them implies a violation of the rights of others.' But as jurisprudence, thus confined merely to the rules of justice, would have opened a very narrow field of study, 'its province was gradually enlarged, so as to comprehend, not these merely, but the rules enjoining all our other moral duties. Although justice is the only branch of virtue in which every moral *obligation* implies a corresponding *right*, the writers on natural law have contrived, by fictions of *imperfect rights* and of *external rights*, to treat indirectly of all our various duties, by pointing out the rights which are supposed to be their correlates. This idea of jurisprudence identifies its object with that of moral philosophy.* The reader will perceive from these passages how the distinction of rights adverted to sprang up; and we shall not detain him with an inquiry, whether the supposition of the writers spoken of, that

* Stewart's Dissertation on the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, Part I. Chapter ii. Section 3.

every duty involved a corresponding abstract right, was altogether wide of metaphysical truth.

But perhaps a clearer and more comprehensive idea of the scope and extent of natural jurisprudence may be gained by first considering the true meaning of the 'state of nature,' a topic which occupies the second lecture of this work, and which we think very happily elucidated. The state of nature then, says our author, is a hypothetical state, 'a mere *ens rationis*, a state which never had a real existence, and which is founded by philosophers on the doctrine of possible relations,' whence to deduce conclusions relative to the rights and obligations of men. This metaphysical figment contemplates man in the abstract; and the deductions from it, 'the laws of nature, would have been equally true and existent, had never an individual subsisted in a state of nature, the constitution of man being supposed to be the same as we know it to be.'* Now these possible relations cannot all be foreseen or provided for by the most perfect system of laws conceivable; and every *casus omissus*, to use the law phrase, must necessarily be referred to the natural principles of equity; so that if man never existed in a state of nature in one sense, in another he may be said never wholly to depart from it. There are rights, besides, which remain unaffected by government; others, which may revert to individuals on the dissolution of it; and a third sort, which belong to his state or community, as an independent member of the family of nations; so that the law of nature, besides that it is the standard whereby the fitness and justice of all positive laws are to be judged, is also the only code in all that vast variety of cases wherein positive legislation is silent, or where rights remain uncontrolled by civil laws; where accidents dissolve the government, or the question is between independent communities. Of these two last provinces of natural jurisprudence Dugald Stewart makes mention in the following words. 'The contrast between natural law and positive institutions, which jurisprudence constantly presents to the mind, gradually suggested the idea of comprehending under it every question concerning right and wrong, on which positive law is silent. Hence the origin of two different departments of jurisprudence, of which one refers to the conduct of individuals in those violent and critical moments when the bonds

* Legal Outlines, Lecture 2.

of political society are torn asunder ; the other to the mutual relations of independent communities ; on the latter so much has been written, that what was formerly called natural jurisprudence, has been in later times not unfrequently distinguished by the title of the Law of Nature and Nations.* And thus in municipal law, (as we shall presently show,) although the conclusions drawn from the law of nature have not, as in the last instance, been separately embodied, nor taken a distinct title, they form a large and important part of the principles of elementary writers, and of the expositions of the law by courts.

Thus, the inquiry into the 'state of nature,' is not a disquisition whether men, in the words of our author, 'were at first the *mutum et turpe pecus* they are described to be by the poet ;' whether society preceded the formation of language, or the latter must necessarily have preceded society ; whether there was a peaceable community of goods, as, in the '*golden age*,' is depicted by the poets ; nor whether there was that natural and incessant hostility painted by the more gloomy pencil of Hobbes. Neither is the inquiry into the 'rights of man in a state of nature' confined to a few 'speculations about the principles of this natural law, as applicable to men before the establishment of government.' As Mr Plowden has happily remarked, 'the qualities and properties of this state, bear the same analogy to the actual state of man in society, as the principles and properties of mathematics bear to practical mechanics.' It is this abstract and comprehensive standard of right which is contemplated in that idea of natural jurisprudence described by Stewart, of which 'the object is to ascertain the general principles which *ought* to be recognised in every municipal code, and to which it *ought* to be the aim of every legislator to accommodate his institutions.' These are those 'natural rules of justice, independent of all positive institution,' to which Adam Smith refers in a passage already quoted ; 'that theory of the principles which ought to run through, and be the foundation of the laws of all nations.' This is that 'right reason' described by Cicero as 'itself a law ; congenial to the feelings of nature ; diffused among all men ; uniform ; eternal ; not speaking one language at Rome, and another at Athens ; addressing itself to all nations and all ages ; and

* Stewart's Dissertation, Part I. Chapter ii. Section 3.

carrying home its sanctions to every breast by the inevitable punishment it inflicts on transgressors.' It is that natural law spoken of by Grotius, 'coëval with the human constitution, from which positive institutions derive all their force.' And this is the *desideratum* in science to which Bacon refers; namely, 'by investigating the principles of *natural justice*, and those of *political expediency*, to exhibit a theoretical model of legislation, which, while it serves as a standard for estimating the comparative excellence of municipal codes, may suggest hints for their correction and improvement;'—to seek out those 'leges legum ex quibus informatio peti possit, quid in singulis legibus bene aut perperam positum aut constitutum sit.' *

It is not within our scope to inquire, how far this system of natural jurisprudence has been revealed in the works of those who have written upon it. It has been objected to them, that they reason concerning laws too abstractly, and without sufficient reference to 'the particular circumstances of society to which they meant their conclusions should be applied.' † Bentham remarks that, 'if there are any works of universal jurisprudence, they must be looked for within very narrow limits;' and that writer would have those of the expository kind to be confined wholly to *terminology*, that is, to the explanation of words connected with law, as *power*, *right*, *obligation*, &c. in order to be susceptible of a universal application. Stewart's censure of this opinion must be admitted to be sufficiently light, when he says, 'He certainly carries this matter too far.' Bentham's description of Natural Law is but too just, if we confine it to the manner in which the science has often been treated by writers. He calls it 'an obscure phantom, which points sometimes to *manners*, sometimes to *laws*, sometimes to what the law *is*, sometimes to what it *ought to be*.' This is eminently true of the treatise *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*. But if the description be designed, remarks Stewart, 'for the Law of Nature, as originally understood among ethical writers, it is impossible to assent to it without abandoning all the principles on which the science of morals ultimately rests.' ‡ While it may be accorded to these two writers, that an abstract code of *laws* is unphilosophical in design as well as useless in execution, the same objections can by no means be made to works

* De Aug. Scient. Lib. viii. cap. iii. De Fontibus Juris. Aph. 6.

† Stewart's Dissertation. ‡ Ibid.

professing to treat of the *principles* of legislation. We confess, then, we do not understand why the Scottish philosopher, while he admits the utility of a comparative view of the municipal institutions of various nations, should doubt 'whether this can be done with advantage by referring these institutions to that abstract theory called the *Law of Nature*, as to a common standard.' He would have 'the code of some particular country fixed on as a groundwork for our speculations; and its laws studied, not as consequences of any abstract principles of justice, but in connexion with the circumstances of the people among whom they originated.' On the contrary, such works as we have adverted to, examining and embodying such general principles as should pervade all laws, and illustrating them by a comparison with municipal laws, when either they coincided or differed, would, it seems to us, possess very obvious utility. For whether our aim was to determine the reasonableness of particular institutions, or to compare the merit of corresponding laws in different nations, it would be necessary to have some standard of comparison. How else arrive at any conclusion, either as to the reasonableness of an institution, or the respective merits of the laws compared? However philosophical it may be to estimate the policy of laws by reference to the peculiar circumstances of nations, it will hardly be denied that there are some principles quite independent of these, and which must therefore be common to all.

We think it will scarcely be denied that in one branch of jurisprudence, that part of international law we mean, which is commonly called conventional and customary, some such standard is requisite for appeal and correction. Rights have been set up on the ground of these, by the powerful and ambitious, which have been resisted on those broader grounds which are furnished by the law of nature as applied to the transactions of independent communities; and there have been writers who have insisted that the decrees of natural justice, as applied to nations, vary from its injunctions as regards man and man. To estimate aright this opinion, which has been found so convenient to long subsisting usurpation, it is necessary to advert to the distinction between the *necessary* and the *positive* law of nations; the first of which is that general and fundamental standard to which we have so often referred, and which, in the words of Hobbes, can suffer no necessary change; while the latter being, or supposed to be, founded on the first, or not

to contradict it at least, must be judged by its correspondence with, or deviation from it. This positive law of nations is of three kinds, the *voluntary*, the *conventional*, and the *customary*; the two last being those compacts which have either been positively established, or have been tacitly admitted, between the nations, and are therefore obligatory only between the parties; while the first, being such general rules as have been found convenient for the welfare and common safety of nations, is on the contrary of universal obligation. Now these conventional and customary parts of public law may, or may not, be repugnant to the necessary; and whatever may have been the practice, the compacts, or the customs of power, they must be judged by a superior law, and resisted, when wrong, by a paramount right. Examples of such usurpations, and of such resistance to them, will suggest themselves to the reader; and in order to measure that resistance, it is necessary to refer to the principles of that universal justice arising out of the constitution of men and states, and serving therefore as a test of the acts of both. Nay, as the voluntary law of nations itself must sometimes tolerate what is inconsistent with the necessary, because the vindication of the latter might interfere with general liberty and reciprocal independence, it cannot be regarded as actually and always immutable. It is a principle, for example, arising out of an obvious policy, that one nation shall not interfere with another in its internal regulations, however unjust; yet perhaps the interposition of the European Powers in behalf of Greece is not in the strictest conformity, in this respect, with the voluntary, however consistent with the necessary law of nations.

It is observed by the distinguished writer whom we have so often quoted,* that the alliance established between the law of nature and the conventional law of nations, by the writers on these subjects, had the effect of presenting more enlarged and philosophical views to the minds of speculative statesmen, and led to more liberal doctrines respecting commercial policy, and the other relations of states. But we shall now dismiss this part of the subject, and proceed to show briefly what frequent reference to these natural fountains of justice is to be found also in the decisions of the ordinary tribunals, both in England and this country.

In every country, ancient and modern, positive laws, as we

* Stewart's Dissertation.

have before remarked, must fall very short of the aims of government, and of distributive and commutative justice. Hence have sprung the prerogatives of commutation, dispensation, and pardon; hence arose the salutary jurisdiction of the Roman *prætor*, the ample powers of British and American courts of equity, and far the larger portion of the common law, in which, from time to time, and as occasion demanded, the principles of natural justice were embodied. The history of that system shows the justice of Professor Millar's remark, that, after other questions of natural justice had also become numerous, they were likewise necessarily classified according to their principles, and formed the equity system; so that law and equity went on in perpetual progression, the former continually gaining ground on the latter. Thus 'every new and extraordinary interposition is, by length of time, converted into an old rule. A great part of what is now *strict law*, was formerly considered as *equity*; and the equitable decisions of this age will unavoidably be ranked under the strict law of the next.*

Such, of necessity, was the original meagerness of positive legislation, that, had the judges regarded only the letter of the existing laws, the legislature could not have kept pace with the daily wants of the people, and the courts would have been almost without employment. By a happy, and indeed unavoidable compromise between the legislative and judicial departments of the English government, it soon came to be established in theory, and was daily reduced to practice, that there is a vast fountain of preëstablished principles or rules of adjudication, which, by a process of sound dialectic, are ascertained and applied by the judges to the new and ever-varying combinations of facts as they arise; and from this power of judicial interpretation, and application of principles to facts, the judge is said to *declare* the law, not to *make* or promulgate it. Under this view is it that the 'laws of God,' the 'laws of nature,' and the 'laws of nations,' are considered as integral portions of our common law; and in the gradual progress of adjudication through the lapse of ages, the judges, by a strict adherence to what has been called the 'principle of precedent,' and the 'principle of analogy,' have been enabled to build up the existing fabric of English and American law, which, with all its admitted defects, must still be regarded as

* Millar's Historical View of the English Government, p. 478.

surprisingly systematic. The rule of *stare decisis*, so strictly adhered to wherever title to property, and not the mere mode of procedure, is concerned, has given to that system its certainty and general equity, though at the expense of occasional individual hardship. It is manifest, therefore, that the laws of England and of this country are not to be found in the statute books only, nor in the superadded volumes of judicial reports, nor in Plowden nor Coke; nor would they be found in the most elaborate codes that could be formed. We must still draw from that exhaustless fountain of reason and abstract justice, the code of natural law, much of which is reflected in the pages of Grotius, Wolfius, Puffendorf, Vattel, Bynkershoek, and others. This code, and these authorities, have been often appealed to, and will continue to be, we hope, by British and American judges; and we have pride in perceiving that some of our American jurists have been warmly praised by their trans-Atlantic brethren,* for their exertions to make jurisprudence in this country a science more equitable and philosophical than it has been regarded in England. This they conceive is to be promoted, as Mr Du Ponceau has declared, by establishing it as a maxim, 'that pure ethics and sound logic are also parts of the common law.'† The parallelism of the Roman code with the natural law has been the boast of its admirers; and it has been the aim of some American jurists, among whom our author is to be numbered, to draw the attention of students to the consideration of that great body of wisdom, less jealousy of which in the common lawyers would have been fortunate for the improvement of the common law.

Our limits do not allow us even to glance at the numerous instances in which this view of the law of nature, as comprehended in the common law, has been sanctioned by the judges and lawyers of England. 'If any case happen for which there is no statute or precedent, common law shall judge according to the law of nature and the public good.'‡ Blackstone, in his Commentaries, regards the law of nature as an integral part of the laws of England, and as paramount whenever they come in conflict.§ The same doctrine is inculcated by St Germain,||

* London Jurist, for March, 1827, and Park's Contre-Projet to the Humphreysian Code, *passim*.

† Du Ponceau on Jurisdiction.

‡ Jenkins, Centu. 97, 117.

§ Commentaries, 42. || Doctor and Student, Dialogue i, Chapter 5.

by Wynne,* by Bentham,† by Lord Coke,‡ Lord Hobart,§ Bracton,|| Fortescue,¶ and many others.

The law of nature has been appealed to in numerous legal and other discussions besides those already mentioned, and the authority of writers upon it has been admitted with as much respect, as is accorded to the approved treatises on various branches of the municipal law by a Fearne, a Hargrave, a Butler, or a Preston. It was thus in the question, whether by the Common, as by the Roman law, gifts are subject to repetition for gross ingratitude in the donee.** By the civil law, an emancipated slave returned to his state of servitude for flagrant ingratitude to his master; in England, the maxim was, *Semel manumissum semper liberum*. This law was likewise appealed to on the question of *Commendam*.†† As to the means of distinguishing between things *mala in se* and *mala prohibita*, Chief Justice Vaughan, in the case of *Thomas versus Sorrell*,‡‡ delivered a most able and learned opinion, showing his intimate acquaintance with the law of nature, and the writings of Selden, Grotius, and others. (See also Foster's Discourses, Disc. ii, ch. 1; 12 Coke's Reports, 76; Lord Macclesfield's speech on Impeachments, and Stillingfleet on Resignation Bonds.) So, likewise, as to allegiance, in Calvin's celebrated case, and as to the rights of the *antenati* and *postnati*, Lord Coke greatly relies on the *jus naturæ*, and speaks of it as the *lex æterna*; and he seeks for its lights in all the treatises then known.§§ We might also here refer to the celebrated controversy between Milton and Salmasius as to the legality of the proceedings of Charles the First; to the discussions relating to the exaction of ship-money, and those relative to the dispensing power; in all which the laws of nature and nations were discussed and relied on. Nor can we omit to mention the elaborate opinions of Chief Justice Vaughan in the cases of *Harrison versus Dr Burwell*, ||| and *Hill versus Good*, ¶¶ in which the law of nature

* Eunomus, Dialogue i, Section 17.

† Fragments on Government, 109.

‡ 7 Coke 126; 3 Institutes.

§ Reports 87, 149, 225; 12 Modern, 687.

|| Liber i, Chapter 1. ¶ Chapter 8:

** 3 Institutes, 151; Doctor and Student, Dialogue i, Chapter 6; Dialogue ii, Chapter 45.

†† Hobart's Reports, 149.

‡‡ Vaughan's Reports, 331.

§§ 7 Coke, Calvin's Case, 12 b.

||| Vaughan's Reports, 207—250.

¶¶ Ibid. 302—329.

was fully investigated on the subjects of incestuous marriages, and of the nullity of laws for want of promulgation. These opinions could have been pronounced only by a judge who had extended his researches much beyond the confines of the strict common law of England. In connexion with these opinions we may refer to *Aughtie versus Aughtie*,* *Burgess versus Burgess*,† *Butler versus Gastrill*,‡ *Wightman versus Wightman*,§ and finally to the question of the validity, under the *jus naturæ*, of a man's marriage with his deceased wife's sister, the affirmative of which was maintained by Mr Noah Webster,|| and the negative by Dr Livingston.¶

The natural law has also been relied on in cases where the question was involved as to the mode of acquiring and parting with property in things *feræ naturæ*; and in *Fennings versus Lord Grenville*,** *Gillet versus Mason*,†† and *Buster versus Newkirk*,‡‡ it was decided on its principles, that property in such things can be gained only by possession and not by pursuit. The second of these cases, and that of *Wallis versus Mease*,§§ related to the property of a swarm of bees; that of *Pierson versus Post*,||| to the right of killing a fox pursued by another; yet they were not settled without reference to Grotius, Puffendorf, Barbeyrac, and Bracton. A melancholy instance of a resort to one of the rights of nature, that arising from extreme necessity, is related in a note to page 124 of the 'Legal Outlines.' It is the story of the carpenter, who, with his son, was engaged in repairing a steeple in a country town. The boy was seized with a vertigo when at a lofty point of the spire; and the father, who was a few feet below him, finding that his son's fall would inevitably involve his own destruction, gave the ladder a tilt in a direction from himself, and precipitated the child to the earth. We do not know that he was ever tried for this act of dreadful necessity.

The right of *gleaning*, as being what is called *harmless profit* by writers on natural law, was at one time held in England to be a common-law right. It has twice been the sub-

* 1 Phillimore's Reports, 201.

† Gilbert's Reports, 156.

‡ Essay's 1790, Number 26.

** 1 Taunton's Reports, 242.

†† 20 Johnson's Reports, 75.

§§ 3 Binney's Penn. Rep. 546.

† 1 Haggard's Reports, 386.

§ 4 Johnson's Chancery Reports, 343.

¶ Dissertation, published in 1816.

‡‡ 7 Johnson's Reports, 16.

||| Caine's New York Reports, 176.

ject of legal adjudication there, and is now denied to be law.* The right to literary property, independently of positive laws, has also been discussed in England with perpetual reference to the principles of natural jurisprudence, especially in the great case of *Miller versus Taylor*.† Dependent on the principles of this universal law, and the subject of frequent judicial investigation, is also the right of *eminent domain*, or the sovereign power inherent in all governments, of appropriating private property to public uses, after just compensation made. The reader may see in what manner this subject has been treated, in *Leader versus Moxon*,‡ *Rex versus Cook*,§ case of the Isle of Man,|| *Lindsey versus the Commissioners*,¶ the *People versus Platt*,** and *Bradshaw versus Rodgers*.††

Whether civil laws create a moral obligation to their observance, or leave it optional either to obey them or submit to their penalties, is a question which has often been made, and which can be solved only by an examination of the principles of ethics and natural jurisprudence. Moralists have generally decided in favor of the moral obligation. Blackstone, who has inculcated a contrary doctrine,‡‡ has been ably refuted by Mr Sedgwick in his 'Critical Remarks on the Commentaries,' §§ and also by Judge Tucker in an annotation.|||| In the case of *Aubert versus Maze*,¶¶ the question was as to the right to recover back moneys paid on a transaction *malum prohibitum*. The court had no hesitation to repudiate the distinction attempted to be set up, between the right of repetition in this case and where the transaction was *malum in se*; and the judges stated emphatically, that civil laws create a moral obligation to their observance. Mr Hoffman adverts several times to this topic; and his consideration of the nature of *obligation*, of *sanction*, and of the general properties of law, will set it in a point of light sufficiently clear.*

We might embrace in this view, the many discussions which have occupied English and American courts, as to slavery and the slave trade; whether the laws of any country which

* *Steel versus Houghton*, 1 Henry Blackstone's Reports, 53; 3 Blackstone's Commentaries, 212. † 4 Burrow's Reports, 2303.

‡ 3 Wilson, 461; also *Sutton versus Clark*, 3 Campbell, 403.

§ Cowper's Reports, 26. || Cited, 2 Dallas, 214.

¶ 2 Bay's Reports, 38. ** 17 Johnson, 215.

†† 20 Johnson, 103. ‡‡ 1 Commentaries, 57. §§ Pages 52—64.

|||| Tucker's Blackstone, 58. ¶¶ 2 Bosanquet & Puller, 375.

* Legal Outlines, 70, 272, 282, &c.

sustain slavery, have any extra-territorial operation, so as to call on the courts of other countries to respect the right of property in slaves ; whether the slave trade be in violation of the law of nature, or of the voluntary law of nations ; whether that trade be piracy independently of treaties, making it so as between the contracting parties, &c. &c. Our author, in his inquiry into the legal causes of slavery, and how the state of the parent may affect that of his offspring, admits, in the course of his volume, that it may legitimately arise from individual consent, from the necessary disposal of parents, from birth, from the obligation to make reparation for damage done to individuals or to the public, and, lastly, from just war ;—all, however, with great and important limitations of the abstract doctrine. He properly distinguishes, on the general question of the alienableness of liberty, between natural, civil, and political liberty, the losing sight of which distinction has been productive of some errors. As to political liberty, when it is considered that, in its absence, no other sort, whether natural or civil, can ever be long or entirely safe, we may certainly conclude with our author, that he who ‘ yields it up on any occasion whatever, when it can be asserted with any prospect of success, commits such a crime against a prudent economy of his rights, as merits the appellation of a great enormity.’ * Our Declaration of Independence asserts the unalienableness of liberty, and the history of human affairs seems to show it is hardly ever entirely alienated in fact. ‘ There will be found,’ says Mackintosh, ‘ no institution so detestable as an absolutely unbalanced government ;’ nor has there been any despotism so complete as to prevent the occasional assertion, by the people, of their right to draw back the regards of their rulers to the consideration of their happiness. In these governments, a sudden struggle restores for a while, and in some degree, the balance which free policies aim to secure by regular checks *in favorem libertatis*.

Somewhat in connexion with this subject is the topic which occupies our author’s fifth lecture, the ‘ right of civil government ;’ that is, on what foundation reposes the authority entrusted to rulers. An American refers that authority but to a single source, the consent of the governed ; and so widely and deeply is this maxim established among us, that we hard-

* Page 138.

ly comprehend the opposite and absurd doctrines which have been applied by writers far from contemptible. We hear with incredulity, that royal authority has been defended on the score of *possession*, as if the vulgar adage were as true in politics as in litigation, and as if the *fact* of ruling ill conferred the *right* to do it ; that it necessarily descended by *inheritance*, or was unalterably confirmed by *prescription* and *ancient consent*, as if the right, and, we presume, the talent to govern, might be transmitted like an heir-loom ; or that it arose out of the *virtues* of rulers, according to the strange conceit of Plato and Aristotle, who held good men to be kings *de jure* and *de facto* ; a doctrine which would invalidate the title of many reigns, and cast infirmity sometimes on the elections of the people. Even those who have agreed on *expediency* as the source of the right of civil government, have differed on a very important point, the advocates of kingly power being unwilling to submit to the governed the determination of this expediency ; while, in this country, we refer it wholly to their judgment, that is, in the language of natural law, to 'the consent of the governed.'

By what other tribunal shall we determine either the abstract right of government or its particular form, than by this general consent, which decides even the principles of the natural law, and pronounces on vice and virtue themselves ? For though, according to our author, a man's assent to actions cannot alter their quality ; though there exists a 'fitness of things,' independent of all human opinion, and often mistaken by it ; by what other means than human opinion is this fitness to be ascertained ; where resides this expediency but in the common judgment ; and how is it to be settled, in the particular matter of government, but by the consent of the governed ? While this expediency, therefore, must be 'the law to each man's conscience,' there is no human tribunal to enforce that law, except such as may be established by the common consent, or, what comes the nearest to it, and is equivalent to it for this purpose, the consent of the majority ; to which foundation, therefore, which is that of our own, our author refers all legitimate government.

This subject is discussed by Mr Hoffman with clearness and good sense. The same praise, indeed, may be emphatically extended to the whole of the lecture on the 'right of civil government.' The seventh, on 'law and its general properties,' evinces both research and thought ; and the subject of

the source of the law of nature is well treated in the eighth. Our limits compel us to pass over several matters in the volume, which we intended to make mention of, as well to express our opinion of the manner in which they have been discussed by the author, as to prove the general interest and importance of the questions with which the work is occupied, and their connexion with the studies of the student of mere municipal laws, as well as those of the publicist and the politician. The lecture on feudal law, which concludes the present volume, the first part being a general view of that system on the continent, the second, of its particular modifications in England, is a concise but spirited and lucid abridgment of what may be found more at large in the writers on this subject.

Amidst the great variety of topics treated, or touched on, in this elementary work, we have always to praise the industry with which different opinions are collected and collated, and generally the conclusions at which our author arrives. His method is clear, and his style, for the most part, accurate and easy. Some peculiarities, among which is the occasional too lavish use of epithets, might indeed be pointed out; and he winds up his discussions too frequently with apologies for their introduction or their length. These peculiarities are least apparent when the author grows engaged in his subject, or is employed on topics purely legal. Though the work pretends to no more than the elementary or institutionary character, some of the disquisitions do honor to both the author's ingenuity and his learning. These will be received with respect by that portion of his readers, whose *recollections* only he aims to awaken, while the more familiar points of information abounding in the volume will be generally useful and satisfactory to students. His love of learning is very obvious; nor do we think he overvalues the importance of ethics and natural jurisprudence to law students. If he sometimes praises works on these subjects which have admitted defects, it is probably because he thinks them unduly neglected; for in his '*Course of Legal Study*,' as well as in the work under review, he has shown that he has read them, and wishes them to be read, with due selection.

The earnest conviction, indeed, so apparent throughout the present publication, of the benign influence on the minds and studies of jurists, of ethics and metaphysics, brings to remembrance the observations of Professor Stewart on the latter; 'a

word,' he remarks, 'formerly appropriated to the ontology and pneumatology of the schools, but now understood as equally applicable to all those inquiries which have for their object to trace the curious branches of human knowledge to their first principles in the constitution of our nature.' 'Accordingly,' he continues, 'it will be found, on a review of the history of the moral sciences, that the most important steps which have been made in some of those, apparently the most remote from metaphysical pursuits, (in the science, for example, of political economy,) have been made by men trained to the exercise of their intellectual powers by early habits of abstract meditation.'

On the whole, we greatly commend the scope and general execution of the present volume; and are led to anticipate that the analytical and philosophical spirit displayed in it, will, when extended to the whole scheme proposed by the author, produce a comprehensive elementary work, both useful to students, and acceptable to the profession generally.

ART. VI.—1. *Debate in the British House of Commons on the American Tariff, July 18, 1828.*

2. *The American Tariff*; an Article in the *Edinburgh Review* for December, 1828.

3. *Commerce of the United States and West Indies*; an Article in the *London Quarterly Review* for January, 1829.

IN our late article on the 'Definitions in Political Economy' of Mr Malthus, we took occasion to allude to some remarks upon the Tariff thrown out by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, in a preceding number of that journal; and intimated that if he should, as he then expressed the intention of doing, enter upon a formal discussion of the subject in a future number, we might perhaps in turn be induced to offer some further observations upon it in reply. The writer alluded to has since redeemed his pledge, by publishing the article of which the title is quoted above. It is not, we think, very powerful in substance, or very courteous and candid in manner, and of course does not imperiously call for an answer. But as the question is still under controversy among ourselves; and as British opinions on all subjects have a good deal of weight in this country, although

upon this at least, in which Great Britain is a party directly interested, they are perhaps entitled, as such, to very little ; we shall briefly examine on this occasion those which are stated in the article alluded to, as well as those which have been put forth in one or two other quarters of considerable authority in the mother country in reference to the same subject. The article in the *London Quarterly Review*, of which the title is prefixed, is principally devoted to the question of the Colonial trade, but takes up at the close that of the Tariff, and it is to this latter part alone that we propose at present to direct our attention. The debate in the House of Commons was short and accidental, but afforded opportunity for several members of different parties to express in general terms their respective views ; and it is more for this reason, than for the purpose of particularly noticing the arguments advanced by the speakers, that we have included it among the subjects of this article.

It is in fact the most remarkable circumstance in the state of opinion upon this question in the mother country, that all persons of all parties, who have said anything about it, have concurred, we believe without a single exception, in condemning the American system. Whigs, tories, and radicals, economists and anti-economists, politicians that differ completely upon almost every other point, seem to agree exactly upon this. Thus in the House of Commons Mr Huskisson, a liberal tory, opens the debate by a decided condemnation of our protecting policy. Mr Hume, a thorough reformer, is equally clear against the system, although he finds some apology for it in the British corn laws. Mr Peel, the minister, and a pure tory, agrees with pleasure to Mr Huskisson's request for a copy of the Tariff, and cordially joins him in denouncing this unlucky measure. Messrs Trant, Robinson, and Stuart hold the same language ; and finally Mr C. Grant closes the debate by expressing the satisfaction he had experienced on hearing his Right Honorable friend (Mr Huskisson) bring forward the motion, which is then agreed to without opposition. This unanimity among the different parties in the House is, we think, a remarkable thing ; and it is also worth attention that most, if not all the persons, who have expressed opinions against the Tariff on this and other occasions, are more concerned about the interest of the United States than that of England. They pass over, somewhat lightly, the question, how far this measure may affect their own manufacturers, and are generally inclined to think

that it will do them little or no harm ; but they are all fully satisfied that it is fraught with the most pernicious consequences to us. Mr Huskisson states ' his decided impression, that the interest of the United States would be greatly prejudiced by the course they were about to pursue, and declares that he can prove it to a demonstration ;' but ' does not apprehend that Great Britain will suffer by the duties which the Americans have imposed for the protection of their industry.' Mr Hume pronounces the protecting policy ' foolish, narrow, injurious, and mischievous ;' and adds, that it was ' manfully opposed by *all* the intelligent men in Congress ;' but, has no hesitation in saying, that, ' if America should shut out every article of British manufacture, an ample market for them would easily be found in other quarters.' Mr Peel ' has no doubt that even should the immediate result be to encourage our domestic industry, the final effect would be against us ;' and Mr Grant ' rejoices that the subject has been started, because it affords an opportunity for giving us a little wholesome advice in regard to the mistaken course of policy which we are pursuing, and which must in the end operate to the detriment of the funds of the United States, by lessening the amount of our import duties, and making it necessary for us to increase our direct taxes.'

The same exclusive regard for the interest of the United States is observable in the opinions expressed in other quarters, and some of these good-natured critics are evidently quite out of humor with us for not being more attentive to our own good. ' If America,' says the *Courier* newspaper, ' fancies that she will promote her own prosperity by shutting herself in surly selfishness from the world, she will be grievously disappointed. The system of exclusion laid down in this Tariff will produce her as little profit in a commercial view, as honor in a national one.' In like manner the burden of the article in the *Edinburgh Review* now before us is the fatal influence which the Tariff must necessarily exercise, not on Great Britain, but on ourselves. ' What we object to in their conduct,' says the *Review*, ' is, that they mistake wherein their own interest really lies, and that their restrictions and prohibitions, by narrowing the field of commercial enterprise, are a public and general nuisance, though it is certain that they are infinitely more injurious to themselves than to any other people.' Again, in a tone of mingled flattery and reproach, like that of a kind parent endeavoring to coax a promising but wayward

boy ; ‘Why should Jonathan, who is so very sharp-sighted on other practical questions, be so very blind on this?’ and afterwards, in the same style of elegant pleasantry ; ‘Who will now presume to say that John Bull is the greatest goose in the world? Had he been in Jonathan’s place, we believe he would have said, that it was clearly for his interest to buy his woollens, cottons, and hardware, wherever he could get them cheapest.’ ‘In our ignorance we long imagined that John Bull had been the most gullible of animals, but if Jonathan can swallow such assertions as these, then John has not a vestige of claim to that distinction.’ All this display of argument and humor is completely disinterested, for ‘America cannot inflict any material injury on us by refusing to buy our products, although at present she might injure us by refusing to *sell*.’ The writer in the *Quarterly* does not yield in disinterestedness to his brother of Edinburgh, and is, if possible, even more decidedly and exclusively American. ‘We shall point out the effects of the Tariff, not as they regard Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and the Netherlands, but as they regard the interests of the United States as a whole.’ He then proceeds to enlarge upon the subject, principally under a political point of view ; enters at some length into the controversy that has arisen among us, whether the Tariff law be or be not consistent with the constitution ; and concludes by affirming, that whether we succeed in preventing the importation of foreign manufactures, or whether the people obtain their supplies by the contraband trade, the Tariff will in either event infallibly destroy the revenue. Notwithstanding the complete security felt by these writers in regard to the effect of the Tariff on British interests, they sometimes admit, for argument’s sake, that it may to a certain extent diminish the imports of manufactured goods ; but the supposition of even this extreme case gives them no alarm. They have a remedy prepared, to the application of which they evidently look forward with much complacency. There is a grand corrector ready, whose influence upon vicious commercial and financial legislation they consider as hardly less beneficial, than that of the school-master is supposed by Mr Brougham to be upon political institutions in general. ‘The smuggler, provided we allow him to bring back equivalents, will take care of our interests.’ Under such high protection they are of course safe ;

‘The gods take care of Cato,’

and the British statesmen and writers are quite at leisure to devise the best means of saving poor Jonathan from the disastrous consequences of his own ignorance and folly.

Poor Jonathan will doubtless feel himself too highly flattered by these unusual testimonies of interest and friendship on the part of his respectable elder brother to suppose for a moment that anything more is meant than meets the ear ; nor will he probably resent very highly the reflection implied in them upon his capacity to take care of himself, when he finds it sugared over by so many pretty compliments and fond familiarities. Admitting therefore that the regard for our interest professed by these writers, and by all classes of the British public on this occasion, is entirely sincere and disinterested, and offering with equal sincerity our best acknowledgments in return, we may still perhaps be permitted to inquire, whether it be quite certain that this zeal is according to knowledge. Are our transatlantic friends so fully acquainted with all the circumstances, geographical, statistical, and political, of our situation, as to be able to judge with unerring certainty, at three thousand miles' distance, what measures will best promote our good ? Supposing their disposition to serve us to be as great as our own to serve ourselves, and their ability as much greater, as they may think proper to imagine it, do they possess the complete magazine of facts which would enable them to exhibit this disposition and exert this ability in such a way as to produce beneficial results ? Is not their inferiority to us in this latter respect necessarily as obvious, as their superiority may be, and in their own judgment probably is, in the other ? Differences among intelligent and candid men turn much less frequently upon general principles, than upon the manner of applying them. In this particular case there is little or no dispute about principles, and the only question is about the form under which acknowledged truths are to be reduced to practice in the United States. Now will any British statesman of tolerable candor undertake to affirm, that his advantages for coming to a correct opinion upon such a question are equal to ours ? Would any prudent British physician so far commit himself, as to declare positively upon the strength of a reported case, that a patient who had received the best medical advice that could be had at New York or Boston, had been improperly treated ? And yet how few and simple are the symptoms of even the most difficult and complicated case of illness com-

pared with the vast variety of details that make up the situation, for the time being, of a great community, and which must all be kept in view for the purpose of legislation, especially on matters of an economical kind? The very maxim upon which the British writers found their reasoning against the protecting system is, that every man understands his own interest best, and will take better care of himself, than any body else can take of him. But is not this principle, the general correctness of which we readily admit, as true of communities as it is of individuals? Is it not as completely against these writers on one view of the case, as they suppose it to be against us on another? It is quite clear that the very argument upon which they rest with so much apparent confidence, may be urged by us as a peremptory and unanswerable plea to the jurisdiction of their tribunal, and ought to prevent any British politician from pretending to offer an opinion on the subject in any other way than as a matter of general speculation.

There are two inconveniences in reasoning from general principles without a sufficient knowledge of the circumstances under which they are to be applied. One is, that we are apt to leave out of view facts of importance, that ought to be considered, and the other, that we are apt to keep in view the facts of the case with which we are most familiar, but which may not exist in the one before us. It is easy to see, upon a survey of the British opinions upon our Tariff, that the judgments of our transatlantic friends have been warped by both these causes of error. They take no notice, as we shall have occasion to show, of the various weighty and urgent considerations deduced from the actual situation of the United States, which in our minds are completely decisive of the whole question; and they evidently reason on the supposition of a state of things similar to that which now exists in Great Britain. The general introduction, throughout the world, of the system of an unrestrained importation of foreign manufactures would be highly beneficial to Great Britain; therefore it would be highly beneficial to every other country. Such is the sum and substance of the argument. But mark the difference of the operation of this principle under the different circumstances of Great Britain and the United States. As respects the former country, where capital is abundant and almost every branch of manufactures flourishing to an unprecedented extent, the effect

of the general introduction of the principle is to facilitate the entrance of British manufactures into foreign markets. As respects other countries, that are differently circumstanced, and especially the United States, the effect is to facilitate the entrance of foreign manufactures into the domestic market. In the former case it encourages domestic manufactures; in the latter, it destroys them. Can it be maintained with a shadow of plausibility, that a principle which, under different circumstances, produces such directly opposite results, is to be applied indiscriminately throughout the world, without consideration of the actual situation of particular countries? The precise object of the British politicians in desiring the extension of the system of free importation, is to encourage their own domestic manufactures. We find no fault with them for this, but, on the contrary, approve and admire the zeal with which they pursue a really valuable and patriotic purpose. But can they in turn complain, if we pursue the very same purpose of encouraging our domestic manufactures, though by a different process? Or if they do, is it not obvious to the slightest observation, that they are viewing our policy through the medium of their own interest? Of this again we make no complaint. It is quite natural, and perhaps commendable, that British statesmen should look at everything through British spectacles. But are we to be the dupes of such palpable sophistry? If we are, we shall exhibit but little of the sagacity which the Edinburgh Reviewer is pleased to consider as a characteristic of Jonathan. The grossness of this sophistry was well exposed by Mr de St Cricq, the late intelligent French minister of commerce, in conversation with Mr Huskisson, who was exhorting him to consent to place the relations of the two countries upon the footing of low duties, and a reciprocally free importation of their respective products. The anecdote has found its way into the newspapers, and is worth repeating and keeping in mind. 'The system you propose,' said Mr de St Cricq, 'is excellent for you and detestable for us for precisely the same reason; that is, because we both wish to extend and foster our domestic industry. The operation of it would be to ruin our fabrics, and to build up yours. It is a natural if not a modest request in you to urge us in this way to sacrifice our resources for your benefit; but if we are not surprised at your making the proposal, you will probably not take it ill that we decline it. When our

manufactures are so well established and flourishing as to defy competition, and command the markets of the world, we will then consent to admit yours on a footing of reciprocity. Till then, permit us to adhere to our present policy.' If Mr Huskisson did not wince a little at this retort courteous, his *power of face* must be at least on a par with his intellectual talent, which is certainly respectable.

The beautiful consistency of the British mode of reasoning upon this subject is rendered, if possible, still more conspicuous by a recollection of the suddenness of their conversion to the principle of free and unrestricted trade. For centuries in succession, they kept their ports hermetically sealed against any foreign product, which could possibly be made at home. If every bale and parcel of manufactures from every part of the world had been infected with the plague, the exclusion could not have been enforced with a more strict and relentless jealousy. For the same general purpose the colonies, and those in particular which now form the United States, were prohibited from exercising any species of manufacturing industry, and compelled to receive every article of use, comfort, or luxury, from England. The convenience of every other nation, of their own subjects in every other part of the world, was systematically sacrificed to the promotion of domestic manufactures in the British islands. By a resolute and persevering adherence to this system they finally carry their manufactures to such a height of perfection, that they have not only nothing to fear from foreign competition in the home market, but can enter with advantage into competition with foreign nations even in their own markets. No sooner does this take place, than the statesmen of England perceive at once the error of the exclusive system upon which they have been acting for centuries, and the incontestible truth of the opposite one, as a universal rule of practice. At the same moment they commence a series of negotiations with foreign governments, for the benevolent purpose of engaging them to ruin their own manufactures for the sake of promoting those of Great Britain; and from this time forward, all such foreign governments as do not choose to adopt this patriotic policy, but, on the contrary, continue to act on the principles that have made the prosperity of England, are saluted by the unanimous voice of all the British politicians and writers of all parties and classes with the agreeable charges of gross stupidity, shameful ignorance, and we

know not what. 'They are greater geese than John Bull.' 'They out-Herod George Rose, and would satisfy Lord Malmesbury.' 'Their systems are more iniquitous and absurd than anything in the commercial codes of Austria and Spain.' 'There is no possibility of accounting for the existence of such blockheads as the leading American statesmen, unless by supposing, on the old theory of the metempsychosis, that the soul of Lord Lauderdale (who by the by will probably hear with some surprise the news of his own death) has revived, and now animates another body on the western side of the Atlantic.' In the mean time we may hope, that, under the full effulgence of all this new light upon the subject, the liberal system is at least carried into complete execution in Great Britain itself. Quite the contrary. Still, as before, not a pennyworth of anything foreign is admitted, that can possibly come into competition with any product of domestic industry. Bread itself, the staff of life, must be bought by the people at two or three times its natural price, rather than endanger the interest of the landholders by the admission of foreign grain. In times of scarcity we are invited to relieve their distress, but when plenty returns, the door is again shut in our faces. In short, the commercial liberality of our excellent elder brother stops, as it begins, at the point which appears most suitable for the promotion of his own domestic industry. Against this system we make, as we have said before, no complaint. We think it, on the contrary, the true and correct one. But we really do wonder at the barefacedness with which the British writers upbraid foreign nations in the foulest and most unmeasured language, for no other cause than acting upon British principles, because these principles, when acted upon by others, do not happen to be in exact accordance with British interests.*

* The writer of an article on Russia in the Quarterly Review for January, 1829, takes the British residents at Brussels pretty severely to task for spending their fortunes abroad, although, as he admits, 'they are able to live there, with comparative affluence, on an annual income which would not enable them, without the strictest economy, to struggle through life at home.' In other words, he conceives, that they ought to pay three or four times as much for the necessaries and comforts of life as they cost elsewhere, rather than not have them of English produce. Pursuing his author into Germany, he finds, to his great surprise, that the natives of that country prefer their own hardware, though of inferior quality, to the British. Consistency would seem to require, that their conduct in this respect should be com-

We hardly know a parallel for this inconsistency, unless it be in the conduct of the same British government upon the question of the slave trade. After carrying on this traffic for centuries to a greater extent than any other nation; after buying of Spain the monopoly of it between her and her colonies; after a debate upon the subject of twenty years' continuance in both houses of Parliament, Great Britain finally resolves to abolish it. From that moment the propriety of abolishing it is so perfectly clear, that it is a crime for any other nation to hesitate a moment. The aid of the British navy is politely offered to all the friendly and allied powers for the enforcement of their own laws on the subject, and his Catholic Majesty (like a lawyer who takes a fee on both sides of the same case) is now bribed not to carry on at all the trade, which he was before bribed to allow Great Britain to carry on for him. Both these examples exhibit the intense nationality of John Bull in a remarkable and somewhat ludicrous point of view. As respects the slave trade, the really humane, we may almost say, sacred character of the cause throws a veil over all sorts of irregularities, and makes even absurdity respectable. In the other case there is no such palliating circumstance; and we would really counsel our transatlantic brethren to be a little more circumspect in their egotism, unless they wish to make their island the laughing-stock as well as the workshop of the world.

We conceive, however, that, for the reasons we have stated, the opinions of the British writers on this question ought not, as such, to be allowed much weight. Independently of the direct interest which they have in opposing our system, and giving them all the credit for honesty, ability, and even disinterested attachment to the United States, to which they are fairly entitled, and as much more as they choose to claim, the essential difficulties which we have indicated still remain, and must for ever incapacitate them from giving us any counsel on

mended as a trait of laudable patriotism; but, instead of this, they are severely reprimanded, and treated with the unceremonious qualification of *muzzy-headed smokers*. 'This,' says he, 'is carrying patriotism or prejudice to a great length indeed. We venture to say, that a pair of English scissors may be afforded at Leipsic for three half pence, better than any that can be made in Germany for six pence; but it would be difficult to persuade the muzzy-headed smokers of this.' The worthy critic appears to us to carry both patriotism and prejudice a little farther than even the Germans.

the subject of real value. They cannot possibly possess the necessary knowledge of facts, nor can they, even with the best intentions in the world, avoid looking at the question through the medium of their own habitual feelings and opinions. Their judgments are therefore necessarily suspicious, and can carry no authority with them, excepting such as they may derive from the intrinsic strength of the reasoning by which they are supported. There is one point of view indeed, and one only, under which the British opinions on this subject are entitled, as such, to some attention; and that is, when we consider them as indications of the efficiency of the Tariff for the accomplishment of its objects. We are far from supposing, that the British writers intend to deceive us when they represent themselves as arguing the question exclusively with reference to American interests; but we are not quite sure, that they have not partially deceived themselves, and that the singular zeal for our welfare and prosperity, which they unanimously profess on this occasion, is not, in some degree at least, the effect of a secret consciousness, that their own manufactures will be injured by the permanent establishment of the American system. We are aware, that they pointedly and loudly disclaim any such fears, and profess the most perfect security; nor are we any more disposed to doubt the sincerity of these protestations than that of the others; but it is not impossible, or rather it is quite consistent with the ordinary course of human feeling and action in such cases, that these writers should express their hopes under the form of opinions, and should endeavor to persuade others of what they would gladly persuade themselves. Without intending, in short, to represent the British politicians as worse or better than those of any other country, we are strongly inclined to regard their present extraordinary and unprecedented zeal for our good as merely an indirect expression of that which they usually and ordinarily feel for their own; and must venture to interpret their profuse and repeated professions of perfect security, as unconscious and involuntary indications of a good deal of real apprehension at bottom. Thus considered, these publications are valuable to us as proofs of the extent to which the Tariff is likely to operate upon Great Britain. It can never, of course, be the wish or the policy of the United States to adopt any measure for the direct purpose of injuring that or any other country, excepting in time of war; but it is clear, that in the present case we can only effect

our object, which is that of protecting and extending our own manufactures, by diminishing the importation of British ones. The extent, to which this diminution takes place, is therefore an exact measure of the benefit that will accrue to ourselves; and if we have reason to suppose, from the loudness and unanimity of the expression (in whatever way, direct or indirect,) of British feeling on the occasion, that the diminution is likely to be considerable, we know by the best possible evidence, that we are on the right track; that the Tariff is what we meant that it should be; and that, by giving it a fair trial, we shall be able to assure ourselves, whether the adoption of a *bonâ fide* American policy be or be not as beneficial a thing to us as we have reason to suppose it. When, therefore, we find the British writers so busily engaged in endeavoring to reason, persuade, advise, coax, flatter, wheedle, and frighten us out of our system, we ought to look upon them as exhorting us all the time, by the strongest arguments they could possibly use, and the only ones to which we could safely listen, to persevere in it. Such, in our view, is the only lesson which the British opinions on this subject are fitted, as such, to convey to us, and it is one which, we trust, will not be lost upon the American public.

But although we can derive no other instruction than this from the British opinions on the Tariff, considered as such, it is nevertheless natural and proper to give a reasonable degree of attention to the arguments by which they are supported. We owe it to ourselves to improve every opportunity for extending our information and correcting our conclusions upon matters of public policy; and if the British can really give us any valuable hints upon the one now under consideration, we ought to allow them their just weight, however questionable the shape under which they come. Having therefore, in the preceding pages, cautioned our readers against the error of putting implicit faith in such suggestions, and shown, as we trust, satisfactorily, that the authority of the British writers is of a negative, rather than positive kind, we shall now proceed to examine, with the brevity that suits the present occasion, their reasoning, and particularly that of the *Edinburgh Reviewer*. There is little or no novelty in the statement of the argument given in the article before us, but it may be fairly enough considered as a summary, in a not very powerful form, of what can be said upon the subject; and we shall of course have opportunity

in noticing it to take a rapid survey of the leading points of the discussion.

We have no disposition, as we have already intimated, to contest the correctness of the general principle of the equilibrium of trade, although we are of opinion, that it can only be received, even as a general principle, with important qualifications. It is also unnecessary to examine here the nature and extent of these qualifications; for although the principle is assumed by the Reviewer in the article before us, the correctness of his conclusions does not depend at all upon the greater or less degree of extension that may be given to it in the abstract. He very properly argues the question upon considerations deduced from the peculiar circumstances of the United States. He fully admits the great advantages that, in general, accrue to a country from the possession of domestic manufactures, and is ready to assent to all that General Hamilton has said to this effect *and much more*. He also admits, with equal frankness, that our manufactures cannot at present sustain the competition with those of Great Britain, and that a free importation of the latter would ruin them. The natural conclusion from these premises would appear to be entirely in favor of the protecting system. The Reviewer attempts, however, to make out, that the case of the United States is a sort of exception from the general rule; that, under our peculiar circumstances, agriculture is obviously and decidedly the most profitable employment of capital; that all the labor and capital which we may invest in manufactures must be withdrawn or transferred from agriculture; and that the community sustains a loss by such transfer proportional to the difference in the profitableness of the two sorts of business. The following extract will give the reader a correct idea of the tenor of his reasoning.

‘Among the supporters of the restrictive system in America, the first place is due to the late General Hamilton. His celebrated Report on the subject of manufactures was presented to the House of Representatives towards the close of 1791. It had a very great effect. It is written with considerable talent, and is well calculated to make an impression on those who have not analyzed the real sources of wealth. A very slight examination is, however, sufficient to show the fallacy of the principles on which it is founded. General Hamilton dwells at great length on the advantages resulting from the establishment of manufactures, on the stimulus which they give to industry and invention,

the ample field which they lay open for enterprise, and the great scope which they furnish for the exercise of the various talents and dispositions with which men are endowed. That all this, and much more, may be truly said in praise of manufactures, no one, with perhaps the exception of the Laureate, will presume to deny. But the point which General Hamilton had to consider, was not whether the prosecution of manufacturing industry was, abstractly considered, advantageous, but whether it was for the advantage of the United States to *force* the establishment of manufactures by imposing duties and prohibitions on the importation of manufactured goods from abroad. He has not indeed wholly overlooked this part of the question ; but, as was to be expected, he has entirely failed to make good his view of the case.

‘That the great principle of the division of labor ought to be respected by states as well as by individuals, is a doctrine too well established to require us to say one word in its defence. The circumstances too, under which America is placed, render it peculiarly incumbent on her not to lose sight of this principle. It is not easy to say what species of industry is best for most parts of the old-settled and densely peopled countries of Europe, or which they may prosecute with the greatest advantage. Industry is amongst them in a state of perpetual oscillation ; every new discovery in the arts attracting capital to manufactures, and every improvement in agriculture again drawing it back to the land. But this is not the case in America. There neither is, nor can be, any doubt about the species of industry which it is most for *her* advantage to prosecute. And it is admitted by General Hamilton, and has been admitted by all the subsequent advocates of duties and prohibitions, that, were government to abstain from interfering to protect manufactures, none but the coarser and bulkier sorts could maintain themselves, and that agriculture would draw to itself most of the capital and industry of the nation. Nor is it difficult to perceive why this should be so. The most fertile lands of England, France, and most other European countries, have been long since exhausted ; and we are now compelled to resort to soils of very inferior fertility to obtain a part of our supplies of food. But America is in a totally different situation. She is still possessed of an almost unlimited extent of fertile and unappropriated land ; and it is as obviously her interest to apply herself in preference to its cultivation, and to obtain supplies of the finer sorts of manufactured goods from nations less favorably situated for the prosecution of agricultural industry, as it is the interest of the West-Indians to apply themselves to the raising of sugar and coffee. The growth of raw produce *must*, for a long series of years, be the most profitable species of employment in which the citizens of America can engage. There

can be no doubt indeed, that those branches of manufacture naturally adapted to her peculiar situation will gradually grow up and flourish in America, according as her population becomes denser, and as the advantage, which now exists on the side of agriculture, becomes less obvious and decided. But to encourage, by means of duties and prohibitions, the *premature* growth of manufactures, is plainly to force a portion of the industry and capital of the nation into channels into which it would not otherwise have flowed, because it would, but for these duties and prohibitions, be less productively employed in them, than in those in which it was already invested.

‘ Whatever therefore may be said with respect to the restrictive system in other countries, in America it seems to be destitute even of the shadow of an excuse. The advantages on the side of agricultural industry are there so very signal and obvious, that to attempt forcibly to draw capital from it to manufactures is really to adopt that precise line of conduct which is best fitted to check the progress of wealth and population. But though the advantages on the side of agriculture were less obvious than they are, the policy of the American legislature would yet be wholly indefensible. Let it be supposed, in illustration of the effect of prohibitions, that America has been accustomed annually to import a million’s worth of woollens, or some other manufactured product, from Great Britain, France, or any other foreign country ; and let it be farther supposed, that, in order to encourage the manufacture of a similar article at home, she prohibits its importation. Now, in this case,—and what is true of this case is true of all restrictions whatever,—it is in the first place plain, that to whatever extent the home demand for the produce of American industry may be increased by the prohibition, the foreign demand for that produce will be equally diminished. Commerce is merely an exchange of equivalents ; and those who refuse to import, really by so doing refuse to export. If America cease to buy a million’s worth of produce from foreigners, she *must* at the same time cease *selling* to them a million’s worth of some other species of produce ; that is, she must cease sending to the foreigner the articles she had previously been accustomed to export to pay for the articles obtained from him, that are in future, through the agency of the prohibition, to be obtained at home. All therefore, that she will accomplish by this measure, will be the transference of capital from one branch of industry to another. That equality of protection to which all the citizens of the Union are justly entitled, will be encroached upon ; the increase of one employment will be brought about by the depression of some other employment which, to say the very least, was equally advantageous. But it is obviously false to affirm, that such a measure

can make the smallest addition to the capital and industry of the republic, or to the facilities for employing them with security and advantage.'

The reasoning in the above extract, stated in a more condensed form, seems to be substantially as follows. Although it is generally advantageous to a country to supply its own demand for manufactured articles as well as for agricultural produce, yet as the United States, from the great abundance and cheapness of land, have peculiar facilities for agriculture, and as some other countries, particularly Great Britain, possess, in the abundance of capital and cheapness of labor, peculiar facilities for manufactures, it is more advantageous for the United States, under these circumstances, to devote themselves exclusively to agriculture, and exchange a part of their agricultural produce with Great Britain for manufactures, than to attempt to manufacture for themselves. This, we suppose, will be considered by the Reviewer as a fair statement of the argument; and we can easily conceive of two communities so situated, that an intercourse of the kind here contemplated would, in fact, be mutually and equally profitable. Such is the nature of the commerce which regularly takes place between all cities and the country around them; and if Great Britain and the United States were neighboring communities, forming constituent parts of one political association, and possessing a complete liberty of mutual intercourse, we should feel no difficulty in assenting to the Reviewer's conclusion. But under the actual circumstances of the case, there are, as we conceive, two or three objections of a very stubborn and peremptory character, not merely to the policy or expediency, but to the practicability of the arrangement suggested by this writer. It can, we think, very easily be shown, that it is wholly impossible for the United States to receive their supplies of manufactured articles in the way above described, and that the absence of domestic manufactures is equivalent in practice to the absence of all manufactures.

1. It is obviously impossible for us to receive our manufactures from Great Britain in exchange for the surplus quantity of agricultural produce which we should obtain by devoting ourselves exclusively to agriculture, unless Great Britain will consent in turn to receive our agricultural produce in exchange for her manufactures. But it is well known, that Great Britain, by her interdiction of the importation of foreign grain, refuses

to receive the agricultural produce of all that part of our population which is employed in raising grain, and which composes at least two-thirds of the whole. The embarrassments which she throws in the way of our intercourse with her West-Indian colonies, as far as they diminish the value of that branch of trade, are equivalent in practice to a refusal to receive another considerable portion of our agricultural produce. We make no complaint of this policy, either as respects the corn laws or the colonial trade. We willingly leave it to British statesmen to judge what measures are best fitted to promote British interests; and as these are ostensibly and professedly directed to the promotion of the domestic industry of the kingdom, the end is undoubtedly laudable, whatever may be thought of the prudence of the means. We only say, that while Great Britain refuses to receive the agricultural produce of two thirds of the population of the United States, it is impossible for two thirds of the population of the United States to send her their agricultural produce in exchange for her manufactures, and that the system which the Reviewer proposes as a substitute for that of domestic manufactures, is of course, as far at least as respects two thirds of our population, out of the question.

It is true, that the Reviewer appears individually to disapprove the policy of the corn laws, and even asserts explicitly, that he is quite as hostile to them as any foreigner, whether American or Pole, possibly can be. He says, that he looks upon them as decidedly opposed to all the best interests of Great Britain; as occasioning the misemployment of a large amount of industry and capital; as multiplying at one and the same time the chances not only of famine but also of glut; and as tending, by raising the average price of food, and consequently the rate of wages, to an artificial elevation, to depress the rate of profit, and cause the transference of capital to other countries. He is willing to assent to all that can be said, even by the Harrisburgh delegates, in vituperation of the corn laws, and affirms, that it is therefore *needless* to tell him, that England has acted, and is in this instance still acting, upon that very system of policy which he condemns. It is not impossible, that, if the occasion had appeared to require it, the Reviewer might have been equally explicit in his disapprobation of the British colonial system, which has not in general been much in favor with the writers of his fraternity. But while we cheerfully admit, that it would be quite superfluous

to employ much time and labor, in attempting to convince him of the impolicy of the corn laws, of which he seems to be so fully satisfied, it is apparently not wholly unnecessary,—since the consideration seems to have escaped him,—to remind him, that the unfavorable opinion which he entertains of these laws, does not authorize the cultivator of the United States to export his produce to Great Britain. It is absolutely necessary for this purpose, that the prohibitory act of Parliament should be repealed. The Reviewer must surely be aware, that the mere signature of *Robert Peel*, or the person, whoever else he may be, that signs the instructions founded in that act, would have more weight with the custom-house officers, than a whole article in the *Edinburgh Review*, or even the *Quarterly*, which, of the two, would probably be viewed at the custom-house as much the better authority. If a shipmaster from the United States should enter one of the British ports with a cargo of flour, and on being met by the prohibitory act, should allege in reply, that this act was in opposition to the theories of Adam Smith, had been formally disapproved in the *Edinburgh Review*, and was consequently not in force, there cannot be a doubt that the collector would refuse to listen to him; and it is not improbable, that the fact would be commented upon in the next following numbers of the leading reviews, and placed on record with the memorable affair of the *geocentric latitude*, as another example of the characteristic cunning with which Jonathan so often, and in general so unsuccessfully, attempts to overreach the straight-forward honesty of his unsuspecting elder brother. It is in short abundantly clear that if the writer before us wish to make his opinion upon the corn laws bear upon the state of the commercial relations between the two countries, he can only succeed, by inducing the British Government to adopt that opinion. It is really not our fault if we do not send to Great Britain, in exchange for manufactures, the agricultural produce which Great Britain refuses to take; and it is therefore to his own ministry, and not to us, that the Reviewer should address his mingled strain of argument, reproof, and raillery. So able a writer, by giving his labor the proper direction, may doubtless carry his point without much difficulty; but until he has done this, we may venture to say to him in his own words, and perhaps with more propriety, that it is needless for him to tell us what he thinks of the corn laws,

since his opinion of them, whether favorable, or unfavorable, can in no way modify their effect upon our commerce.

The Reviewer affirms indeed in the course of the article, that Mr Otis and others are mistaken in supposing that Great Britain refuses to take from us any considerable portion of our produce. It is really amusing to see the cool and unhesitating confidence with which this transatlantic journalist represents our most enlightened citizens as not knowing what portions of our produce Great Britain will or will not take from us ; nor is it easy to see how he reconciles this assertion with his large and frank admissions in regard to the corn laws. If he believe himself what he says, he must of course suppose that grain does not form a considerable portion of the produce of the United States ; and if such be his opinion, the fact only shows that he is, as we intimated in our preliminary remarks that every foreign writer necessarily must be, destitute of the information respecting the statistical and political situation of the United States which is indispensable to the formation of a correct judgment on the policy of the Tariff. The part of the population employed principally in raising grain, which we have rated at two thirds, was estimated by Mr Clay in his excellent speech on the Tariff of 1825 at four fifths, and we have no doubt that his computation is the more correct of the two. Mr Addington, an intelligent English gentleman, who resided several years among us as a diplomatic agent of his government and is now their minister at Madrid, has given a correct view of the subject in his official correspondence with his employers, which has since been published. He there states in substance, that it cannot reasonably be expected of us to take British manufactures in exchange for our produce, while we are prohibited by Great Britain herself from giving our produce in exchange for her manufactures ; and he intimates it as his belief, that if the British corn laws had never existed, the protecting policy would not have been thought of among us, because the great grain-growing middle states, which have been, and still are, its principal supporters, would in that case have had no adequate motive for desiring its adoption.

2. We do not however quite agree with Mr Addington in this latter opinion. Although the British corn laws render it physically impossible for the greater part of our population to consume British manufactures, and ought therefore to prevent every Englishman who has the least sense of shame or consis-

tency from uttering a word against our protecting policy, we are nevertheless far from being certain that a repeal of these laws would materially alter the case ; and the second objection we have to oppose to the policy recommended by the Reviewer, as a substitute for that of domestic manufactures, is, that it is rendered impracticable not only by the act of the British government itself, but by the still more decisive and inexorable fiat of nature. The commerce contemplated by the Reviewer between an exclusively agricultural community on the one hand and an exclusively manufacturing community on the other, might, as we have intimated above, be carried on with profit between neighboring regions forming parts of the same political association, and is in fact habitually carried on with great mutual advantage between the inhabitants of towns and of the country around them ; but it cannot in the nature of things possibly exist between two great nations politically independent, situated on opposite sides of a vast intervening ocean, and in different quarters of the globe. The mere fact of political independence opposes an insuperable obstacle to this arrangement, as we shall presently show ; but waving this consideration, and looking at the subject simply under an economical point of view, we would venture to ask this writer whether it be in his opinion, we will not say expedient or desirable, but physically practicable for the different classes of laborers which enter into the composition of all societies, economically considered, to dwell on opposite sides of the globe and exchange their several products at the distance of thousands of miles. Will the Reviewer himself undertake to affirm that it is possible for the tailors, hatters, shoemakers, and other manufacturers of England or France to receive their grain, meat, vegetables, and materials from the cultivators on the banks of the Monongahela and the Allegany, and the latter in turn, their hats, coats, shoes, and other manufactured articles from Paris and London ? We know that by improvements in the modes and means of transportation much may be effected in the way of shortening distances and bringing remote places into communication with each other ; but it is not less obvious that there are certain limits, and those by no means very extensive, beyond which it is impossible for communities to depend upon each other for supplies of the necessities and comforts of life. The interchange of articles of ordinary use supposes in the first place, and absolutely requires, a great deal of personal communica-

tion between the parties. Clothing for example must be made to suit the person of the wearer. Is the London tailor then to make a voyage across the Atlantic in order to measure his customer on the banks of the Susquehannah and the Wabash, or are the latter to leave their estates and repair to the other side of the world to be measured every time they want a new coat or a new pair of boots? Of agricultural articles again many are perishable, and will not bear transportation. The fresh meats, vegetables, and fruits, which enter so largely into the ordinary consumption of civilized communities must be consumed in the neighborhood of the spot where they are raised, or not at all. Of agricultural articles that are not perishable, almost all are bulky, and can only be transported to a great distance, even with the advantage of the greatest facilities and the most improved methods, at an expense which vastly augments their original value, and of course diminishes the demand for them to the same extent. It is in short so abundantly clear that a commerce in the necessities and comforts of life, like that which is carried on everywhere between town and country, cannot possibly be carried on between remote communities like Great Britain and the United States, that we really deem it superfluous to waste many words upon the subject. Such is the force of truth, that the Reviewer himself, at the very moment of recommending this impracticable intercourse, draws with sufficient correctness the distinction between the manufactures which we might conveniently receive from abroad, and those with which we should naturally supply ourselves; and the only wonder is, that he did not perceive that his concessions on this head were fatal to his own argument. He admits in the above extract that it would be natural and expedient for us to manufacture at home the coarser and bulkier articles of ordinary use, without appearing to recollect that it is precisely upon these coarse and bulky articles, which compose the great mass of our imports from Great Britain, that the present question turns. It is acknowledged by all to be a matter of comparatively small importance whether we make at home or receive from abroad our jewelry, laces, wines, and other such products of mere luxury, because the consumption of them is necessarily in any case extremely limited. The coarse and bulky articles of ordinary use, whose cheapness renders them accessible to the mass of consumers, the cotton and woollen cloths and hardware of middling and inferior qualities, are the

great objects of attention. It is precisely these with which Great Britain would willingly supply us, and of which we, on the contrary, are desirous to encourage the domestic manufacture. When therefore the Reviewer grants that it is better for us to manufacture the coarser and bulkier articles at home, he in fact concedes the whole question. But his remark on the subject, though completely sufficient as a refutation of his own reasoning, conveys nevertheless a very inadequate idea of the state of the case. It is not enough to say with him that it would be more for our advantage to manufacture at home the coarser and bulkier articles. The real truth is, as we have shown above, and as must be obvious to all on the least reflection, that a trade between remote communities in objects of this description is in its nature impracticable, and that as far as such objects are concerned, the absence of domestic manufactures is equivalent in practice to the absence of all manufactures.

3. Beside these two objections, either of which would perhaps be considered by judicious readers as decisive against the plan of the Reviewer, there is yet a third of a not less peremptory character, which results from the political separation and mutual independence of Great Britain and the United States. The Reviewer has a paragraph on this subject which we quote entire, as a curious specimen of the way in which the most obvious and weighty considerations lose their character under the contracted observation of a narrow and prejudiced mind.

‘Some members of the American legislature, who advocate the protecting system, and of the purity of whose motives no doubt can be entertained, seem to lay a great deal of stress on the assumed principle, that no people can truly be said to be *independent*, if they are indebted to foreigners for supplies of any commodity of very great utility. There is some apparent, but no real foundation for this opinion. The fallacy lies in attaching an erroneous meaning to the term independent. No one would reckon a private gentleman, who had his clothes, hats, shoes, &c. made in his own house, as in any respect more independent than one who had money enough to buy them of the tailors, hatters, shoemakers, and other tradesmen. The same is the case with nations. Each, by applying itself in preference to those pursuits for which it has some peculiar aptitude, will be able to obtain a greater command over the necessities and conveniences of life through the intervention of an exchange, and will consequently be *richer*, and more truly *independent*, than if it had directly produced the

various articles for which it has a demand. In commerce equivalents are always given for equivalents; so that there can be no dependence in the vulgar acceptation of the term. The Americans it is true, have on one or two occasions, experienced a scarcity of foreign manufactured goods; but this was a consequence of *their own policy*, of their non-importation acts, and not of the prohibitive regulations of any foreign power. They may rest assured that *no manufacturing nation will ever refuse to sell*. No such circumstance has ever yet occurred; and it may be safely affirmed that it never will. The danger that the American statesmen would provide against, is therefore altogether imaginary. The independence at which they aspire, is the independence of those who swim across the river, that they may owe nothing to the bridge.'

The fallacy of this pretended refutation lies in proceeding upon a complete misconception of the nature of the objection to be refuted. The question is not whether private gentlemen or communities would or would not be rendered more independent by obtaining their supplies of articles of ordinary use within their own territories; but whether communities which *are* politically independent be on that account more or less favorably situated for carrying on a trade in such articles. If the residence of a private gentleman were placed in the neighborhood of two villages, with one of which his communications were habitually interrupted by insuperable obstacles for about half the time, and sometimes for months and years in succession, while they were always open with the other, he would be thought excessively imprudent if he did not depend upon the latter, rather than the former, for his daily supply of provisions. The inconvenience of a commerce in articles of ordinary use between politically independent communities is precisely of the same description. This intercourse is liable to be interrupted at any moment, and, judging from past experience, is in fact, even under the most favorable circumstances, interrupted for about half the time, and sometimes for ten and twenty years in succession by political events. How then is it possible that such communities can carry on with mutual advantage a sort of commerce which indispensably requires a yearly, monthly, weekly, and even daily interchange of products? Every judicious reader must perceive at once that the objection is insuperable, and that the wise speculations of the Reviewer upon the nature of true independence, and the 'vulgar acceptation of the term,' are entirely foreign to the question.

He seems indeed in the concluding part of the above observations, to show some indistinct notion of what the difficulty is, and his way of getting over it is not less singular than his preceding misconception of its character. 'The Americans it is true have on one or two occasions experienced a scarcity of foreign manufactured goods; but this was a consequence of *their own policy*, of their non-importation acts, and not of the prohibitive regulations of any foreign power. They may rest assured *that no manufacturing nation will ever refuse to sell*. No such circumstance has ever yet occurred, and it may be safely affirmed that it never will. The danger that the American statesmen would provide against, is therefore altogether imaginary. The independence at which they aspire is the independence of those who swim across the river, that they may owe nothing to the bridge.' It is difficult to say whether these observations are more remarkable for the flip-pant impertinence of the language, or the obvious absurdity of the reasoning. Let it be supposed that the United States are forced into war to-morrow, by a clear and undoubted aggression on the part of the British government, and that the communications between the two countries are in consequence interrupted for two, ten, or twenty years, as the case might be. Would this interruption be the effect of our own policy? Would it not be the manufacturing nation, which, by rendering it impossible for us to buy, would in fact refuse to sell? Or will it be said that the danger of such an interruption is entirely imaginary? Has no such case ever occurred, or can it be safely affirmed that it never will? The language of the Reviewer, when generalized, means, if it mean anything, that in the political difficulties, that have occurred or may occur between Great Britain and the United States, the former has been and will be always in the right, and the latter in like manner always in the wrong. It amounts in substance to the well known remark addressed by the French lady to her sister, '*Il n'y a que moi qui ai toujours raison.*' This may be very good doctrine on the other side of the water, but is it entitled to much weight in a philosophical discussion, or is it likely to produce much effect in conciliating the feelings and convincing the judgments of the people of the United States? As to the past events to which the critic alludes, it would be easy to show, on authority for which he would probably feel some respect, we mean that of the Edinburgh Review, whether the interruption of commerce

between the two countries was the result of our own policy, or was forced upon us by the unexampled series of aggressions by which Great Britain, under the pretext of exercising her belligerent rights, harassed for twenty years in succession the persons and plundered the property of our citizens. But leaving entirely out of view the merits of the late contest with England, it certainly cannot have escaped the attention of the Reviewer, that this is not the only war that has occurred even in modern times, and that generally speaking, the occasional occurrence of wars, even between the most civilized nations, must be calculated on as inevitable. The most recent experience unfortunately shows, that between such nations, and even at this most enlightened day, it is quite within the compass of possibility, that wars should not only exist, but that they should last with little interruption for five and twenty years in succession. It has in fact been calculated that for the period of nearly two centuries which has elapsed since the peace of Westphalia, and during which Europe claims to have exhibited a higher degree of civilization than was ever known in any other part of the world, every alternate year has been on an average a year of war. Does the Reviewer then suppose that Great Britain and the United States are to be for ever exempt from the operation of the evil passions, and conflicting temporary interests, that drive the nations to these terrific extremities? Does theory, or experience, justify any such belief? Does the tone of the negotiations between the two governments since the last treaty render it probable, that a halcyon age of perpetual peace is to ensue immediately upon the close of two centuries of bickerings and ill humor, twice interrupted by intervals of open war, but never yet for a moment by one of real and unaffected cordiality? Is the language of the leading British journals, the torrent of calumny, for example, which is perpetually poured out upon us by the semi-official quarterly organ of the ministry, likely to produce so desirable a result? Nay, is the very article in the *Edinburgh Review* now before us, the staple of which only varies from direct attack to contemptuous irony, a production well fitted to conciliate adverse feelings and rival interests, and aid in bringing about the millennium, to which the author appears to look forward? The necessary answer to these questions is, we fear, far too obviously in the negative, for even the Reviewer himself to think of giving one of any other kind. Much as we depre-

cate the occurrence of future wars with England, anxiously as we desire that the good understanding which now so happily exists between the two powers may be perpetual, sincerely as we have rejoiced at some recent demonstrations in quarters of high authority on both sides, which appear to authorize the hope of an improvement in their habitual relations, a hope, which, we are happy to say, nothing has yet occurred to diminish materially, we must still consider it as the strict and bounden duty of an American statesman to regard the occurrence of hostilities with Great Britain, or any foreign power with which we have relations, as a thing within the compass of ordinary probability, and to act upon that supposition. It is not our policy, nor yet the policy of the mother country,—for we are not anxious to push any farther than it ought to be carried, the conclusion that might be drawn from the circumstances that led to the last war with England,—it is not then our policy, nor that of the British government, but the imperfection of human nature,—in Shakspeare's phrase, *the penalty of Adam*, which will occasion these hostilities, whenever they may occur, and which renders the supposition of their probability necessary. Should the international relations of the great powers of the Christian world be on no worse a footing for the next two centuries than they have been for the two last,—and it would surely be rash, whatever we may hope, to reason and act on the hypothesis, that the next following age will be better than the best in the history of our race,—we must still calculate, as we have said above, that on an average every other year will be one of war. So far, indeed, are recent and present occurrences from warranting the expectation of any immediate change, in this respect, in the habits of the world, that although the great Christian powers have been at peace, at least among themselves, since the treaties of Paris, there has not been a moment in which the sword has been sheathed in all parts of Christendom; and for two years past there has been, at times, a strong probability of the immediate occurrence of another general war, in which Great Britain would of course be involved, and from which it would require the exercise of great moderation and ability in the government of the United States, to keep them clear.* But whatever may

* Since the above was written, the conclusion of peace between Russia and Turkey has removed for the present the danger alluded to

be the issue of the present crisis, it is at all events the duty of an American statesman to suppose, and to act upon the supposition, that the country is liable at any moment to be drawn into a war with Great Britain, or any other foreign power,—for the argument applies alike to all. The Reviewer will not, we think, dispute the correctness of this assumption. If then we look to Great Britain, or any other foreign power for our regular supply of the ordinary comforts of life, what is to become of us during these periods of occasional hostilities which may last three years, or thirty, as the quarrel may happen to turn? By what miracle are we to find, at an hour's warning, resources before unemployed that shall furnish us with substitutes for this supply? Where are we to look for the bridge, to which the Reviewer so pleasantly alludes, and which is to conduct us safely over this otherwise somewhat awkward gulf in our economical arrangements? Are we to extemporize at the commencement of every war, as we did at that of the last, a set of manufactures sufficient for the consumption of twelve, fifteen, or, looking forward only to the end of the next five and twenty years, twenty million persons, only to see them all shaken to their foundations by the return of peace, and sinking in one general ruin, as they did before? Warped as the judgment of the Reviewer evidently is by habitual prejudices and national feelings, we cannot believe him so totally blind to the most obvious considerations of expediency as to counsel such a policy; and we would leave it with confidence to himself to decide, whether it would not be the duty of a wise community to provide, by every imaginable means, against the recurrence of such fatal and widely spreading disasters; whether, were it even true, as it is not, that domestic manufactures would be, in the long run, dearer than foreign ones, an annual pecuniary sacrifice of considerable extent, made in this form, would not be decidedly preferable, whether on the score of interest or feeling, to supporting the incalculable losses and miseries of every kind produced by such convulsions. For ourselves, we have no hesitation in saying, that were there no other argument in favor of a protecting policy except the single consideration to which we have now been adverting, we should still regard it as established beyond the possibility of question.

in the text. We hope to offer in some detail in a future number our views of the influence of the war, and its results on the political situation of Europe and America.

We may add, that the same consideration, duly weighed, would furnish the Reviewer with a justification, which does not appear to have occurred to him, of the corn laws of his own country.

Such, however feebly and imperfectly expressed, appears to us to be the substance of the argument upon the merits of this case, as stated by the Reviewer himself. He fully admits the great advantages that result in general from the possession of domestic manufactures, but contends, that in consequence of the peculiar facilities enjoyed respectively in the United States for agriculture, and in Great Britain for manufactures, it would be more expedient for us, under these particular circumstances, to devote ourselves exclusively to agriculture, and obtain our supply of manufactures from foreign countries in exchange for our surplus agricultural produce, than to attempt to manufacture for ourselves. To this we have replied, first, that Great Britain refuses to receive the agricultural produce of by far the greater part of our population, and thus, by her own act, renders this arrangement impossible; secondly, that the expense and inconvenience of transporting by land and water, over such immense distances, the bulky articles of ordinary use, are so great, as to make a trade of this kind substantially impracticable, were it even allowed by law; and thirdly, that the intercourse of independent nations is liable to such interruptions, that it would be highly impolitic, or rather completely ruinous, for them to depend upon each other for the regular supplies of the usual necessities and comforts of life. Each of these objections appears to us to be of a decisive and peremptory character, and we cannot but think that taken together they must carry conviction to impartial and unprejudiced minds. If then it be impracticable for us, for these reasons, to receive our supplies of manufactured articles from abroad, it follows, that we must either procure them at home, or not have them at all, and that the absence of domestic manufactures is, as we have intimated above, equivalent in practice to the absence of all manufactures. This being the case, were it even true, as the Reviewer supposes, that the capital invested in manufactures must be withdrawn from agriculture, and that the amount of our exports of agricultural produce would diminish in proportion to the diminution, occasioned by the Tariff, of our imports of British manufactures, it would still be our policy to encounter these results, which are in themselves indifferent, and only temporarily inconvenient, when

considered as changes in the previous direction of labor, rather than forego the great advantages, which, by the admission of all, and himself among the foremost, result from the possession of domestic manufactures. We are happy however to be able to add, that the anticipations of the Reviewer in this respect are, in our opinion, no better founded than the rest of his reasoning. We see no ground for supposing, that the amount of our exports of agricultural produce will be diminished by the operation of the Tariff, or prevented from increasing as rapidly as it would have done under any other circumstances; and far from occasioning the withdrawing from agriculture of any part of the capital now invested in it, it is quite certain, that the establishment of domestic manufactures is the most effectual, and indeed the only way, by which agriculture can be encouraged or extended in any other form than that of clearing wild land. For the farther illustration of the subject, we shall add a few remarks upon both these heads.

1. If our commerce with Great Britain were, as the Reviewer appears to wish that it should be, of the kind which is carried on between a purely agricultural and a purely manufacturing community, or between town and country, by the effect of which the cultivator feeds the manufacturer as well as himself, and the latter in turn manufactures for the use of both; if, we say, our commerce with Great Britain were of this description, the establishment of domestic manufactures would undoubtedly diminish our exports, because the agricultural produce which we before sent abroad to feed the foreign manufacturer, would now be kept at home to feed our own. Such a change in the state of our industry, instead of being injurious, would however be highly advantageous to us. It would prove, that we employed two domestic capitals, when we before employed only one; and as far as it diminished the foreign trade, it would substitute for it a home trade of equal extent, which all admit to be the more profitable of the two. But this, as we have already shown, is not and never can be the nature of our commerce with Great Britain. Great Britain is a manufacturing nation, that chooses, and very properly, to supply herself with the necessaries and comforts of life from her own resources, that depends, in general, for subsistence upon her own agriculture, and that takes nothing from abroad which she can possibly raise at home. Acting on these principles, she prohibits a great part of our agricultural produce,

and consents to receive only those articles which she cannot produce at all, or of equal quality, in her own dominions, and which she must of course, for her own interest, purchase wherever she can find them of the kind best suited to her purpose. If she purchases our cotton, in preference to that of any other country, it is not because we take a large amount of her manufactures, but because our cotton suits the purpose for which she wants the article better than that of any other country. While Uplands and Sea-Island retain their present cheapness and superiority over the growth of any foreign region, Great Britain will find precisely the same advantage in buying cotton of us that she does now, however much our imports of British manufactures may be diminished by the effect of the Tariff. The loss of our market for her manufactures, from whatever cause and to whatever extent it may happen, would no doubt be to her a positive evil; but this evil, instead of being remedied, would only be aggravated by her refusal to take our cotton, supposing it always to be, as it is now, the best that is raised. Without ascribing to our *pulchra mater* any sentimental fondness for her flourishing family of children on this side of the Atlantic, we cannot suppose that she hates us so much as to injure herself merely for the sake of injuring us; and as it is clearly for her interest, since she cannot raise cotton herself, to purchase the best wherever she can find it, it is quite certain that she will continue to take it of us while ours shall be the best, Tariff or no Tariff. If, on the other hand, our planters shall ever, through their own neglect, or the greater skill and industry of others, lose their present superiority, it is equally certain that Great Britain will no longer buy of them, although we should take from her twice as great an amount of her manufactures as we now do.

It may be said, however, and has indeed been said on both sides of the water, and particularly in the article in the Edinburgh Review now before us, that Great Britain, irritated by our endeavors to exclude her manufactures, and desirous to retaliate upon us by ceasing, if possible, to take our cotton, will adopt measures for encouraging the growth of that article in her own possessions in India. But this consideration can have no weight in an argument against the protecting policy; first, because the superiority of our cotton is so well established, that our planters have no more reason to apprehend the competition of India or Egypt in the raising, than Great Britain has

in the manufacturing of it ; and, secondly, because Great Britain, if she can possibly raise within her own dominions cotton of equal quality with ours, will unquestionably cease to buy of us, whether we take her manufactures or not. In this she would only act upon her settled and very judicious system of making herself, as far as possible, independent of foreign nations in regard to her supplies of articles of necessary and ordinary use. Our planters must therefore resign themselves to suffer the loss of the British market whenever an article of equal or superior quality shall be raised within the British dominions, whatever may be, in other respects, the state of the trade between the two countries. But until there shall be a well ascertained equality or superiority in the British article, a thing of which, as we remarked above, we have no apprehension, we may rest assured that Great Britain, with the immense amount of capital which she now has invested in the cotton manufacture, will try no rash experiments, and run no unnecessary risks, in the way of encouraging her own cotton or discouraging ours. The effect of employing an inferior material would be to destroy the present superiority of her fabrics ; and as the value of the fabric is from ten to twenty times, according to its fineness, greater than that of the material, it is obvious that there is no motive for making any change, however advantageous, in the present method of obtaining the latter, which would be attended with the slightest danger to the success of the manufacture. The late experiment in the woollen trade would probably be sufficient to cure the British government of any disposition to tempt fortune in this way, which they may have felt before. We have before us, in the same number of the *Edinburgh Review* which contains the article we are now noticing, another detailing the results of this experiment, from which it appears, that the British government by imposing a duty of sixpence the pound on foreign wool, for the purpose of encouraging the consumption of their own, injured the quality of their cloths so much as to render them unfit for several markets where they were before in request. It is given as the opinion of the most intelligent woollen manufacturers of the kingdom, that, had the duty been continued a few years longer, it would have completely ruined the branch of industry in question, and that, although the government made great haste to take it off after a short trial, it had already produced such mischievous effects, as will probably

never be repaired. With such results from this recent experiment before her eyes, we may rest assured, that Great Britain will not be readily induced, by pique or any other motive, to venture on a similar one in the still more important branch of the cotton manufacture, which furnishes at present nearly two thirds of the whole exports of the kingdom. On this head, therefore, we conceive that our own planters may, without reposing any undue confidence in the chapter of accidents, set their hearts at rest.

We may remark here, that large as the British exports of manufactured cotton undoubtedly are, they are not quite so large as the Reviewer has thought proper, in the pride of his heart, to represent them, for the purpose of making them appear to greater advantage in comparison with ours. Although the error in his statement on this subject is immaterial to the course of the argument, we deem it proper to point it out, more especially as we shall have occasion, in so doing, to allude to a point of learning, in regard to the present state of British industry, somewhat curious in itself, and not, we believe, very familiar to the public, at least on this side of the water. After quoting a passage from a report made to the meeting of delegates at Harrisburg, in which it is intimated, that our cotton fabrics had been preferred to the British in some of the Spanish American markets (a fact of public notoriety), the Reviewer proceeds to refute the assertion in the following triumphant paragraph.

‘In our ignorance, we long imagined, that John Bull had been the most gullible of animals; but if Jonathan can swallow such assertions as these, John has not the vestige of a claim to that distinction. *Smuggle* American cottons into Great Britain! What an opinion must the Harrisburg delegates have formed of their countrymen when they could presume to call such a statement a “sober truth”! Is there a merchant in the United States so profoundly ignorant as not to know that American, and all other foreign cottons, may be freely imported into our markets on paying an *ad valorem* duty of TEN per cent.? Let us now see how they are driving our cottons out of foreign markets. In 1826, the estimated official value of the whole exports from the United States amounted to 77,595,322 dollars, of which coarse cotton goods of *domestic* manufacture amounted to 1,138,125 dollars; and of these 711,959 dollars’ worth were sent to Mexico and South America. Now, it appears from the official accounts of our custom-house, that the value of *our* exports of cotton goods only, in 1825, amounted to £30,795,000, or about 150,000,000 dollars; and there are good

grounds for thinking, that the value of those exported to Mexico and South America exceeded 25,000,000 dollars, so that the American exports to those countries, some of which are their immediate neighbors, amount to about *two thirds of a per cent.* of our own; a marvellous progress certainly towards "*supplanting the British in all foreign markets*"!

It may perhaps amuse the reader to be informed, that in the midst of this exulting array of capitals, italics, and notes of admiration, which we copy as they stand in the original, the Reviewer has made, apparently not without intention, the trifling mistake of about eighty-two millions of dollars, in the statement which he gives of the value of the exports of cottons from his own country. The nature of it lies chiefly in giving the *official* value of the exports as the real one. The former, as our readers are perhaps aware, is a merely conventional statement, in which the article is valued according to an estimate fixed in the time of King William, and which gives of course about as correct a notion of the actual value of the British exports of cotton cloths, as we should obtain of the amount of capital invested in the bookselling business by estimating every work that is now published at the price at which a manuscript copy of it would have sold before the invention of the art of printing. This official statement of the value of the exports sometimes exceeds, and sometimes falls short of the real value, which is regularly *declared* on oath by the owner. In 1814 the real value of the whole exports exceeded the official by nearly twelve millions of pounds sterling, while in 1828 it fell short of it by nearly sixteen. Now, whatever advantage there may be for other purposes in employing the official statement (and we confess that we are unable to imagine of what nature they can be), it is at all events evident, that when the object is, as in the present instance, to compare the British exports with those of another country, in which there is no such double statement, the real value must of course be used.* The Reviewer, how-

* In the debate on the Budget, of May 8, 1829, Mr Huskisson remarked, in speaking of the amount of exports, that 'he took the official in preference to the real value, because, having been fixed in the time of King William, and having never varied, it expressed the quantity and not the price of commodities.' The official value would perhaps be preferable on this account, for any purpose which required a knowledge of the *quantity* of the exports, although a simple statement of the number of pieces would apparently be far better than either; but where the object is, as in the present case, to compare

ever, compares the *real* value of our exports for 1826, with the *official* value of the British for a *different* year, 1825, that being the one in which the amount of the latter was the largest ever known, having been, as he states, more than thirty millions sterling. In 1826, of course the proper year to compare with ours of the same date, the official value of the exports of cottons was only twenty-six millions sterling. In both these years it exceeded the real by about ten millions sterling, so that there is, on this account only, an error in the Reviewer's statement to that extent; and if we assume as the proper one to compare with ours of the same date the year 1826, in which the official value of the British exports of cottons was, as we have just said, four millions less than the preceding year, the error increases in the same proportion, and rises to about fourteen millions sterling. This sum which, on the Reviewer's calculation of five dollars to the pound, is equivalent to seventy millions of dollars, being deducted from the hundred and fifty millions given in the article, would leave a remainder of eighty millions of dollars as the value of the British exports of cotton, correctly stated for the purpose of comparison with that of

the British exports with those of another country, it is quite evident, as we have remarked in the text, that the real value is the one to be used. We subjoin here a table, containing a comparative statement of the official and real value of the British exports from 1814 to 1828 inclusive, which was read to the House of Commons by Mr Waithman in the same debate, and which we deem somewhat curious. It exhibits a regular and constantly progressive increase in the official, and decline in the real value during the whole period.

Exports of Manufactures and Produce of the United Kingdom, from 1814 to 1828 inclusive, with the official and declared or real value.

Year.	Official Value.	Real Value.	Difference.
1814,	£36,092,167	£47,851,153	£11,759,286
1815,	44,053,455	53,217,445	9,163,990
1816,	36,714,555	42,942,951	6,228,398
1817,	36,697,610	42,955,256	6,257,646
1818,	41,558,585	43,626,253	2,067,668
1819,	44,564,044	48,903,760	4,139,716
1820,	35,634,415	37,339,506	1,705,091
1821,	40,240,277	38,619,897	1,620,380
1822,	40,831,744	36,659,631	4,172,113
1823,	44,236,533	36,968,954	7,269,569
1824,	43,804,372	35,458,048	8,346,324
1825,	48,735,551	38,396,300	10,339,251
1826,	40,965,735	31,536,723	9,429,012
1827,	52,219,280	37,182,857	15,036,423
1828,	52,797,455	36,814,176	15,983,279

ours for the year 1826. But even this sum requires another correction on account of the inequality in the estimates of the value of the dollar on the two sides of the account. The reviewer takes it, as we have just said, at the rate of five to the pound sterling, probably the market price at London at the time when he wrote, while in our reports it expresses a value nine or ten per cent. higher. Assuming as a common standard the ordinary par estimate of four dollars and forty-four cents to the pound, which is that in use with us, the error of the Reviewer rises to about eighty-two millions, the amount at which we have represented it above, and the value of the British exports finally dwindles from one hundred and fifty millions, at which he reckons it, to about sixty-eight. Even this is doubtless a large amount to be exported in cotton by one country in a single year; but it must also be allowed, that an error of eighty-two millions of dollars in a single sum is considerable; and if in the excess of charity, with which we have sometimes been reproached, we suppose it to be entirely involuntary, we cannot but think it peculiarly unfortunate, that the Reviewer should have fallen into it in the course of the very same paragraph in which he dwells with so much apparent satisfaction upon certain supposed inaccuracies of a much less important character, if real, in the Harrisburg Report. By correcting in the same way his statement of the British exports to Spanish America, we shall obtain as the true amount about eleven and a half millions of dollars, instead of twenty-five. This correction raises considerably the proportion, which our exports of the same description bear to them, and which the Reviewer sneeringly states at *two thirds of a per cent.*, meaning probably two thirds of *one per cent.* But if from the value of the British exports to Spanish America, thus corrected, we farther deduct that of the large portion of them which was shipped on wild speculation, and for which no returns whatever have been or ever will be made, and then transfer, from one side of the account to the other the value of the other portion fraudulently sold as of our manufacture, which is known to be considerable, and which proves of course, that the demand for our manufactures is in the same proportion greater than it would appear to be from the actual amount of our exports, we shall find a nearer approach to a balance on the two sides of the account, than we should perhaps think possible upon a first glance at the Reviewer's estimate. It is

no part of our plan, however, to endeavor to represent the value of the British exports as less, or that of ours as greater, than it really is; and our chief object, in adverting to the subject, has been to point out the excessive inaccuracy of a writer, who yet exhibits so little indulgence for what he deems the inaccuracies of others.

But, to return from this digression to the subject before us; as all commerce is of necessity an exchange of equivalents, it may be inquired, and the question is in fact asked by the reviewer, how Great Britain will contrive to pay us for our cotton and tobacco, if we no longer receive from her the manufactures which she now gives in exchange for them? We answer, that she will pay us in money for that portion of the articles she takes from us, for which she does not send us an equivalent in manufactures, just as we now pay her in money for that portion of her manufactures for which we do not send her an equivalent in other products. It is well known, that the proceeds of a considerable part of our exports to other parts of Europe are remitted in cash to London, to pay the balance on our trade with Great Britain, which has hitherto been constantly against us. Should this same balance happen to be found, at any future period, on the other side of the account, the consequence will be, that the proceeds of a part of the exports from Great Britain to Mexico and South America will be remitted in cash to the United States, and that our merchants will bring home from Europe more silks, claret, and Sherry, than they did before. Exchange on the United States will then be at a premium at London, just as exchange on London is now at a premium at New York and Boston. These results need not, we apprehend, be considered by us as of a very disastrous character, nor will they be of any importance to Great Britain any farther than as they indicate the loss of a market for a portion of her manufactures.

We may therefore conclude with confidence, that the amount of our exports will not be diminished in any way by the tariff, or even prevented from increasing as rapidly as it would have done under any other circumstances; and the correctness of the conclusion appears to be confirmed by the experience we have already had of the effects of the new law. The Reviewer himself seems to agree with us on this part of the subject; and if, as we have stated above, he hints that it might be good policy in Great Brit-

ain to endeavor to encourage the growth of cotton in India and Brazil, it is not from a disinclination on his part to buy the article of us, but from a fear that we may, perhaps, hereafter *refuse to sell*! 'It is quite clear,' says he, 'that the less dependence we now place on the trade with America so much the better. She cannot indeed inflict any material injury on us by refusing to *buy* our products, but at present she might injure us by refusing to *sell*; and after what we have seen of Congress, it would excite no surprise if some such attempt were made. We are not therefore sure, that it might not be good policy to endeavor to encourage the importation of cotton from India, Egypt, South America, &c. by reducing or wholly repealing the existing duty on all cotton not imported from the United States.' We know not whether the critic be in good earnest in this intimation that the United States may, perhaps, hereafter refuse to sell cotton to Great Britain, or whether we are to look upon it as a specimen of the pleasantry with which the article is occasionally seasoned. If he really entertain any serious apprehensions on the subject, founded on his view of the policy of our government, he may perhaps be gratified to learn, that Congress is expressly prohibited by the constitution from laying any duty whatever on exports; and as respects the disposition of the planters themselves, there is, in our opinion, no more probability, that they will ever refuse to sell cotton to the British manufacturers, as long as the latter continue to pay them well for it, than there is, that the British manufacturers will cease to purchase it of them as long as they shall raise it of a quality superior to any that is elsewhere produced.

Having had occasion to make use of the phrase *balance of trade*,

' a word of fear
Unpleasing to a Scottish ear,'

we hasten to add, in order to relieve ourselves from any suspicion of heresy, that we are not partisans of the antiquated doctrine on this subject, and that, on the contrary, we fully acquiesce in the modern theory, which is that of Adam Smith, and also, as it seems, of the Reviewer. Our opinions, therefore, on this head, are probably at bottom the same as his; but if such be the case, we cannot but remark, that, in what he says upon the subject in the present article, he has not expressed himself with all the accuracy that might have been

wished, and has apparently sacrificed, in some degree, his regard for truth to rhetorical effect, thinking perhaps with Voltaire, that it is of more importance to strike hard than to hit the right spot. Our readers will judge by an inspection of the passage.

‘On hearing the terms in which some of the leading American orators talk about the mischiefs arising from the *balance of trade* being unfavorable to the republic, and the consequent exportation of specie, one is almost tempted to believe in the doctrine of metempsychosis, and to conclude, that the Roses, the Kenyons, and the Lauderdales of a former age, are again revived in the Baldwins, the Lawrences, and the Everetts of the present. It is difficult to argue with those who, at this time of day, can talk seriously about the balance of trade. To say that the old doctrine with respect to it has been a thousand times shown to be false, contradictory, and absurd, is not enough. The fact is, that the very reverse of it is true; and that every nation, carrying on an advantageous foreign commerce, must import *more* than she exports, and must therefore, according to the transatlantic illuminati, have the balance against her. But in despite of the speeches of honorable gentlemen, and the innumerable essays of Mr Carey, we apprehend that Jonathan is not quite so simple as to export any commodity, except in the view of importing a more valuable one in its stead. It is this greater value which constitutes the profits of the merchants engaged in the foreign trade; and to affirm that it is large, is to affirm, what is not reckoned a very serious evil on this side of the Atlantic, whatever it may be on the other, that the external trade of the country is very lucrative.

‘It would, however, be unjust to individual members of the American legislature to represent them as all approving the exploded and absurd notions with regard to the balance of trade. Mr Cambreling, in an able pamphlet, entitled an Examination of the Tariff proposed in 1821, forcibly exposed the fallacy of the opinion of those who believe, or affect to believe, in the pernicious effect of what is called an unfavorable balance. Mr Webster too, in an admirable speech on the tariff bill of 1824, set the real nature of commerce, and the true doctrine as to the balance, in the clearest point of view. Mr Webster illustrated his statement by a case which, although it failed to make any impression on the majority of his auditors, is so very conclusive, that we believe it will carry conviction to every one who may happen to throw his eye over these pages. “Some time since,” said Mr Webster, “a ship left one of the towns of New England, having on board 70,000 dollars in specie. She proceeded to Mocha on the Red Sea, and there laid out these dollars in coffee, drugs, spices, &c. With this new cargo she proceeded to Europe; two thirds of it

were sold in Holland for 130,000 dollars, which the ship brought back and placed in the vaults of the same bank, whence she had taken her original outfit; the other third was sent to the ports of the Mediterranean, and produced a return of 25,000 dollars in specie, and 15,000 dollars in Italian merchandise. These sums together make 170,000 dollars imported, which is 100,000 dollars more than were exported, and forms therefore, according to the doctrine of honorable gentlemen on the other side, an unfavorable balance to that amount." But honorable gentlemen were proof against this *reductio ad absurdum*. They continued firm in their belief, that the doctrine of the balance was no chimaera, and that the adventure described by Mr Webster was a losing one!'

Whether a belief in the antiquated doctrines of the mercantile system be as general among the politicians of our country as this writer appears to imagine, is, in our opinion, very doubtful; and we could show, if it were necessary, without going beyond the pages of this journal, that at least one of the gentlemen, who are mentioned in the above extract among its partisans, has defended in print the modern theory. But, however this may be, we must venture to repeat, that the manner in which the Reviewer expresses himself on this subject, is far from being as precise as could have been wished, and might even lead an uncharitable critic to doubt whether, with all his exultation over the partisans of the 'false, contradictory, and absurd' tenets of the old theory, and all his professed devotion to the new one, he have himself a very exact idea of the real character of either. The assertion made with so much positiveness, that 'every nation carrying on an advantageous foreign commerce must import *more* than she exports,' is not only obviously false, but is plainly contradicted by the principle repeatedly laid down by the Reviewer himself, that all commerce is of necessity an exchange of equivalents.*

* Mr Adams, in his last Message to Congress, affirms it to be 'a general law of prosperous commerce, that the real value of exports should, by a small and only a small balance, exceed that of imports, this balance being a permanent addition to the wealth of the nation.' The President's remark, which was doubtless founded on some particular view of the subject before his mind at the time of writing, is precisely the reverse of that of the reviewer; and as the latter is true only of nations who have more than an equal share of the navigation necessary for conducting their foreign trade, so the former appears to be correct only on the opposite supposition, that a nation has less than an equal share of this navigation. Thus the real value of

‘Jonathan,’ says the Reviewer, ‘is not quite so simple as to export any commodity except in the view of importing a more valuable one in its stead.’ What then, on this supposition, must be the simplicity of John Bull and other foreigners, who send him the more valuable commodity in return? If called on to explain his remark, the Reviewer would perhaps say, that he meant by a nation carrying on an advantageous commerce, one that was *largely engaged in navigation*; and in this sense of the phrase the observation would be true, because, in the accounts between a nation so situated, and those with which she deals, the article of merchants’ profit would probably be greater on her side than on theirs, and the difference must, of course, be balanced by an additional quantity of goods. But this is obviously a particular case, which forms an exception from the general rule; and the Reviewer, in bringing forward this exception as the general rule, in opposition to his own repeated statements of the latter in the same article, has sacrificed not only accuracy and truth, but common consistency, to his eagerness for a triumph over the ‘transatlantic illuminati.’

Again; although the ‘transatlantic illuminati’ would cheerfully admit, that a nation, which is more largely engaged in navigation than those with which she deals, will necessarily import more than she exports, they probably would not affirm, as the Reviewer supposes, that a nation so situated has *therefore* the balance of trade against her. The Reviewer either does not know, or has inadvertently overlooked in the ardor of controversy, what was meant by the partisans of the mercantile system when they spoke of a favorable and unfavorable balance of trade. A nation was said by them to have the balance of trade in her favor when she exported more of all other articles than she imported, and received the value of the

the exports of China is, as we have stated in the text, greater than that of her imports, because she must pay the foreign merchant, not only for the articles he brings, but for his trouble and expense in bringing them. The United States, on the other hand, having more than their equal share of the navigation employed in their trade with foreign nations, and receiving pay from the latter for this excess as well as for the articles they carry, must of course regularly import more than they export. The President’s remark is therefore apparently incorrect in its application to our country, the one which he may be presumed to have had particularly in view. Both principles, considered as general truths, are at variance, in opposite ways, with the acknowledged axiom, that commerce is naturally an exchange of equivalents.

difference in specie. The balance was against her, on the other hand, when she imported more of all other articles than she exported, and paid the value of the difference in specie. Thus China has, in their phraseology, the balance in her favor on her trade with Europe, because on comparing the articles exchanged (the total value of which must of course be equal after making allowance for the excess of navigation on the side of Europe) it appears that the Chinese regularly export more of all other articles than they import, and receive payment for the excess in specie. In the same way, and for the same reason, the balance is said to be in favor of Great Britain on her trade with the United States. In these and all such cases, the article of *merchants' profit*, which the Reviewer absurdly represents as constituting, according to the mercantile system, an unfavorable balance of trade, has obviously nothing whatever to do with the matter. It is simply one of the items in the account between the two parties, which usually appears on both sides, and is regularly the same on both, because the carrying trade of two countries naturally divides itself between them in equal shares. When the shares are unequal, the excess of navigation on one side is compensated by an excess of goods on the other ; but this circumstance has, as we have said, no connexion whatever with the balance of trade, which is calculated on wholly different principles. Thus, in the trade between the United States and Great Britain there is an excess of navigation on our side, which is of course compensated by an excess of goods on the other. We import for this reason more than we export. But if the excess of our imports over our exports only went to this extent, the balance would not be against us. The balance is said to be unfavorable, because, after setting off against each other all the other articles exchanged, and allowing for the excess of navigation on our side, there still remains a further excess of imports to be settled by a payment in specie, which is in fact annually remitted by us for this purpose, and received by Great Britain. Under such circumstances, the party which receives the specie payment is said, by the adherents of the mercantile theory, to have the balance of trade in its favor, and the reverse ; but the excess of navigation, on which side soever it may happen to fall, has no more to do with the balance than any other item in the account of either party.

We must therefore venture to suggest, with the deference

due to so great an authority, that the Reviewer is mistaken when he says, that every nation carrying on a prosperous commerce must import more than she exports; that he is again mistaken when he says, that a nation so situated would *therefore* be said, by the partisans of the mercantile system, to have the balance of trade against her; and that he is consequently mistaken a third time, when he says that the reverse of the mercantile theory is true. The theory is, that a nation derives great advantages from receiving a specie balance on the settlement of the account of its exchanges with foreigners. The reverse of this theory would be, that it is a very advantageous thing to pay out regularly a specie balance of this description. Now, although the advantages of receiving a specie balance are no doubt wholly imaginary and the theory which supposes their reality false, it would show, if possible, a still greater wildness of imagination to think that there is any positive advantage in regularly paying out such a balance. According to the modern and generally received theory, neither one nor the other of these operations is in itself either advantageous or disadvantageous. The reverse of the old doctrine is just as 'false, contradictory, and absurd,' as the doctrine itself; and the Reviewer, by asserting the contrary and by the other mistakes which he has made on the subject, exposes himself somewhat ungracefully, as in the passage before quoted, to a well grounded charge of inaccuracy at the very moment when he is pluming himself with more complacency, than it would perhaps be quite civil to express, were it even better founded, upon his superiority over the leading American statesmen.

The remarks contained in the last quoted extract on a case, mentioned by Mr Webster in his speech on the tariff law of 1824, confirm what we have just said respecting the indistinctness of the notions of the Reviewer on this subject. It would be difficult, indeed, to accumulate a greater number of errors within the same space than are to be found in his observations upon this transaction. A merchant ships to India the sum of seventy thousand dollars in specie, and after several intermediate voyages and exchanges receives a return of one hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars in money and fifteen thousand in goods, making a total of one hundred and seventy thousand dollars, and giving an excess of imports over exports of one hundred thousand dollars. This excess, says the Reviewer, is considered by the advocates of the mercantile system as

constituting an *unfavorable balance* of trade to the same amount; and as the voyage was a profitable one, the case proves that the theory of the mercantile system is false, and that the reverse of it is true. He considers the argument so conclusive, that he believes it will carry conviction to every one, who may happen to throw his eyes over the article. But how stands the fact? All commerce is in its nature an exchange of equivalent values; and if we suppose this transaction to take place in a regular course of trade (without which it proves nothing any way), the difference of one hundred thousand dollars between the value of the exports, and that of the imports, is exactly equal to the ordinary returns on the other capital beside specie employed in the voyage. Thus far, therefore, the largeness of the difference between the value of the imported and that of the exported article only proves that the capital has been out upon a long voyage, but has no tendency to show whether the transaction be, on the theory of the mercantile system, a gaining or a losing one. In order to ascertain this, we must look at the nature of the articles exported and imported, and ascertain whether there was a specie balance on either side, and if so, on which. On examining the transaction for this purpose, it appears that there was a gross return in specie of one hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars, and setting off the specie exported against an equal amount of that imported, a clear specie balance of eighty-five thousand dollars in favor of the American merchant. And this, says the Reviewer, is considered by the partisans of the mercantile system as a *losing concern*! It is really pleasant to find a person, who gives himself the airs of a doctor in the science, affirming that a voyage, which brings into the country a large specie balance, is considered in the mercantile theory as a losing concern, when every novice is aware that this precise circumstance is, according to that theory, the sure and only criterion of a winning concern. An operation of the kind alluded to would undoubtedly be considered, by the adherents of the mercantile system, as a most advantageous one; and is in fact expressly described as such by Mun, one of the principal writers in defence of that theory, as quoted by Adam Smith, in his chapter on the subject. 'The exportation of gold and silver,' says Mun, 'in order to purchase foreign goods, does not always diminish the quantity of those metals in the kingdom, because those goods might be reexported to foreign countries,

and being there sold for a large profit might bring back much more treasure, than was originally sent out to purchase them.' We cannot but recommend it to the Reviewer before he again assumes a dictatorial tone on the subject of the mercantile system, and the balance of trade, to read over carefully what Adam Smith has written on the subject; and we venture to assure him that this useful labor, if it do not increase his zeal in favor of the modern doctrine, which appears to be already sufficient, will enable him to exhibit it in a manner more according to knowledge, than he has in the present article. As respects the case alluded to, although it illustrates very well what the adherents of the mercantile theory mean by an advantageous voyage, it has obviously no tendency whatever to show whether the theory be true or false, and has in fact no bearing whatever on the question.

2. The other inconvenience, which in the opinion of the Reviewer is likely to result from the operation of the Tariff, namely, the transfer of capital from agriculture, seems, as presented by him, to be little else than a statement in a different form, of the one we have just been considering, and of course falls with it. The Reviewer evidently reasons on the supposition, that we now have an ample foreign market for, and in fact actually export, all the agricultural produce that we can possibly raise, beyond what we want for our own consumption, in exchange for European manufactures; and that any diminution in the amount of our imports of manufactures would necessarily be attended by a corresponding diminution of our exports of agricultural produce, and consequently of our production in this line; and that the capital thus disengaged would be employed in establishing the manufactures which are to furnish the supplies we before received from abroad. Such appears to be the nature of the transfer of capital from agriculture, which he anticipates as one of the results of the Tariff. But we have already shown that our trade with Great Britain is not, and never can be, of the kind which the Reviewer wishes and supposes it to be; that the British demand for our great staple articles of export is wholly independent of the quantity of our imports of her manufactures, and that it would not be in the least diminished, or prevented from increasing as rapidly as it otherwise would, by any diminution in the amount of those imports. This being the case, it is obvious that no part of the capital employed in producing these staples would be disen-

gaged by the effect of such diminution, and that no transfer of capital from agriculture of the kind contemplated by the Reviewer could possibly take place by any operation of the Tariff.

On a more general view of the subject, it is quite obvious that the establishment of domestic manufactures, instead of withdrawing capital from agriculture, must have a direct and most powerful tendency to encourage it. The objection of the Reviewer proceeds on suppositions so completely at variance with the results of the most familiar experience, that we really wonder how it could be urged by a writer of ordinary discretion. Any circumstance that withdraws capital from land depresses its value; but it is perfectly well known that the establishment of manufactures regularly raises the value of all the land within the reach of their influence, or, in other words, increases the demand for it, and the amount of capital represented by it. The reason why it does so, is not less obvious than the fact is certain. The increase of population by an addition of hands, not employed in agriculture, furnishes to the same extent a new market for agricultural produce, and occasions of course a corresponding extension of agricultural labor, and rise in the value of land. These results, as we have shown already, can never be produced in an equal degree by the use of foreign manufactures; and in the particular case of the United States, we have had occasion to state what has apparently been overlooked, or rather is positively denied, by the Reviewer, that we have no foreign market whatever for the agricultural produce of by far the larger portion of our population, who of course have no means of disposing of any surplus, excepting in the way of exchange for other products of domestic industry. It is quite clear that while the extension of domestic manufactures has no tendency to diminish the amount of agricultural labor employed in producing the articles which we are able to export, its necessary effect in reference to the much larger portion, employed in producing articles which we are not able to export, instead of discouraging agriculture, as the Reviewer pretends, occasions an extension of it, of precisely equal importance. Every dollar invested in domestic manufactures leads to the investment of a dollar in agriculture, which could not otherwise have taken that direction, or in other words, adds a dollar to the value of the land. If these principles were not too familiar to require either proof or illustration, it would be easy to place them beyond the reach

of doubt by reference to our own short experience, as far as it goes, and to the still more complete and satisfactory results of the longer experience of older countries. We are not informed that land has fallen in value in the neighborhood of Waltham or Lowell, Patterson or Pittsburg, or any of our other manufacturing towns ; or that the revenue of the British landholders has declined in consequence of the prodigious extension of domestic manufactures, which has taken place in that kingdom within the last half century. It is indeed surprising that a British writer, with the difference of the rental of England, as it is now and as it was fifty years ago, before his eyes, can seriously affirm that the establishment of domestic manufactures has a tendency to withdraw capital from agriculture, or in other words, to depress the value of land ; and were it not for the just confidence we feel in the good faith and seriousness of the Reviewer, we should be tempted to suspect that in making an objection to our protecting policy, which supposes such a principle, he was insidiously practising upon what, with his characteristic elegance of style, he would probably call the *gullibility of Jonathan*.

However this may be, it is quite certain that the objection is founded on a supposition of principles not only false, but directly the reverse of the truth, and that the extension of domestic manufactures, instead of withdrawing capital from the land, must have a direct tendency to encourage agriculture, and is indeed the most effectual and only way in which it can be encouraged in any other form than that of clearing wild land. The degree to which an extension of domestic manufactures of a given amount would operate on agriculture, may be conjectured by reference to the present state of our foreign trade, taken in connexion with some of the most familiar truths in political economy. The great agricultural staples which we export to Europe, are the main produce of the labor of a part of our country containing at present not less than three million inhabitants. Now as all commerce is an exchange of equivalent values, and as the value of all objects is determined by the quantities of labor respectively bestowed upon their production, it is certain, that if we send to Europe in exchange for manufactures the produce of the labor of three million persons, or whatever other number we choose to assume, the manufactures we receive in return must also be the produce of the labor of the same number, and if made at home, would give

employment to an equal number of our own citizens, and create a new demand of proportional extent for the agricultural produce necessary to their support. In other words, the domestic manufactures competent to supply us with the articles we now receive from Europe would give us (on the above supposition as to the number of persons employed in producing our exports, which will probably not be thought too high,) a manufacturing population of three millions, and an additional agricultural population of three more, making a total addition to the population of six millions, and of the products of the labor of six million persons to the annual revenue of the community. Such would be the results of the establishment of manufactures, supposing the consumption of domestic products to be exactly the same with that of foreign ones before; but another effect of the same cause would be, as we have already shown, to occasion a greatly increased consumption of manufactures; and in the same proportion in which this increase should take place, would the addition to the population and wealth of the country be greater than we have stated it above. How far this extension of manufacturing industry might in time be carried, or what may be considered as the natural and regular proportion between the number of persons belonging to the same community who are employed respectively in agriculture and all other employments, of those who produce the raw material and of those who fashion it for use, is an interesting question, which we need not here undertake to settle. In the United States, it has been calculated that there are seventy persons employed in agriculture to one in any other way. In England, on the other hand, the number of persons employed in manufactures and other sorts of work is larger than that of the cultivators in the proportion of three to two. If we suppose one third of the British manufacturers to labor for foreign markets, which is probably a large calculation, the conclusion would be, that in a community as well supplied with the comforts of life as Great Britain, the natural proportion between the agricultural and manufacturing population is that of exact equality, and that the manufactures necessary to supply the present population of the United States in the same way would give employment to an additional population of twelve or thirteen millions, or in other words, would double the present population and revenue of the country.

Without however insisting on these remote and partly hypo-

thetical results, it is sufficient for our present purpose to remark, that the establishment of manufactures, instead of withdrawing capital from land, has a direct tendency to extend and encourage agricultural industry. In one respect indeed this cause might produce, if not an actual diversion, at least a change in the direction, of a part of the capital and labor employed in agriculture, and that is, by checking in some degree the emigration from the settled to the unsettled portions of the country, and concentrating the population on a smaller extent of surface. In proportion as manufacturing establishments are extended in the older states, which must of course be their seat, and give employment to a large number of persons, many of the inhabitants of those states who would otherwise have emigrated to the West will be taken up by them. The native of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, or Connecticut, who finds a profitable market for his labor in a manufactory at his door, will feel but little temptation to seek a better, on the banks of the Wabash or Missouri. In this way the hardy and generous progeny of New England, who have been so long in the habit of swarming off annually into all parts of the Union, will begin at length to settle round the parent hive, and reserve for the profit and glory of their own rocky region the high talents and manly virtues which have so often shone like rich jewels on the brow of strangers. This increase of manufacturing population in New England and the other Atlantic states, by creating an increased demand for the provisions of the middle and western country, and the raw materials of the southern, will render it in turn more advantageous to the latter to extend their agricultural industry at home than to send off new colonies into the wilderness. Thus the tide of emigration, without being wholly dammed up, will be considerably checked throughout all the settled parts of the Union, and the population of them will begin to put on a more consolidated shape. This result, which does not appear to have attracted the attention of the Reviewer, although it amounts in fact, as we have intimated, to a change in the direction of a part of the agricultural labor of the country, and perhaps a transfer of some of it to manufactures, not only furnishes no objection to the encouragement of this branch of industry, but is itself a strong argument in favor of such a policy. We say not this because we feel any jealousy of the prosperous condition of the western states. Far from envying, we admire and glory in the rapid progress of their

wealth, population, and general prosperity. We consider their progress in all these respects as affording a spectacle unparalleled for moral magnificence by anything to be met with in the annals of the world. But we are nevertheless satisfied, that the time has now arrived, when a part of that swelling tide of increase which has hitherto poured out its exuberance upon the unsettled regions on the outskirts of the Union, might be turned to better account in extending the cultivation of the arts and raising the standard of civilization in the older settlements. The precise distinction between a civilized and a barbarous community lies in the greater or less extent to which they respectively cultivate the fine and useful arts; and as we have shown already, that a region situated like the interior of the United States can never be sufficiently supplied with their products from abroad, it follows, that while the population devote themselves exclusively to agriculture, and, as fast as they increase, continue to spread themselves more and more widely over the unlimited regions which are accessible to them, they must live in a considerable degree without the knowledge of these products, and will be in continual danger of sinking into a lower state of civilization. This result has hitherto been in a great measure counteracted in the United States by the operation of powerful moral and political causes of an accidental kind. The originally excellent character of the settlers, their industrious habits, and the high tone of patriotic sentiment which has always pervaded the whole western population, have hitherto maintained them at a point of civilization, which, considering their circumstances, is hardly less wonderful than the rapidity of their progress in wealth and greatness. But the only way in which the advances they have already made can be secured, and a solid foundation laid for the fabric of social improvement, is by naturalizing on the spot the cultivation of the useful arts; and as far as the protecting policy may have the effect of diverting into this channel any portion of the labor and capital of the country from the business of clearing wild land on the borders of the Union, it will work, in our opinion, a material change for the better.

The population, by thus putting on a more condensed form, would be at once more comfortably situated, as respects the enjoyments of life, and greatly improved in its intellectual and moral habits. The complaint that manufactures have an injurious effect on the morals of the people, has

become, we imagine, nearly obsolete, and was obviously founded on a view of the subject not only false in itself, but directly the reverse of the true one. The objection furnishes indeed a very curious example of the power of names. If those who make it were asked what opinion they entertain of the moral tendency of the cultivation of the fine and useful arts (the same thing under another name), they would probably reply without hesitation, that they deem it exceedingly beneficial. Such at least must be the answer of all who are not prepared to maintain, with the crazy sophist of Geneva, that the savage state is the one in which our nature attains its perfection, and displays itself in all its glory. The truth undoubtedly is, that labor, under whatever form, is the direct source and only real security of good morals; and it must of course be taken for granted that the principle holds of manufacturing labor, as of every other, at least until the contrary be proved. The sentimental effusions of Mr Southey in his 'Espiella's Letters' respecting the forlorn state of the workmen in some of the British manufactories, which form, we believe, the only argument that has yet been adduced for this purpose, are not in our opinion entitled to a serious refutation, and are alluded to with contempt by the Reviewer himself.

It is somewhat curious to remark, while on this subject, the change which seems to have taken place in the language of our transatlantic critics respecting the present state of civilization in the interior of the United States. Hitherto, reversing the maxim of the Latin poet which forbids us to notice a few chance spots in a generally brilliant picture, they have habitually overlooked the grand and striking features in the situation of the country, and fastened their whole attention upon some petty blemishes which may be detected by a scrutinizing eye in particular parts. From quarter to quarter we have been entertained by the London Reviewers with the continual repetition of a few isolated anecdotes which were supposed to prove beyond dispute the ignorance, grossness, and ferocity of the population of the West. The Edinburgh censors, in a style, it is true, somewhat less coarse than that of their courtly brethren of the south, have been equally ready to indulge, in their own way, in a gentle sneer at the manner in which the decencies of life are observed in the back settlements. Now admitting that this perpetual strain of calumny, instead of being, as it is in the main, completely gratuitous, had a reasonable foundation in

fact, what would it prove? Why, that the interior of the United States is at present deficient in the cultivation of the fine and useful arts. But this deficiency is felt, though not under the form indicated by these foreign calumniators, by the population of that region, and they are making great efforts to supply it, and to obtain for this purpose the assistance of government. Such efforts we should naturally suppose would have been looked upon with an eye of favor by our critics, and it might perhaps have been expected that they would have triumphed a little in what they might have regarded as a partial confirmation of the truth of their strictures. Instead of this, the very same writers who have been heaping upon us every term of obloquy which the language would afford, for our supposed neglect of the arts, now assail us with fresh volleys of abuse and sarcasm for endeavoring to introduce and encourage them. It is quite amusing to find how they have become suddenly enlightened in regard to the present situation of the interior of the country by the attempts that are making to improve it. It is no longer, as before, the haunt of *gougers*, *regulators*, and other such

‘Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire,’

from whose clutches a quiet English traveller could hardly expect to escape with his eyes safe in their sockets, but the abode of ‘an industrious population employed in clearing the land and extending the empire of civilization.’ The danger now is, that these laudable pursuits will be exchanged for *predatory and ferocious habits* in consequence of—what, gentle reader? *the cultivation of the arts!* Lest the reader should be tempted to question the testimony of our eyes, which we have found some difficulty in believing ourselves, we quote the passage as it stands in the article before us. ‘The Americans, instead of having the population on their frontier engaged in the clearing of land and extending the empire of civilization, will imbue them with predatory and ferocious habits, and teach them to defy the laws, and place their hopes of rising in the world not in the laborious occupations of agriculture, but in schemes to defraud the public revenue.’ The Latin poet tells us that it is the cultivation of the arts that prevents men from being ferocious;

‘Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.’

Our critic, on the contrary, has discovered that it makes them so, and that the interior of the Republic which has now, it seems,

become all at once a Paradise of innocence and refinement, is to be demoralized by the invasion of the demon of domestic industry ! All this is pleasant enough ; but without dwelling any longer on the various shapes under which the Proteus self-interest successively exhibits himself in the mother country, we may safely rest in the general conclusion, that although the state of civilization in the interior is not, and never has been, what the British critics have hitherto constantly represented it, it is nevertheless susceptible of improvement, and that the only possible means, by which this improvement can be effected, is the more extended cultivation of the fine and useful arts, which it is the object of the protecting policy to encourage.

It results from the hasty suggestions we have here offered, if they be well founded, that there is no reason to suppose with the Reviewer, that the Tariff will either diminish our exports or withdraw capital from land, and that its regular operation will be, on the contrary, to produce an extension of industry in all its great branches, and a corresponding increase in the wealth, population, and general prosperity of the country. The inconveniences, which in his opinion were likely to result from the growth of domestic manufactures, are therefore entirely illusory, and the community will enjoy, without the alloy of any attendant disadvantages, the great benefits which by his own admission regularly flow from that cause. If this be true, and if it be also true, as we are ready to admit, that industry naturally takes of itself the direction most conducive to the general good, excepting so far as it is checked or diverted from its course by accidental causes, it might be pertinently enough inquired, what are the accidental or artificial causes which have so long prevented, in the case of the United States, that development of manufacturing industry, which would have been so highly advantageous, and which might therefore have been looked for as a natural result of the circumstances in which they were placed. It is of course impossible for us, in an article of this kind, to enlarge on every part of so vast a subject, and we must confine ourselves on this head to a few very brief suggestions.

1. The condition of new colonies naturally leads them to confine themselves, during the earliest period of their existence, to agricultural pursuits, and to receive their manufactures from the mother country. This circumstance accounts for the absence of manufactures for the first half century after the date of the settlements.

2. At about the same time when these became so extensive as to afford a suitable field for domestic manufactures, the mother country imposed a rigorous prohibition upon the exercise of this branch of industry, which remained in full force until the declaration of independence.

3. When the country had obtained its independence, and began to recover from the exhaustion of the revolutionary war, the circumstances of the world were such as to hold out great inducements for the investment of capital in commerce and agriculture. This state of things continued until the commencement of the series of political embarrassments which preceded the war with England.

It appears therefore that from the date of the first settlements up to the very recent period just alluded to, there has always been some powerful cause of an accidental or artificial character in operation, tending to prevent the growth of manufactures. Before the last of these causes had ceased to produce its effects, the wealth and population of the country had risen to such a height, that the absence of domestic manufactures had come to be a sort of practical solecism in our economical condition ; and no sooner was the obstacle removed, than they in fact started into being with a kind of violent impulse, which, though compressed for the moment by the inundation of British goods, that overwhelmed our markets at the renewal of peace, and more recently again by other accidental causes, is yet far from being lost. No circumstance within the reach of present foresight, supposing our internal union and tranquillity to be preserved, can prevent or materially delay the growth of manufactures. Whether protected by government or not, they must and will thrive, and, at no distant period, reach a point of perfection, which will secure them from foreign competition, far more effectually than the highest duties or the most rigorous prohibitions. This is thought by some to be a reason why legislative encouragement is unnecessary and inexpedient ; but we confess that we cannot agree in this view of the subject. We deem it, on the contrary, the precise character of all wise and useful legislation to follow and aid the operation of natural causes. If the country were not ripe for the establishment of manufactures, the attempt to force them by law could not possibly succeed, and would produce nothing but positive mischief. But however favorable may be the circumstances under which they are established, and however certain their ultimate success

with or without protection, it by no means follows that protection is superfluous. Infant institutions of every description, however judiciously planned, are liable to be injured by accidents which would not affect them in a mature state. In the present case, by permitting foreign fabrics to enter freely into competition with our own, we bring ourselves within the reach of those tremendous fluctuations in the course of trade, which in the present diseased state of society in England are almost perpetual, and which plunge everything, that has not the iron stamp of maturity on it, into remediless ruin. Although nothing can prevent our manufactures from ultimately thriving, a single revulsion of this description may consign a generation of manufacturers to bankruptcy. To secure our rising industry from such disasters is in our opinion the policy and duty of a wise and patriotic government. To say with the Reviewer that the legislation, which is intended to effect this purpose, is an attempt to *force* manufactures, is about as reasonable as it would be to say, that the planters of Louisiana and Georgia force their sugar and cotton, because they employ the most approved methods for raising them in perfection. To *force* a product is to obtain it with extraordinary labor and expense, from a soil and under circumstances not naturally adapted to it. To employ the means necessary for obtaining it from a congenial soil and under favorable circumstances is not to *force* but to *cultivate* it ; and we know that without judicious cultivation the most precious shoots run to waste, and the richest ground produces nothing but brambles. If we doubted the capacity of the United States to supply their own wants in the way of manufactured articles, we should then doubt the expediency of a protecting policy ; but on this head we cannot allow ourselves for a moment to entertain the slightest scruple. When we reflect upon the variety and excellence of the natural products, animal, vegetable, and mineral, that enrich the different parts of our magnificent and almost boundless territory ; the cotton, the sugar, the rice, the tobacco, the corn, the hemp, the flax, that cover our plains ; the flocks and herds that feed upon our pastures ; the groves and forests of oak, live-oak, cedar, pine, maple, and every other useful and ornamental tree, that overshadow the tops of our mountains ; the wealth of really precious metals and other fossils, the iron, the lead, the coal, the salt, the granite, the marble, that fill with inexhaustible and incalculable treasures their hitherto almost unexplored recesses ;--

when we reflect on this unexampled abundance of materials, and consider at the same time the great natural advantages we possess for turning them to account, in the number and opportunity of our rivers and water-courses, which furnish at once the cheapest power for moving machinery and the happiest facilities for communication between the different sections of the country; in the intelligence, enterprise, and industry, and we may venture to add, temperance, patience, perseverance, and generally high moral character of our citizens; above all, in that singular blessing of Providence, by the effect of which it has happened, in recompense perhaps for the rare virtues which distinguished our fathers, that in this favored region, and this alone upon the wide face of the earth, the individual is permitted to enjoy the fruits of his labor undiminished either by the arbitrary violence or exorbitant legal exactions of government;—when we reflect on this extraordinary combination of favorable circumstances, we cannot hesitate to affirm that our situation is eminently auspicious for the establishment of almost every branch of industry. We should deem it a libel on our countrymen to suppose that they must painfully carry their rich natural products to other countries, four or five thousand miles distant, in order to have them fashioned for use; and we are well satisfied, as we remarked before, that no accidental causes or want of legislative protection can much longer prevent us from supplying ourselves with most of the articles which we now receive from Europe. With these convictions, and believing also at the same time that, although the ultimate success of our manufacturing establishments cannot be questioned, they are liable while yet in an infant state to suffer by the effect of foreign competition occasional blights, which, if comparatively unimportant to the community, are yet fraught with ruin to individuals, to families, and even to whole classes of citizens, we regard the situation of the country as that in which a judicious protecting legislation may be applied with the best results to its appropriate purpose of aiding the healthy operation of natural causes, and averting accidental and temporary evils. We therefore cannot hesitate in giving it the support, however feeble, of our concurrence and express approbation.

It is time, however, to draw this article, already of a length which could only be justified by the importance of the subject, to a close. We cannot conclude without expressing a hope that the policy of the government, on this subject, will never be

affected by the progress or results of any of the ephemeral struggles for place and power, that have divided and may hereafter divide the citizens. The duty of encouraging and protecting our own industry should, and will, we trust, be regarded by all the parties that may successively predominate as too high, too vitally important,—too sacred, we might almost say,—to be overlooked in deference to any suggestions of immediate interest; and, what is perhaps a still better security for its future observance, its very importance and the consequent general popularity of all measures taken in fulfilment of it, will always render it the immediate interest of our statesmen, however divided on minor points, to unite in pursuing such a course. The protecting system has in fact become already the settled policy of the country. It was recommended and sanctioned at the outset of the government by the powerful mind of Hamilton, a name which stands higher, both abroad and at home, for skill in practical legislation, than almost any other that adorns our political history, and is nearly sufficient of itself to give authority to any opinion. It survived and flourished through all the various turns of the long contest for power, in which that statesman and his contemporaries were afterwards engaged. At the close of the war with Great Britain, which finally terminated these ancient feuds, the protecting policy was resumed with renovated interest and vigor by the united community, and has ever since been constantly gaining upon the general favor. During the late struggle for the Presidency it was professed with equal zeal, and probably with equal conviction, by a decided majority of the friends of all the candidates; and the great states, whose powerful influence contributed mainly to the elevation of the successful one, Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, have always been its warmest adherents and principal supporters. The President himself has given in print, both before and since his election, satisfactory indications of the concurrence of his sentiments on this subject with those of the people. We have a right to suppose therefore, that the influence of the administration will be exerted in future, as it has hitherto been ever since the foundation of the government, in favor of this policy. A strong disapprobation of it has no doubt been manifested by a considerable, and every way respectable portion of the planters of the Southern, and the navigators of the Northern states; but longer experience will convince even them, that it is not less

beneficial to their interests than to those of the rest of the community ; and we confidently trust, that Congress, unmoved by any temporary burst of opposition, and especially unmoved by the declamations, the sophistry, or the sneers of interested foreigners, will exhibit, in their future proceedings on this subject, the uniformity, steadiness, and wisdom, which have characterized those of all their predecessors. We mean not to intimate an opinion, that they should make no alteration whatever in the details of the existing Tariff, which may be, and probable is, in some parts, susceptible of improvement. We only mean, that all the legislation on economical matters, however modified in particular points, should display throughout the grand and leading features of a real *American System*.

ART. VII.—*Lafayette en Amérique en 1824 et 1825 ; ou Journal d'un Voyage aux Etats-Unis.* Par A. LEVASSEUR, Secrétaire du Général Lafayette pendant son Voyage. Orné de onze Gravures et d'une Carte. En deux Volumes. 8vo. Paris. 1829.

WE have been agreeably disappointed in this work. We feared, that the general familiarity with its subject, at least on the part of its American readers, would take from it all the interest of novelty, and that, from the nature of the case, it must want that of variety. We have found, on trial, that, in both respects, our apprehension was ill-founded. Although we certainly watched the progress of the nation's guest through the country, with the most willing and unabated attention, yet we find, that the details of his progress, in the remote sections of the union, were not, as it was not to be expected they should be, transferred to the public journals in this quarter. A corresponding remark, no doubt, would hold true of any other district of the United States ; and we are well persuaded, that wherever the work is taken up, a good portion of the contents will be substantially new to the reader. This will of course be strictly the case with all those parts of the two volumes which relate to matters of a character not to come before the public at the time, or not from any other source than the General himself, or some person directly connected with him ;—

everything strictly personal in its nature. Then as to variety, it is not the least astonishing fact connected with this extraordinary visit,—an event, taken in all its parts, unparalleled in the history of man,—that its narrative exhibits an unbounded variety of incident, circumstance, and adventure. The arrival of this great and good person in the country, the reappearance of this friendly genius in the sphere of his youthful and beneficent visitations, seemed to call up the whole population of the country in array to welcome him; but not in the stiff uniform of a parade, not in the court dress of a heartless ceremony. Society presented itself before him in all its shades and gradations, of which more are to be found coëxisting in the United States than in any other country. The wealth and luxury of the sea-coast, the newborn abundance of the West; the fashion of the town, the cordiality of the country; the authorities, municipal, national, and state; the living relics of the revolution, honored in the honors paid to their comrade in arms; the scientific and learned bodies, the children at the schools, the members of the associations of active life and of charity; the exiles of Spain, France, and Switzerland; banished monarchs; patriots of whom Europe was not worthy; the African and the Indian;—all took an active and an appropriate part in this auspicious drama of real life. Had the deputed representatives of these various interests and conditions been assembled at some grand ceremonial of reception, in honor of the illustrious stranger, it would have itself, even as the pageant of an hour, have constituted an august spectacle. It would then have borne a worthy and proud comparison with those illustrious triumphs of heroic Rome, where conquered nations and captive princes followed in the train, and which seemed, with reason, to lift the frail mortal, to whom they were conceded, above the earth over which he was borne.

But when we consider, that this glorious and purer triumph was coëxtensive with the Union; that it swept from state to state, and from section to section, one long, unbroken career of rapturous welcome,—banishing feuds, appeasing dissensions, and hushing all tumults but the acclamations of joy,—uniting in one great act of public salutation a fierce and free people, on the eve of a furious contest, with the *aura epileptica* of the canvass already rushing over the body politic; that it was continued near a twelvemonth, an *annus mirabilis* of rejoicing, auspiciously commenced, successfully pursued, and happily and

gracefully accomplished, we have in it the elements and substance of a great chapter in the fate of nations, nowhere else to be found ; and which, to be realized and relished, must have been witnessed. The fate of nations, we say, for it was nothing less. In addition to what was peculiar and personal in Lafayette,—and of this there was enough to furnish out a liberal assignment of merit to a dozen great men of the common sort,—it was necessary that numerous high associations should have linked his name with all the great political convulsions of the day. Having performed an arduous, dangerous, honorable, and successful part in that crisis in the fate of our own country, which is of itself unexampled in human things, it was necessary, that, pursuing the path of immortal renown, on which his feet had laid hold in America, he should have engaged among the foremost in that stupendous revolution of his own country, where he stood serene amidst the madness of an empire ; wielding, without abusing, a military force as far greater than that of the Emperor Napoleon, as the spontaneous rush of a whole race of men is more formidable than the march of a class of the conscription. It was necessary to the feeling with which Lafayette was received in America, that he should have nobly washed his hands of the blood of that revolution, and that the emperors of the earth, in mockery of the long-suffering of Providence, should have immured him in their dungeons for having protected their crowned daughters from the midnight assassin. It was necessary, when another stupendous reaction of things had seated the man of destiny on the throne of France, and, as it seemed, of Europe, that Lafayette alone, not by a convulsive effort of fanatical hardihood, but in the calm consciousness of a weight of character that would bear him out in the step, should deliberately, and in writing, refuse to acknowledge the power, before which the whole contemporary generation quailed. When again the wheel of empire had turned, and when this dreadful colossus had been crushed beneath the weight of Europe (mustered against him more in desperation than in self-assured power), and in falling had dragged down to the dust the honor and the strength of France, it was necessary, when the dust and smoke of the contest had blown off, that the faithful sentinel of liberty should have been seen at his post, ready again to stake his life and his reputation, in another of those fearful and critical junctures, when the stoutest hearts are apt to re-

treat, and leave the field to desperate men,—the forlorn hope of affairs,—whom some inevitable necessity crowds up to the breach. To refute every imputation of a selfish policy, of a wish to restore himself in the good graces of restored royalty, it was necessary that he, the only individual of continental Europe, who, within the reach of Napoleon's sceptre, had refused to acknowledge his title, should be coldly viewed by the reappearing dynasty, and that he should be seen and heard, not in the court or the cabinet, but at the tribune, the calm, rational, ever consistent champion of freedom, a representative of the people in constitutional France. These were the titles of Lafayette to the respect, the love, the passionate admiration of the people, to whom he had consecrated the bloom of his youth, for whom he had lavished his treasure and his blood.

We might have added, that, in order to give even to common minds a topic of delightful and mysterious admiration, when strong minds were tasked to do justice to the theme,—in order to make a character, in which even the ingredients of romance were mingled up with the purest, loftiest, and sternest virtues, these just and authentic titles to respect were united in an individual who had been placed by birth, education, and fortune, in the foremost circle of the gay chivalry of France; who sacrificed all that a false ambition could covet, before he aspired to all that a pure and noble ambition could reach; and thus began life, by trampling under foot the glittering baubles, which Chatham accepted, and Burke did not refuse, and for which the mass of eminent men in Europe barter health, comfort, and conscience. Such was the man whom the Congress of the United States invited to our shores, and who came to gather in the rich harvest of a people's love. Well might he do it. He had sown it in weakness; should he not reap it in power? He had come to us, a poor and struggling colony, and periled his life in our cause; was he not entitled to the gratitude of the flourishing state? When he embarked in our cause, it was the utmost he could have promised himself, in the ordinary calculation of human things, and in the almost desperate event of a successful issue to the struggle, that some far distant posterity would illustrate, by the growth and prosperity of the country, the value of those services which he had contributed to her freedom. It was just, that he should himself come to witness and enjoy its rapid, its miraculous growth and elevation. We pity the hearts, quite as much as

we do the heads of those, who have seen and proclaimed in his brilliant reception, nothing but an 'ostentatious love of parade.' There never was a simpler, juster movement of a people. The triumph of Lafayette through America was as righteously due him, as the harvest is due to the husbandman, who has planted the seed and tilled the soil. His services, his character, his history, his life were fairly and richly entitled to it; and though, most manifestly, nothing more unpremeditated and unexpected ever took place in the affairs of a nation, yet, had the most rigid deliberation on what was decent and proper preceded his visit, not a shout of welcome would have been retrenched. He deserved it all for himself; and it was also due to the principles which had guided him, and the great cause which, in both hemispheres, he had served.

In common cases, nations must necessarily act and speak through the organs of their government, and less directly through that of the press. But it cannot often happen, that either channel of communication does justice to the intense and hearty concert of opinion and feeling which takes possession of a free people in reference to some great exciting subjects. Occasionally this opinion and this feeling will find another and a vastly more general, emphatic, far-resounding utterance; usually by means of primary assemblies throughout the country. The advent of Lafayette furnished an occasion singularly well adapted for such a testimony, on the part of the American people, to the great cause of liberty. The revolutions in Spanish America had appealed strongly to the sympathy of the people of the United States, and the unanimous recognition of their independence was a fine burst of legislative feeling; the excitement in favor of reviving Greece was widely felt, and warmly expressed, and liberally manifested; but neither of these subjects was in its nature so susceptible of the cordial coöperation of the American people, nor so free from all alloy of doubt and human imperfection. There was positively nothing to qualify the good will and heartiness, with which the people of America rose up to welcome the great champion of human right, and, in recognising his merit, to reassert the principles to which his life had been consecrated. Never perhaps did so fine an occasion for bearing this testimony present itself. In the common course of things, the field of battle, too often disastrous battle, has been the theatre on which a whole people, struggling to be free, has proclaimed its love of liberty. There is scarce any other oc-

casion, that can naturally draw them forth. Here was a scene of peace and love ; comprehending, from its nature, a whole people, uniting all parties, and all men who loved their country, with all the animation derived from the actual presence of a living object of respect and affection.

The very commencement and conclusion of the voyage of Lafayette,—we mean those portions of it, which were performed on the soil of France,—will furnish the best illustration of the distinction we would draw between the militant and the triumphant testimony of the friends of liberty. In the first chapter of the work before us we find the following paragraph.

‘The patriotism of the citizens of Havre had prepared for Lafayette a reception in that city of a nature well calculated to touch his feelings. But the preposterous jealousy of the authorities interfered with the *fête*, and if the citizens had been less *discreet*, would have changed it into a scene of disorder and perhaps of blood. Agents of the police, *gendarmes*, and Swiss guards emulated each other, in their zeal to repress the noble sentiments of the people, during the short time that General Lafayette remained among them. It was, however, in presence of the whole population, and under the liveliest manifestations of the public feeling, that he embarked on the thirteenth of May.’ Vol. i. p. 4.

This scene, to the credit of the municipality of Havre for the succeeding year, or of those, from whom that municipality received its instructions, was reversed when the General returned to France. ‘As to the authorities of the city,’ says Colonel Levasseur, ‘they were this year all that they ought to have been the last year, and gave free scope to the manifestation of public opinion. In his passage from the port to the house of M. de Laroche, where he took up his quarters, the General had not the pain of seeing his friends threatened by the sabre of *gendarmes*, or insulted by the presence of foreign troops.’

Far different was the scene at Rouen.

‘On arriving at Rouen, we took lodgings with M. Cabanon, a respectable merchant, who continued to represent the department in the Chamber of Deputies, as long as his fellow citizens were untrammelled in the exercise of the right of suffrage. The colleague and friend of General Lafayette, he had claimed the privilege of receiving at his table the guest of America ; and had procured him the pleasure of meeting there with the members of his family and a large number of the most respectable citizens of the ancient capital of Normandy. Toward the conclusion of the

dinner, the General was informed, that a numerous assemblage was collected in the street, attended by a band of musicians, and desirous to salute him. He hastened to the balcony, to acknowledge this mark of the regard of the people of Rouen. But scarcely had the first acclamations been heard, when detachments of the royal guards and the *gendarmerie* were seen advancing from each extremity of the street, in which M. Cabanon's house stood, who, without previous warning, proceeded to disperse the throng. The discretion with which the guards executed the orders received from an imprudent and blinded authority, proved how repugnant this service was to their feelings; but the *gendarmerie*, solicitous no doubt to show itself the worthy instrument of the power by which it was employed, made a *valiant* charge upon the defenceless citizen, and, without allowing themselves to be impeded by the cries of the women and children, who were trampled under their horses' feet, a manufacturer from Bolbec, an old man of Rouen, and several other persons, were severely wounded. Many others were illegally and brutally arrested. After these glorious exploits, the *gendarmes*, left masters of the field, awaited the departure of General Lafayette, sword in hand, and accompanied his carriage to the hotel where he was to lodge, abusing him as they went.' Vol. II. pp. 620, 621.

'The next morning, October the 8th, the court of the hotel was filled by young men on horseback, determined to escort the General to the first post. Their looks and some expressions which fell from them persuaded me, that their feelings still dwelt on the scene of the preceding evening, and that they had resolved that it should not be renewed with impunity. The posts of infantry and *gendarmerie* had been doubled during the night, as if great events were expected the following day; but happily the authorities stopped short, with these ridiculous demonstrations, and General Lafayette departed unmolested from the city, receiving on his way frequent manifestations of the good will of the people.' p. 623.

It is pleasing, however, to reflect, that the tone of authority has, since this period, been lowered in France, and that the voice of popular feeling is daily gathering strength and decision. And here again, amidst the ferment which agitates the anxious friends of liberty, our beloved General is the central point to which their thoughts and hopes are rallied. It is well known, that an entire change of ministry has recently taken place in France, by which the administration has been thrown back into the hands of the Ultra-royal party. The burst of public indignation has been tremendous, and while we write, the news of the overthrow of this strange new combination, is

expected by the first arrivals from Europe. Meantime, General Lafayette, on an occasion of private business, has been led to traverse a part of the South of France, and to visit the city of Lyons. Wherever he moves he is received with demonstrations of joy, scarcely less unanimous than those which hailed him in America ; and restrained by the arm of arbitrary power from a more direct opposition to a ministry, constituted in open defiance of the people's will, they have gathered about the veteran champion of the cause. He has met their advances, with a vigor and a plainness worthy of the man and of the crisis ; and we recommend those, who have doubted the talent and the force of character of Lafayette, to read the speeches addressed by him to the citizens of Lyons, on entering that city, and at the public festival given there in his honor.

But it is time that we speak more particularly of Colonel Levasseur's work. We need scarcely recall to the minds of our readers, that this gentleman accompanied General Lafayette during his tour in America, in the capacity of private secretary. It appears, that he continued to sustain that relation to the General for two or three years after the conclusion of the voyage ; and it is stated in the Preface to this work, as the reason for delaying its appearance till the present time, that its author felt himself restrained, by motives of delicacy, from publishing the account of this memorable tour, so long as he should remain in the service of the General. No part therefore of the responsibility of the work rests with Lafayette ; at the same time, that the relation subsisting between him and the author, and the confidence implied in it on the part of the General, furnish abundant guarantee of the authenticity of every portion of it. We repeat, that, although every reader in the United States may, at first, be inclined to suppose that he derived, at the time, from the newspapers of the day, minute and adequate information on the subject of this memorable tour, there are few readers, who will not find a good portion of it recommended by substantial novelty ; and still fewer to whom this continuous narrative of an event,—raised by its moral influence far above the character of a mere incident in the chapter of passing occurrences,—may not be perused to advantage. It is especially the best record, which we can preserve and hand down to our children, of one of those portions of history we would most wish them to enjoy ; and were it only on this account, it ought to find a place in every American library. To

the foreign reader, in addition to the interest arising from its main topic, it will possess considerable value for the historical and statistical information which it contains relative to the different States of the Union.

Regarding the reception of the General on his landing and in the principal Atlantic cities, as those portions of the work least likely to possess the attraction of novelty, we shall not dwell upon them. We make only the following quotation, from the chapter which relates the passage from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

‘Just as we were going on board the steam-boat, which was to take us to Baltimore, we were informed that the Secretary of State, Mr Adams, had arrived at Frenchtown, on his return to Washington, and had eagerly accepted the invitation to join the party which accompanied the General, who had the pleasure of meeting in Mr Adams an old and valued acquaintance.

‘Many travellers, who have visited the United States, and who pretend to be acquainted with the character of the people, have maintained that the Americans, in spite of their republican institutions, are essentially aristocratic in their manners. The following occurrence, by no means a solitary one, may serve as an answer to this accusation, the rather as it will be followed up by many others of the same character, which I shall have occasion to relate.

‘On board the steam-boat, which was to take us down the Chesapeake bay, a small cabin had been prepared for General Lafayette ; and as the committee of arrangements had had the kindness to think, that those who had shared his fatigues ought to share his repose, they had caused two other beds to be placed in the same apartment, one for his son, and one for his secretary. We were ignorant how our fellow travellers, who were exceedingly numerous, were to pass the night, when Mr George Lafayette, having occasion to traverse the main cabin, where we had just dined, found that it had been transformed into a dormitory, covered with beds, of which the crowd of passengers took possession without ceremony. Among those thus provided for, he was surprised to see Mr Adams. He urged him to exchange beds with him. Mr Adams declined. I came up at this juncture and joined my solicitations to those of Mr George Lafayette, adding that I hoped he would not give me the mortification of sleeping in a good bed, while a person of his character was stretched on the floor. He replied in obliging terms, but positively declined a compliance with our request. Finally, pressed by our renewed urgency, and by an appeal which we had made to the name of General Lafayette, he declared, that, even were he disposed to accept our proposal, he could not do it with propriety, as the committee had reserved

the apartment for General Lafayette and his suite, and their arrangements ought above all things to be regarded by their fellow citizens. Mr George Lafayette repaired immediately to a member of the committee, and begged him, in the name of his father, to admit Mr Adams into our cabin, in the place of one of us. This last condition did not appear admissible to the committee, who finally determined to have a fourth bed placed in our cabin for Mr Adams, not because he was Secretary of State, but because General Lafayette had wished to have him, as an old friend, by his side. Nor would Mr Adams leave the crowd to enter our room, till he had received a formal invitation from the committee. If the American manners are prone to aristocracy, it must be admitted that the high officers of government do not enjoy its immunities.' Vol. i. pp. 334-336.

The following curious incident occurred during the visit of the General at Yorktown, which, though of course mentioned in the papers at the time, we do not recollect to have noticed.

'A circumstance somewhat curious,' says Colonel Levasseur, 'gave additional zest to this patriotic and military festival. I have already observed, that on the arrival of General Lafayette at Yorktown, he had taken up his lodgings in the same house, where Lord Cornwallis was quartered, forty years before. Some servants, in examining the cellar with a view to the deposit of the refreshments and stores provided for the *fête*, found a large box in a dark corner, the appearance and antiquity of which excited their notice. On opening it, they found it filled with wax candles. The address on the cover of the box was then examined, and it proved to be a part of the stores laid in for Lord Cornwallis, during the siege. The tidings of this prize spread through the house, to the tents; the wax candles were taken possession of, and lighted in the centre of the encampment, where a ball was given by the troops to the ladies of the neighborhood. A ball at Yorktown in 1824, lighted by Lord Cornwallis's candles, was a subject of no little pleasantry to the old soldiers, who attended the *fête*; few of whom, notwithstanding their age and the fatigues of the day, would quit the spot, till they had seen the candles down to the socket.' pp. 405, 406.

On occasion of this visit to Yorktown, which suggested the recollection of a brilliant exploit achieved by the coöperation of French arms, Colonel Levasseur falls into a train of reflections equally just and ingenious, and tending to expose the narrow grounds, on which the opponents of liberal institutions have chosen to place their cause, even on occasions, when it most imported them to give the widest range to the principle of conciliation, and where circumstances seemed to court them to

adopt a generous tone. Colonel Levasseur had the gratification of receiving from an American, who is not named, details of the conduct of the French army in this campaign, alike creditable to its discipline, spirit, and bravery.

‘I do not deny,’ he adds, ‘that these tributes to the noble conduct of my fellow citizens penetrated my heart with delight. Why, then, at the period of the French restoration in 1815, when its leaders were aiming to associate its banners with glorious recollections, or to obliterate the memory of the triumphs of the three-colored cockade, why did they perpetually invoke the standard of Henry the Fourth, which was never displayed but in civil wars, or that of Louis the Fourteenth, that led the way to dear-bought victories or disastrous retreats? Why did not *they* claim, as a lawful inheritance, a part of the glory of the American revolutionary war? Was it not beneath the *drapeau blanc*, that the grenadiers of Rochambeau marched to the storm of Yorktown? Was it not under the colors of *legitimacy*, that our marine immortalized itself, by securing the deliverance of a free people, by the dispersion of the English fleets. Would they reject this glory because it was earned in the service of liberty? I know not. But one thing is certain, that, while we were celebrating the anniversary of the taking of Yorktown, the French squadron, commanded by Admiral ———, and then lying in Hampton Roads, within hearing of the shouts with which grateful America commemorated the services of France, remained coldly aloof from a festival, which ought to have been regarded as a family *fête* of the two nations. For the rest, we were apprized that this inexplicable indifference or coldness was not shared either by the crews, or by the majority of the officers of the squadron. Among the latter some succeeded in leaving their vessels, and joining in a civil dress the patriotic festival, at which, could they have presented themselves in their character as French officers, the place of honor would have been cheerfully assigned them by the Americans.’ pp. 420–422.

We must here be permitted to make a few remarks on the relations, in which the governments of Europe stand to the United States of America, considered as a power representing popular principles, in their purest form. The only leading powers of Europe, with which our relations are likely to assume a critical cast, are England, France, and Russia. Russia, although the power whose institutions would seem most at variance with our own, has ever shown the kindest disposition toward the government of the United States. Our ministers at St Petersburg have been treated with something more than ceremonious courtesy. She offered her mediation to

bring about a peace between the United States and Great Britain, in a manner evincing the most cordial friendship for America. Having taken a ground, in reference to the extent of her possessions on the Northwest Coast of America, and the rights of other powers in the navigation of the North Pacific, inconsistent with the claims of the United States in that quarter, instead of setting a commission of lawyers to work,—as Great Britain did on the like occasion,—to draw up a sophistical title to territory discovered, explored, and rightfully claimed by the United States, Russia came handsomely and promptly to a reasonable settlement of the question. For the only claims of our merchants on her for spoliations, she has long since made ample and honorable indemnity. All this is to the credit of the honor and probity of the Russian councils, and in that light we name it. But were she pursuing the most selfish course from the merest motives of calculation, she would not have done otherwise. No American statesman can rise from the survey of the foreign affairs of his country, without feelings of kindness toward Russia. And as surely as causes produce effects, this feeling will operate, whenever occasion is presented, by the international relations of the states of Europe and America. We admit, that, as Russia was very slightly concerned, in any way, with the revolutionary politics of the United States, this friendly course, on her part, was not attended with any difficulty; although all the prejudices of that government (a government too, which derives its tone from the feelings of one individual, and is therefore less amenable to public sentiment) might have been expected to run in an opposite direction in respect to the United States, as a revolutionary and democratic government.

France and England are more delicately situated. Natural enemies (as it is called) to each other, America is the rebellious offspring (as it is again called) of England; and although our revolution was most powerfully aided by the government of France, administered by the present reigning family, yet this same revolution is regarded as having had great influence in bringing on that of France, which, in its course, became so disastrous to the then head of that family. These circumstances, we admit, produce a relation of some delicacy; and what has been the effect? In England, generally speaking, the government party, inheriting the feelings of the year 1775, has not only retained the soreness and irritation of that period,

but, through the literary organs under its influence, has libelled America, its institutions, its manners, and its citizens, atrociously and systematically ; and still does it. The liberal party, as such, has been disposed in England to entertain a sympathy with America ; and this circumstance gives to that party all the real strength they possess. But for the prosperous event of the American revolution, the issue of the French revolution would have made the very name of a liberal party a by-word in Europe for five centuries to come. If the patriots in America had been trampled down and put in the wrong, and an arbitrary government consolidated on their necks, and all the fair abounding fruits of liberal institutions, in this hemisphere, nipped in the bud ; and if, on the heels of this deplorable result, the French revolution, with its train of ghastly excesses, had crowded, we say again, that the cause of liberal institutions would have stood about as fair in England, as it does at present in the Celestial empire of China. So that we make use of no exaggeration, when we say, that the liberal party in England owes whatever strength it possesses to America, and their supposed sympathy with us. On the other hand, the opposite party, by persevering in a hostile disposition, by keeping its pack of venal scribblers in full cry against us, not only most effectually strengthens the liberal party at home, but puts itself in the wrong on almost all questions, on which the good feelings of the age are strongly enlisted. If the British ministry systematically cultivated such a feeling toward us as animates the Russian government, it would not only be productive of the happiest effects between the two countries, and obviate, as far as depends on Great Britain, the cruel necessity of a periodical war, but (which, to be sure, is no business of ours) it would, more than anything else in their foreign relations, strengthen them at home. This is so unquestionable, that a weak minister is *comparatively* well disposed to the United States, and a popular minister the reverse. The whole period since the peace of 1815, till the last year, has been covered by the ministerial influences of Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning. Of the two, the liberal minister, the minister who sprung from the people, and boasted of his origin, was by far the less liberal, in his official intercourse with the United States. Nor have we much doubt, that the case will continue to be illustrated by Lord Wellington, who, weak in those points in which Mr Canning felt himself strong,—we mean the eulogies of the

liberal press,—will feel no inclination to add to the other embarrassments of his administration, that of keeping up Mr Canning's absurd quarrel with us, and continuing to reject the overtures, made by the United States, for a settlement of the question of the colonial trade on terms professedly satisfactory to England herself. Should this conciliatory course, however, be adopted by the Duke of Wellington, it will only be in his case, as it was in Lord Londonderry's, the convenience of the minister, triumphing over the prejudices of the Tory.

The relations of the government of France towards the United States are still more complicated, in consequence of the supposed connexion between the revolutions of the two countries. There is no cordiality between the governments of England and France, except as far as a government of France, unsupported by the popular feeling in that country, may lean upon the British government for support. But, in the nature of things, there is no predilection on the part of these governments for each other; and consequently the cordiality between the French and the American governments ought to increase, as the unfriendliness of the British councils towards us or them is apparent. In fact, from a principle of this kind was derived, no doubt, the resolution of the French government to take part in our revolutionary struggle. We speak, of course, only of the reasons of state which actuated the ministry and the king. But the close succession of the French revolution upon ours seemed to identify the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty with the event of the American contest, and engraved a horror of all revolutions on the heart of the kings of France. But this, like all the other cruel contradictions of the French revolution, ought, for the interest of both nations, to be forgotten. France, as such, might possess, in the revolutionary recollections of America, a tower of strength. The same reasons of state, which prompted the ministry of Louis the Sixteenth to the very strong measure of sending his fleets, in a time of peace with England, to take the part of the revolted colonies, certainly suggest, to any administration of his successors, the expediency of cherishing and reciprocating the friendly sentiments of America toward France. It is for the interest of France to follow the example, not of England, but of Russia; and not to look with coldness on the ripe fruits of the revolutionary struggle, whose first germs she fostered and protected. We cannot well conceive of anything more unnatural,

than an order given by the French ministry to the officers of a squadron of Charles the Tenth to refuse to join the Americans in 1824, in commemorating a victory gained by the coöperation of the armies of his brother, Louis the Sixteenth, in 1781.

But we return to the work before us. The passage of General Lafayette through the territory of the Creek Indians, is a portion of this narrative among the most curious. Several of the incidents, however, through some other channel, have already appeared before the public, and we may therefore venture to forbear the quotation of them. The reception of General Lafayette, by the population of New Orleans, was, in like manner, not among the least interesting occurrences of the tour. The large proportion of French intermixed with the American, in that population, was a circumstance which could not but add much to the enthusiasm, with which this illustrious son of France was received. But there were others, besides the French and Americans, that pressed with equal earnestness about him, and we are not sure that any part of these volumes has appealed more strongly to our own feelings, than that which records the interview of the Spanish patriots with General Lafayette.

‘In the course of the morning,’ says Colonel Levasseur, ‘a deputation of Spanish settlers and refugees waited on the General, to pay their respects to him, and especially to express their gratitude to him, for the manner, in which, in the Chamber of Deputies, he had opposed the invasion of Spain, and the overthrow of the liberal constitution. The organ of the deputation thus expressed himself;

“General, the Spaniards established in this region, and those proscribed in their native land, have united to offer you their sincere congratulations on your arrival in these States; whose fruitful liberties are owing in part to your sacrifices and your perseverance. They congratulate themselves on the opportunity, which they thus enjoy (amidst the patriotic recollections of one portion of their company, and the distressing anxieties of the other), of beholding the hero, whose actions, words, and conduct justify their liberal sentiments, and the extremity to which they have gone, in withdrawing themselves from the reach of a government, which persecutes and dooms them, and exposes them to the danger and vicissitudes of exile. Your esteem for the brave and unfortunate Riego; the tribute of remembrance, which, on all occasions, you have taken pleasure in paying to this ill-fated victim of a cruel and jealous court; the homage with which you honor the ashes of this worthy patriot, are at once the best encouragement

and reward for those, who devote themselves to the sacred cause of liberty. Spaniards, who admired his virtues and shared his opinions, now unfortunate and in exile, come to you, General, with a tranquil conscience. They dare salute you, because they are free from reproach. They are unfortunate. But if in sacrificing themselves, they could save their country, they would cheerfully offer up their lives, invoking, under the axe, the name of Lafayette, and of those, who, like him, presume not to place the obstacles of despotism, tyranny, and the inquisition, in opposition to the spirit of the age, to improvement, and to freedom. Accept, General, the affectionate tribute of our admiration; and let the unhappy Spanish exiles obtain from you an expression of consolation for themselves, and all others who fly before the wasting scourge of tyranny. Such an expression, General, shall be a pledge of your protection, a proof of their innocence, and an assurance of a future more auspicious and honorable to their country."

"The General, whose principles had led him to oppose with energy a measure reprov'd by France, a measure, which had produced results so afflictive to Spain, and the courageous victims of which were now before him, was profoundly affected by their testimonials of grateful respect, and expressed himself as follows to M. Campe, the president of the deputation;

"I am equally touched and flattered, sir, by these assurances of esteem and confidence with which I am honored by the former sons of Spain, now citizens of this state, associated, on this occasion, with Spaniards but lately proscribed by a government of terror, that has usurped their rights.

"While I congratulate those of you, gentlemen, who have the happiness to be members of the great American confederacy, let us all rejoice in the thought that the cause of liberty will in the end triumph over hostile alliances and fraudulent intrigues. Already your beautiful language, the language of Padilla, has become, over an immense extent of territory, in this hemisphere, the language of an independent republic. Already, at two different periods, in the native land of the illustrious and worthy Riego, that language has been the vehicle, in the bosom of the Cortes, of the most eloquent and generous strains; and whatever may have been the momentary success of a war, detested, I delight to say, by France, and of a treacherous influence, in reference to which the Spanish patriots have nothing to learn, liberty will soon return to enlighten and fertilize this interesting part of Europe. Then, and then only, will the manes of Riego, of his young and unfortunate spouse, and of so many other victims to tyranny and superstition, be appeased. Meantime, gentlemen, I am truly grateful for the value, which the Spanish exiles, among whom I reckon

many excellent personal friends, are pleased to place on my regard for them; and I pray you and them, gentlemen, to accept my sincere and respectful thanks." Vol. II. pp. 213-216.

Who needs to be reminded, that by thus boldly and eloquently asserting the cause of freedom, wherever he went in his wide tour throughout the United States, General Lafayette turned the etiquette of a ceremonious reception into a living and abiding lesson of the highest truth? By whom else with such authority, on what occasion with such force, to what audience with such pertinency, could the cause of Spanish liberty have been pleaded? This beautiful incident was followed up by another, if not more imposing, equally interesting and affecting.

'In the crowd,' says Colonel Levasseur, 'I noticed some ecclesiastics, and among the rest a Capuchin, whose costume, new to me, had attracted my attention on the day of my arrival. The account which I received of him highly interested me, and will, I doubt not, interest the reader.

'Father Antonio is a venerable Spanish ecclesiastic of the Franciscan order, for many years residing in Louisiana. Surrounded by a population composed of different sects, he has never thought it his duty to trouble the consciences of others, by seeking recruits to his own faith. Sometimes, as a Capuchin, Father Antonio solicits charity, but it is only when he has some good action to perform, and his slender means, exhausted by constant alms-giving, are inadequate of themselves to the object. Every year, when on the return of the sickly season, the yellow-fever drives the wealthy inhabitants of New Orleans to their country seats for protection from disease and death, the worth of Father Antonio is seen in all its force. In these days of terror and mourning, how many unfortunates, abandoned by their friends and even their relations, have been indebted for health and life to his devotedness, to his cares, to his piety! Of all whom he has thus saved (and they are numerous), there is not one who can say, "Before taking me under his care, he inquired what was my religion." 'When he came to see the General, Father Antonio was clothed according to the rule of his order, in a long brown frock, tied with a rope about the body. As soon as he perceived the General, he threw himself into his arms, saying, "Oh, my son, I have found favor with the Lord, for he has granted me, before I die, to see and hear the worthiest apostle of liberty." He then conversed with the General, for a few moments, in the most affectionate manner, complimented him on the glorious and well deserved reception which he had received from the Americans, and modestly withdrew into a corner of the apartment.' 'When

the crowd had retired and he found the General alone, he ran to him and pressing him again in his arms, exclaimed, "Adieu my son; adieu, beloved General. Farewell! may the Lord go before thee, and after thy glorious visit is over, may he guide thee to the bosom of thy beloved family, to enjoy in peace the recollection of thy good actions, and the friendship of the people of America. Oh, my son, perhaps thou art still reserved for great achievements! Perhaps the Lord will yet make thee the instrument of emancipating other nations. Should that time come, think, my son, of poor Spain. Abandon not my dear country, my unhappy country." The tears fell on his venerable beard; his utterance was choked, and it was only after a pause of the deepest emotion that he was able to add, "My son, my dear son, do something for my wretched country." pp. 230-233.

When we read, in the last papers from France, the accounts of the present state of things in that kingdom; when we notice the irresistible onset made upon the ministry, and the visible perturbation of its ranks, it is impossible wholly to suppress the idea, that another great change is at hand. When we see the spontaneous movement of the people toward the person of Lafayette, the glowing zeal with which they have turned an excursion of business into another triumphant progress, strewing his way with honors such as loyal France never paid to her most cherished princes, we cannot but think, that the aspiration of the venerable Spanish priest is almost prophetic. The feelings of men inspire their actions; public sentiment governs states; and revolutions are the outbreakings of mighty, irrepressible passions. It is in vain to deny that these passions are up, in France; and happy is it, that they have concentrated themselves upon a patriot, whom prosperity has as little been able to corrupt, as adversity to subdue.

The happy amalgamation of the French and American population in Louisiana was evidently one of the most agreeable spectacles, which presented itself to General Lafayette, on his tour. It is one of the most precious lessons which our history contains. When Louisiana was acquired, a great problem presented itself, of which the solution could not be thrust aside; which it was necessary for the government and the people of the United States and the inhabitants of Louisiana to meet. France sold the country to the United States. It is plain, that, on American principles, France could do nothing, which would bind any body but herself; and that we could acquire no rights, under the purchase, except as against France

and other powers admitting the right of a mother country to transfer the jurisdiction of a colony. It was the opinion of Mr Jefferson and his cabinet, that it was necessary for the people of Louisiana to do some act, expressive of their willingness to join the American people, and that the constitution of the United States must be amended, to admit of this addition to the confederated family. The first measure (which presented no practical difficulties, that we are aware of) was superseded by the obvious good will and predisposition of the population. The second (which in the theory of our government was necessary) was waved under the dictation of high national convenience; and it is not within our knowledge, that the momentous result of transferring all Louisiana (an empire of itself) from one jurisdiction to another, was attended with an irregular movement, which it required a sergeant's guard to repress.

While the Canadas have been haunting the British parliament, for seventy years, like a wrathful ghost, constantly harassed with a legislation that never satisfies them, overwhelmed with favors that do not propitiate, and taunted with concessions which are as grateful to a proud colony as alms-bread is to a proud man, Louisiana has sprung up at once into an affectionate, congenial member of the confederacy. She was Catholic; how did Protestant America deal with that fearfully sensitive interest, the Catholic faith of her newly gathered brethren? The treaty of cession guarantied to them the undisturbed liberty of conscience, with the assurance that this is all, which any communion in the whole republic enjoys. In Canada, the British government *tolerates* the Catholic faith, the faith of the mass of the population, (and next to persecution, *toleration* is the most odious word in the vocabulary of oppression; for the power, that makes a merit of tolerating, claims *ipso facto* the right of not tolerating, that is, of persecuting), endows the Church of England, and even requires the professors of her colleges in Canada to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles.*

* In the very interesting debate in the House of Commons, May 2, 1828, 'on the civil government of the Canadas,' Sir James Mackintosh observed, 'In Upper Canada, the people were much dissatisfied, by the immense grants of land, which had been made to the Church of England, and the reserves kept for a church, which is not the religion of a majority of the people. Such endowments may be held sacred, when they have been long made, but I do not see the propriety of now

Louisiana had been both a Spanish and a French colony; how did republican America manage the nice questions of government and law? She guarantied to them the enjoyment of all those portions of their old law, which they themselves might choose to retain; declared them independent, and free to adopt any modification of republican government, that they might choose; and admitted them into the federal union, on terms of equality. In Canada, before the question can be answered, on what footing England has placed the law and the government, you must say as to what period of ten years you inquire; for two lustrums is an old age for a British charter in Canada. There is the law of 1763, and the law of 1774, and the law of 1778, and the law of 1791, as each new minister chooses to make what he deems *experimentum in corpore vili*.

Most ardently is it to be wished, that the happy example, which has so prosperously attached to our union, on the south, the French colony of Louisiana, could effectually point the way to an equally auspicious junction of the French colonies of the north. What privileges would it open for the Canadas; what collisions would it obviate between Great Britain and the United States; what a relief would it afford to England; what a noble accession would it constitute to our republic. Great Britain, of course, in the present improved state of political science, can claim no right to control the will of the people of Canada. When this subject was alluded to, in the House of Commons, in the debate above mentioned, all that was maintained in favor of a perpetuity of the colonial bond, was that England was bound to *protect* the colonies. This obligation, of course, ceases at the will of the colonists. It is not the duty of England to protect them, if they do not wish to be protected; and if the four British provinces in North America should to-morrow propose to renounce the government of Great Britain, and join the confederacy of the United States, as the Congress of 1774 invited them to do,

making such endowments for a church which is not the religion of the people, nor do I understand the regulations, which have been made for the new college in Upper Canada. I see, with astonishment, that in a country, where the majority of the people do not belong to the Church of England, the professors must all subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles; so that if Dr Adam Smith were alive, he could not fill the chair of political economy, and Dr Black would be excluded from the chair of chemistry.'

we do not know on what sound principles of natural or national law Great Britain could interpose an objection.

But, to return once more to the work before us, the passage of General Lafayette up the Mississippi; his visits to St Louis, to Kaskaskia in Illinois, to Nashville in Tennessee, to Jeffersonville in Indiana, to Kentucky and Ohio; his return to this neighborhood, to assist in the laying of the corner-stone of the monument on Bunker Hill; his excursion to New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine; his return through New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, to Washington; his valediction at Washington; his passage back to France, and his reception at home,—the topics which fill the residue of the second volume, are richly diversified with interesting matter of every kind. We might specify his rencounter with a female Indian, who had been brought up in civilized, and returned to savage life, the daughter of a chief who had served under Lafayette in 1778, and received from him a written testimonial to his character; the interview at Nashville with the President of the United States; the disaster on the Ohio, occasioned by a *snag*; the visit to Mr Gallatin; the whole ceremonial of Bunker Hill; and the farewell scene at Washington. But we have left ourselves no space for further extracts.

There are those who deny to General Lafayette the name of a *great man*. This is a vague phrase, hard to define, of an acceptation somewhat dependent on the circle in which it is used. Does goodness belong to greatness, and make a part of it? Who is there, that has run through such a career with so little reproach? Are military courage and conduct the test of greatness? Lafayette was trusted by Washington with all kinds of service; the laborious and the complicated, which required patience and skill; the perilous, that demanded nerve; and we see him keeping up a pursuit, effecting a retreat, outmanœuvring an enemy, and heading an assault, with equal reputation and success. Are the willingness to meet tremendous responsibility, and the cool and brave administration of gigantic power, proofs of greatness? Lafayette commanded in chief the national guard of France, three millions of bayonets. Is the fortitude, required to resist the urgency of a multitude pressing onward their leader to crime, a trait of true greatness? Behold Lafayette, when he might have been the chief, becoming the fugitive of the French revolution. Is the solitary and unaided opposition of a good citizen to the pretensions of

an absolute ruler, whose power was as boundless as his ambition, an effort of greatness? Read the letter of Lafayette to Napoleon Bonaparte, refusing to vote for him as consul for life. Is a voluntary return, in advancing years, to the direction of affairs, at a moment like that when the ponderous machinery of the French empire was flying asunder, stunning, rending, crushing, annihilating thousands on every side, a mark of greatness? Consider his calmness at the tribune, when allied Europe was at the gates of Paris, and Napoleon yet stood in his desperation and at bay. And add to all this the dignity, the propriety, the cheerfulness, the matchless discretion of his conduct, in the strange, new position, in which he was placed in this country. Those who deny such a man the meed of greatness, may award it, if they please, to their Alexanders and Cæsars, their Frederics and their Wellingtons.

ART. VIII.—*A Year in Spain.* By a Young American.
Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 8vo. pp. 395.

THE author of this book is certainly a sprightly, sensible, well informed traveller, with great activity of observation, a good talent at narration, and not deficient in the power of presenting scenes and objects to the reader's imagination. In October, 1826, he finds himself at Perpignan in the South of France, which he is the more willing to leave behind for Spain, as he had been disappointed in the scenery, and especially, what he expected to find the most delightful, the vineyards, which, instead of answering to the brilliant picture he had fancied, appeared very like our bean-fields or hop-fields; and as the cold north wind had withered and scattered the vine leaves, and the props, which answer to our bean-poles or hop-poles, had been removed to be housed for the winter, the prospect of the naked fields offered no charms to detain him from passing the Pyrenees. He found little of the Arcadia which he had imagined in this part of France, except the women, whom he admits to be Arcadian and 'beautiful; their glowing eyes and arch expression denoted intelligence and passionate feeling; while their ruddy hue and symmetric conformation gave assurance, that they were both healthy and agile.' In short,

they were very much like the women of many other places, especially those of Spain, whom our youthful traveller omits no occasion of admiring and celebrating, and, we should say, with some excess of enthusiasm, without, however, intending any offence to the Spanish women, who, as well as those of Roussillon, are, we have no doubt, 'most fascinating creatures.'

After being warned over night by an old stationary French captain, at the same inn, of the necessity of being robbed and assassinated in Spain, he finds himself, before daylight in the morning, rattling over the drawbridge of Perpignan, occupying a part of one of the three compartments of that ample portable structure, a French diligence, drawn by two wheel-horses and three leaders abreast, all managed by a postilion who rides the left wheel-horse, a part of his person being inserted into an immense pair of jackboots, and the rest fantastically dressed. But the equipage was not committed wholly to the skill and discretion of this cavalier, who, with the machine and appurtenances, was under the guidance of the director, whose place, prescribed by law, is the round top, or *impérial*, a circular apartment on the top of the diligence, whence he directs its movement, and superintends its management, but from which he had, in the present instance, descended to occupy the cabriolet in front, answering in some degree to the seat of our stage-drivers, where he sat in a sealskin cap, sundry fur jackets, with a red comforter round his neck, contemplating at his leisure the management of the postilion and the progress of the engine. The dawn disclosed his room-mates to be a French captain going to join his regiment at Barcelona, and the wife of a sub-lieutenant going to join her husband, who was at Figueras in the same service, both belonging to the French army of occupation. The parties, thus brought into so near an intimacy, and a part of them for the first time, did not reconnoitre each other with an indifferent or repulsive silence, but seized the first opportunity of some act of politeness, and seemed to be mutually solicitous of making some little sacrifice, each of his own comfort, in behalf of the others. 'The difference between the French,' says our traveller, 'and most other nations, and the secret of their enjoying themselves in almost every situation, is, that they endeavor to content themselves with the present, and draw from it whatever amusement it may be capable of affording. *Utiliser ses moments*, is a maxim which they not only utter frequently, but follow always.

They make the most of such society as chance may send them, are polite to persons whom they never expect to see again, and thus often begin, where duller spirits end, by gaining the good will of all who come near them.'

As seen from Perpignan, says our traveller, the Pyrenees had stood in rugged perspective, rising gradually from the Mediterranean, and bending westward where Mont Perdu reared its snowy head upward until it was lost in the heavens. There are three principal passes across these mountains, the southernmost of which was pursued by our travellers, which winds along towards the Mediterranean coast without ascending to a very great elevation. At Junquera, the first Spanish village, a strict scrutiny was made into the baggage for concealed goods, and more especially for prohibited books, a long list, including more especially the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Marmontel, with all the modern metaphysicians and economists, about which the officers were the more inquisitive, as they had shortly before intercepted a Spanish translation of the '*Social Contract*,' invading their territory under the title of the '*Lives of the Saints* ; which made our traveller apprehensive for a copy of the '*Henriade*' in his baggage, for which, however, he conciliated the connivance of the officer by a small bribe, which the representative of the Spanish monarchy at that place, in regard to the article of revenue, hinted, would not be unacceptable to him. The traveller remarks upon the striking contrast in passing the barrier of the two nations. On the French side, the custom-house officers are snugly sheltered ; *gendarmes*, well accoutred and well mounted, patrol the country in pursuit of robbers, and for the protection of the inhabitants in their avocations ; and all those employed about the custom-house are remarkable for the cleanliness and uniformity of their dress. On the Spanish side, miserable looking *aduaneros* crawl forth with paper cigars in their mouths, in old cocked hats of oiled cloth and tattered cloaks, from ruinous mud hovels. Every man carries a gun for the protection of his person and property.

Descending on the Spanish side, the scene gradually softens, and the valleys are covered with wheat, vines, and olives, and the hills fringed with cork trees.

'This useful production is known in Spain by the name of *alcornoque*. It is a species of the *encina*, which, though of very different appearance from our oak, furnishes a wood of the same

grain, and produces acorns, which are not so bitter as ours, and which, as an article of food, the poorer classes do not always abandon to the hogs. Thus we are told, that Sancho was a great lover of *bellotas*. The cork tree grows to the height of our apple tree, and spreads its branches much in the same manner; but the trunk is of much greater dimensions, and the foliage of a more gloomy hue. Its trunk and branches are covered with a thick ragged bark, which would seem to indicate disease. The trunk alone, however, furnishes a bark of sufficient thickness to be of use in the arts. It is first stripped away in the month of July, when the tree is fifteen years old; but is then of no use, except to burn, and is only removed for the sake of producing a stouter growth. In the course of six or eight years, the inner bark has grown into a cork of marketable quality, and continues to yield, at similar intervals, for more than a century.' p. 17.

Passing through Figueras, remarkable for the strength of its fortifications, and Gerona, no less remarkable, according to the author, as the scene of one of the labors of Hercules, on the way to Tordera, the diligence crossed several streams without bridges; they came to one, down the banks of which the postilion drove with the greatest speed to which he could provoke his team.

'When, in the middle, however,' says the author, 'we were near stopping; for the river, which was much swollen, entered at the bottom of the diligence, washing through the wheels, and striking against the flanks of our horses, until it rendered them powerless, and had well nigh driven them from their legs. They were for a moment at a stand; but the whip and the voice of the postilion encouraged them to greater exertion, and, after much struggling, they succeeded in dragging the coach over the stones at the bottom of the torrent, and in bringing it safely to land.

'We were not alone in this little embarrassment; for there was a party of about a hundred Frenchmen crossing the stream at the same time. They were going to join a regiment at Barcelona, and with the exception of a few *vieux moustaches* among the non-commissioned officers, who did not need their stripes of service to proclaim them veterans, they were all conscripts, as any one who had seen Vernet's inimitable sketches would readily have conjectured. It happened that there was a small foot-bridge, only one plank in width, which stood on upright posts driven into the bottom of the stream. The water was now nearly even with the top, and in some places flowed over. This, however, afforded a more agreeable way of crossing, than wading the river with water to the arm-pits. The commander of the party had already passed, and stood, buttoned in his *capot* and with folded arms, upon an

eminence beyond the stream, watching the motions of his followers. Those of the soldiers who had already crossed, stood upon the bank, laughing and hallooing at the unsteady steps of the conscripts, as they came faltering over with caps and coats fitting them like sacks, and their muskets held out before them to assist in maintaining a balance. Though many tottered, only two or three fell, and these came to land well drenched, to the infinite amusement of their comrades. Last came a young sub-lieutenant, evidently on his first campaign, tripping along the plank with the airy step of a *muscadin*. Unfortunately, just as he had cleared two thirds of the bridge, and was quickening his pace with an air of great self-complacency, a flaw of wind, rushing down the ravine, caught the skirts of his oil-cloth coat, and throwing him out of the perpendicular, he fell full length, like a thresher fish, upon the water. The soldiers respected the feelings of their officer and repressed their mirth; they rushed into the stream, each with exclamations of anxiety for *mon lieutenant*, and soon drew him to land dripping with the water, from which his patent cloak had not availed to protect him.' pp. 18, 19.

The author gives a very lively description of the Catalans he met with at Tordera, whose dress seems to be sufficiently striking and singular.

'The men were of large stature, perfectly well made and very muscular; but there seemed something sinister in their appearance, partly produced by the length and shagginess of their hair and the exaggerated cast of their countenances; partly, by the graceless character of their costume. It consisted of a short jacket and waistcoat of green or black velvet, scarce descending half way down the ribs, and studded thickly with silver buttons, at the breasts, lapels, and sleeves; the trowsers of the same material, or of nankeen, being long, full, and reaching from the ground to the arm-pits. Instead of shoes, they wore a hempen or straw sandal, which had a small place to admit and protect the toes, and a brace behind with cords, by means of which it was bound tightly to the instep. Their dark-tanned and sinewy feet seemed strangers to the embarrassment of a stocking, whilst their loins were girt with a sash of red silk or woollen. This article of dress, unknown among us, is universally worn by the working classes in Spain, who say, that it keeps the back warm, sustains the loins, and prevents lumbago; in short, that it does them a great deal of good, and that they would be undone without it. Most of the young men had embroidered ruffles, and collars tied by narrow sashes of red or yellow silk; some displayed within their waistcoat a pair of flashy suspenders of green silk, embroidered with red, and adjusted by means of studs and buckles of silver. The

most remarkable article, however, of this singular dress, and by no means the most graceful, was a long cap of red woollen, which fell over behind the head, and hung a long way down the back, giving the wearer the look of a cut-throat. Whether from the association of the *bonnet rouge*, or some other prejudice, or from its own intrinsic ugliness, I was not able, during my short stay in Catalonia, to overcome my repugnance to this detestable head-gear.

As for the women, some of them were dressed in a gala suit of white, with silk slippers covered with spangles; but more wore a plain black frock, trimmed with velvet of the same color. They were generally bare-headed, just as they had come from their dwellings; a few, returning perhaps from mass, had fans in their hands, and on their heads the *mantilla*. The Spanish *mantilla* is often made entirely of lace, but more commonly of black silk, edged with the more costly material. It is fastened above the comb, and pinned to the hair, thence descending to cover the neck and shoulders, and ending in two embroidered points which depend in front. These are not confined, but left to float about loosely; so that, with the ever-moving fan, they give full employment to the hands of the lady, whose unwearied endeavor to conceal her neck furnishes a perpetual proof of her modesty. Though in former times the female foot was doomed in Spain to scrupulous concealment, to display it is now no longer a proof of indecency. The frock had been much shortened among these fair Catalans, each of whom exhibited a well-turned ankle, terminated in a round, little foot, neatly shrouded in a thread stocking, with a red, a green, or a black slipper. They were, besides, of graceful height and figure, with the glow of health deep upon their cheeks, and eyes that spoke a burning soul within. There was much of the grace, and ease, and fascination of the *Provençale*, with a glow and luxuriance enkindled by a hotter sun.' pp. 19, 20.

The author gives a good sketch of the scene presenting itself on his coming in prospect of the Mediterranean, soon after leaving Tordera, and describes the journey as very pleasant along the coast, where the route often passes through neat-looking villages of two rows of houses, mostly of one story, with plastered and whitewashed walls, and roofs covered with red tiles. They arrived at Barcelona on Sunday evening before sunset, and entered the capital of Catalonia with the concourse of the inhabitants and French officers and soldiers, making altogether a very variegated, fantastical group, who had been out to recreate themselves in the promenades and fields, and were hastening to enter the town before the gates should be closed

for the night. Here the French captain, who had been a fellow traveller with the author from Perpignan, had reached the rendezvous of his regiment, but they did not separate for their respective lodgings without exchanging addresses, as a pledge of further acquaintance; and, though we are afraid of too early exhausting the capacity of our article for quotations, we cannot withhold from our readers the very descriptive and animated picture of this survivor of the Russian campaign. Besides, the sketch is a good specimen of the life led by the officers of an army of occupation. Our traveller and a young Frenchman, with whom he had made acquaintance in the diligence, had no sooner settled their lodgings at the *Fonda of the Four Nations*, than they sallied out to find those of the captain, whom they at length discovered in a little room overlooking one of the narrowest streets of Barcelona.

‘As we entered, he was sitting thoughtfully on his bed, with a folded paper in his hand, one foot on the ground, the other swinging. A table, upon which were a few books, and a solitary chair, formed the only furniture of the apartment; while a *schaiko*, which hung from the wall by its nailed throat-lash, a sword, a pair of foils and masks, an ample cloak of blue, and a small portmanteau, containing linen and uniform, constituted the whole travelling equipage and movable estate of this marching officer. We accommodated ourselves, without admitting apologies, on the bed and the chair, and our host set about the task of entertaining us, which none can do better than a Frenchman. He had just got a letter from a widow lady, whose acquaintance he had cultivated when last in Barcelona, and was musing upon the answer. Indeed, his amatory correspondence seemed very extensive; for he took one billet which he had prepared from the cuff of his capot, and a second from the fold of his bonnet, and read them to us. They were full of extravagant stuff, rather remarkable for warmth than delicacy, instead of a signature at the bottom, had a heart transfixing with an arrow, and were done up in the shape of a cocked hat. As for the widow, he did not know where to find words sweet enough for her; and protested that he had half a mind to send her the remaining one of a pair of mustaches, which he had taken from his lip after the campaign of Russia, and which he presently produced, of enormous length, from a volume of tactics.

‘When we were about to depart, our captain said that he was going to the *caserne* of his regiment, to assist in an assault of arms which was to be given by the officers, and asked us to go with him. The scene of the assault was a basement room. The pave-

ment of pounded mortar was covered with plank, to make it more pleasant to the feet. We found a couple already fencing, and our companion soon stripped to prepare for the encounter. It was singular to see the simplicity of his dress. When he removed his boots to put on the sandal, his feet were without stockings, and under his close-buttoned capot there was no waistcoat, nothing to cover his shaggy breast, but a coarse linen shirt without a collar; for the French officers wear nothing about the neck beside a stock of black velvet edged with white. Having taken off the sword-belt which hung from his shoulder, and bound his suspenders round his loins, he rolled his sleeves up, chose a mask and foil, and was ready to step into the arena. It appeared that our captain was master of his weapon, from the difficulty in finding him an antagonist. This, however, was at length removed, by the stepping forth of a close-built little *sabreur*. It was a fine display of manly grace, to see the opening salutations of courtesy, and the fierce contest that ensued, as they alternately attacked and defended, winding themselves within the guard of each other with the stealth and quickness of the serpent, and glaring from within their masks with eyes of fire. The buttons of their foils were not covered with leather, as is usual among more moderate fencers, lest the motion of the points should be embarrassed. Hence the rough edges, as they grazed the arm or struck full upon the breast, brought blood in several places. This same weapon, the foil, is generally used by the French military in duels, with the single preparation of cutting off the button. When the assault was concluded, the antagonists removed their masks and shook hands, as is the custom, in order to remove any irritation that might have occurred during the contest. Then commenced a brisk and earnest conversation upon the performance, furnishing matter for many compliments and never-ending discussion. During a year's residence in France, I had never before met with any one who had taken part in the campaign of Russia; as I now looked, however, upon the muscular arms of the captain and his iron conformation, I was not surprised that he had been of the few who had gone through the horrors of that disastrous expedition.' pp. 23, 24.

Our traveller's room at the inn overlooked a field encumbered with the ruins of a convent of Capuchins, which had been demolished during the troubles of the Peninsula. The site had been sold under the constitution; and the purchasers were already collecting materials to build, when church and state, and the French army under the Duke of Angoulême, dispossessed them of their purchase; and the Capuchins, now returning one after another, like bees hovering about their de-

molished hive, had laid hands upon the materials collected by the dispossessed purchasers, and were moving to and fro in their long beards, dingy gray dresses, and rope girdles, directing some twenty or thirty workmen in laying anew the foundations of their cloisters. In describing the various groups making up the passing and repassing throng in the *Rambla*, or public walk, in front of the inn, the writer particularly distinguishes the clergy, who very naturally occupy much of his attention, as well as that of every other traveller in this singular country. But this easterly corner of the Peninsula seems to be peculiarly blessed with this consecrated part of Spanish society, the number of priests, and 'friars, black, white, and gray,' being, as he says, two per cent. of the whole population of Catalonia. One person, out of fifty inhabitants, is equivalent to one out of every twelve and a half of the able-bodied male population, a proportion which would be altogether incredible, if these devout persons were all wholly incumbents, one to every eleven, on the industry of their lay neighbors. The truth is, however, that many of them, in a great measure, support themselves by laboring with their own hands in their gardens. But after making all possible allowances in their favor, this ecclesiastical incubus weighs sorely enough upon the energies, both moral and physical, of the Spanish nation.

The author gives a very pleasing account of this city, the third in Spain, being next in population to Valencia and Madrid; the sketch of its history is well drawn, and not too long; the passages, which he commemorates, are all striking,—its foundation by the Carthaginian, Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal,—the Roman town, the arches and pillars of which are incorporated with the present buildings of the oldest part of the city,—the pompous spectacle exhibited in the public square, or *plaza*, where Ferdinand, in presence of his courtiers, received from Columbus the tribute of the first-fruits of the New World,—and the first experiment of steam navigation made in 1543, with an engine invented by Blasco de Garay. But we pass over the description of the city and its environs, to give an account of the *noria*, a simple machine used for raising water from the wells, for the purpose of irrigating the fields, to which they owe their fertility. We wish to attract the attention of our cultivators to the subject of irrigation, for which a great many parts of our country afford so great facilities, not hitherto applied to any practical advantage.

‘The *noria* consists of a vertical wheel placed over a well, and having a band of robes passing round it, to which earthen jars are affixed. These jars, set in motion by the turning of the wheel, descend empty on one side, pass through the water in the well below, and having small holes in the bottom for the air to escape, fill easily, before they ascend on the opposite side. A little water leaks from the air-holes during the ascent, and falls from jar to jar. When arrived at the top, the water is emptied into a trough leading to a reservoir, so placed as to overlook every part of the field which it is intended to irrigate. Connected with the reservoir is a basin for washing clothes. As for the vertical wheel which immediately raises the water, it receives its motion from a horizontal one, turned by a horse, cow, mule, or more commonly an ass. There is something primitive in this rude machine, that carries one back to scripture scenes and oriental simplicity. Often have I sat by the road-side for an hour together, watching the economy of these little farms, such as one may see in the environs of Barcelona. While the laborer was digging among his lettuces, that old-fashioned animal, the ass, performed unbidden his solemn revolutions; the wheel turned, and the ropes of grass brought up the jars and emptied them of their burthen, while at the neighboring reservoir a dark-haired and dark-eyed damsel would be upon her knees beside the basin, her petticoats tucked snugly around her, and as she rubbed the linen with her hand, or beat it against the curbstone, singing some wild, outlandish air, like anything but the music of Europe.—Much labor is doubtless lost by the rude construction of the *noria*; but the system of irrigation, with which it is connected, is an excellent one, and is the means of fertilizing lands which must otherwise have remained uncultivated.’ p. 28.

After passing the Ebro at the ferry near its mouth, and arriving at Amposta on its western bank, the traveller is struck with the entire change of personal appearance, physiognomy, and costume of the inhabitants. Though he is still in the province, or kingdom, of Catalonia, still he seems here to meet with the manners and race of the neighboring kingdom of Valencia, that stretches along the coast of the Mediterranean some two hundred miles in a southwesterly direction; the capital of which, the second city of Spain in population, is the next destination of the traveller. Instead of the long pantaloons of the Catalans, reaching from their shoulders to the ground, these Valencians wear short linen small-clothes, *bragas*, which tie over the hips with a drawing-string, and, like the Highland kilt, terminate above the knee. But the long, hanging, point-

ed, red woollen cap is common to both districts. The leg is either bare or covered with a footless stocking or a sort of leathern gaiters. Instead of the velvet jacket and silver buttons of the Catalan, the Valencian wears a sort of sack-formed garment over his shoulders, which serves both as a bag and a garment. In this he carries the seed-corn in sowing or planting in the fields. At this little town of Amposta, on the bank of the Ebro, the writer fills his journal with a group of card-players before the entrance of the court-yard of the inn, sitting with their bare legs crossed, very intent upon their game; and the motley collection of boxes, straw panniers, fodder for the mules, and supper for the guests in the dining-room of the inn. He remarks that pork is one of the ingredients in almost every dish, the frequent use of which by the Spaniards grew out of the persecutions of the Jews, when the eating of this meat was a practical profession of faith, and proof of orthodoxy.

As this part of the tour, from the Ebro to Valencia, affords the author an opportunity of treating his readers to a robbery, we ought to give some little account of his companions, by way of introduction to this incident. They consisted of a Valencian shopkeeper, dressed in as many colors as a harlequin, but affable and good-natured withal; his wife, a little *en bon point*, as is usual with Spanish married ladies; with their pretty daughter of fifteen; a company of Valencian students, dressed in black, as usual in Spain, without even the relief of a white collar; and a friar. Our traveller is as much troubled with the rapacity of his young companions at this Amposta inn, as Captain Hall was with that of his fellow-guests at the inns in the United States, and the author admits, that the magnificent apartments and luxurious tables of a North River steam-boat afford a scene of equal vivacity of appetite. These black, little Catalan collegians incontinently plunged into the first dishes with a very keen alacrity, to the inconvenience of their fellow-feasters, who were for a time obliged to be content with what the intrepid youths spared of each dish. But after assuaging their ardor by repeated assaults upon the garlic-flavored viands, they began to offer to others the dishes of which they had partaken, and at length to help others before serving themselves. Their politeness was more particularly directed to the fair *Valenciana*; and when the desert came, each one of them who sat near, after paring an apple, offered her a portion of it on

the end of a knife, which she always accepted, eating either the whole or a part, as if obliged so to do by usage. And the young men accompanied these civilities with sundry gallant speeches, all which seemed to be a great violation of propriety to our young traveller, who was fresh from the modest reserve of French damsels ; but not so to the parents, who felt quite secure while their daughter was in their sight ; nor to the young lady herself, who received the civilities in good part, and occasionally replied to the compliments of her new acquaintances with a sprightly freedom.

The diligence started at two o'clock in the morning ; and while it was winding about the hills, and ascending and descending the declivities along the coast, on its way to Valencia, the conductor (*mayoral*) being comfortably rolled up in his box asleep, having left his team to his postilion, José or Pepe, whom he affectionately called Pepito, an interesting, sprightly boy ; and while our traveller, who, together with his companions, had fallen into a slumber, was just dreaming of being on the last stage of his journey towards his home, the coach was suddenly stopped, and the momentum of his body, acquired from its velocity, threw him against the forward pannel, and effectually dispersed his dreams.

‘ There were voices without, speaking in accents of violence, and whose idiom was not of my country. I now raised myself erect on my seat, rubbed my eyes, and directed them out of the windows.

‘ By the light of a lantern that blazed from the top of the diligence I could discover that this part of the road was skirted by olive trees ; and that the mules having come in contact with some obstacle to their progress, had been curtailed of their open column, and brought together into a close huddle, where they stood as if afraid to move, with pricked ears and frightened, gazing upon each other in dumb wonder at the unaccustomed interruption. A single glance to the right hand gave a clue to unravel the mystery. Just beside the fore wheel of the diligence stood a man dressed in that wild garb of Valencia which I had seen for the first time in Amposta. His red cap was drawn closely over his forehead, reaching far down the back, and his striped *manta*, instead of being rolled round him, hung unembarrassed from one shoulder. Whilst his left leg was thrown forward in preparation, a musket was levelled in his hands, along the barrel of which his eye glared so fiercely upon the visage of the conductor, then in contact with the end of it, that it seemed to reflect the light of

the lantern. On the other side the scene was somewhat different. Pepe being awake when the interruption took place, was at once sensible of its nature. He had abandoned the reins, and jumped from his seat to the road-side, intending to escape among the trees. Unhappy youth, that he should not have accomplished his purpose! He was met by the muzzle of a musket ere he had scarce touched the ground, and a third ruffian appearing at the same moment from the treacherous concealment of the tree towards which he started, he was effectually taken and brought round into the road, where he was made to stretch himself out upon his face, as had already been done with the conductor.

‘I could now distinctly hear one of these robbers—for such they were—inquire in Spanish of the *mayoral* as to the number of passengers he had brought; if any were armed; whether there was any money in the diligence; and then, as a conclusion to the interrogatory, demanding “*La bolsa!*” in a more angry tone. The poor fellow did as he was told; he raised himself high enough to draw a large leathern purse from an inner pocket, and, stretching his hand upward to deliver it, he said, “*Toma usted caballero, pero no me quita usted la vida!*” or, “Take it, sir, but leave my life!” Such, however, did not seem to be his intention. He went to the road-side, and bringing a stone from a large heap which had been collected to be broken and thrown on the road, he fell to beating the *mayoral* upon the head with it. The unhappy man when thus assailed, sent forth the most piteous cries for *misericordia* and *piedad*; he invoked the interposition of *Jesu Christo, Santiago Apostol y Martir, La Virgen del Pilar*, and all those sainted names, which, being accustomed himself to hear pronounced with awful reverence, were most likely to prove efficacious in arresting the fury of his assassin. But he might as well have asked pity of the stone that smote him as of the wretch to whose fell fury it had furnished a weapon. He struck and struck again, until becoming at length more earnest in the task he laid his musket beside him and worked with both hands upon his victim. The cries for pity which blows at first excited, blows at length quelled. They had gradually increased with the suffering to the most terrible shrieks, and when this became too strong to bear, it worked its own cure. The shrieks declined into low and inarticulate moans, which, with a deep drawn and agonized gasp for breath and an occasional convulsion, alone remained to show that the vital principle had not yet departed.

‘It fared no better, nay even worse with Pepe, though instead of the cries for pity which had availed the *mayoral* so little, he uttered nothing but low moans that died away in the dust beneath him. One might have thought that the youthful appearance of the lad would have ensured him compassion. But the case was different.

The robbers were doubtless of Amposta, and being acquainted with him, dreaded recognition; so that what in almost any situation in the world would have formed a claim to kindness was here an occasion of cruelty. When both the victims had been rendered insensible, there was a short pause, and a consultation followed in a low tone between the ruffians; and then they proceeded to execute the further plans which had been concerted between them. The first went round to the left side of the diligence, and having unhooked the iron shoe and placed it under the wheel as an additional security against escape, he opened the door of the interior, and, mounting on the steps, I could hear him distinctly uttering a terrible threat in Spanish, and demanding an ounce of gold from each of the passengers. This was answered by an expostulation from the Valencian store-keeper, who said that they had not so much money, but what they had would be given willingly. There was then a jingling of purses, some pieces dropping on the floor in the hurry and agitation of the moment. Having remained a moment in the door of the interior, he did not come to the *cabriolet*, but passed at once to the *rotunda*. Here he used great caution, doubtless from having seen the evening before at Amposta that it contained no women, but six young students who were all stout fellows. They were made to come down one by one from their strong hold, deliver their money and watches, and then lie down flat upon their faces in the road.

‘Meanwhile, the second robber, after consulting with his companion, had returned to the spot where the *zagal* Pepe lay rolling from side to side. As he went towards him he drew a knife from the folds of his sash, and having opened it he placed one of his naked legs on either side of his victim. Pushing aside the jacket of the youth, he bent forward and dealt him many blows, moving over every part of the body as if anxious to leave none unsaluted. The young priest, my companion, shrunk back into his corner, and hid his face within his shivering fingers; but my own eyes seemed spell-bound, for I could not withdraw them from the cruel spectacle, and my ears were more sensible than ever. Though the windows at the front and sides were still closed, I could distinctly hear each stroke of the murderous knife as it entered its victim; it was not a blunt sound as of a weapon that meets with positive resistance; but a hollow hissing noise as if the household implement, made to part the bread of peace, performed unwillingly its task of treachery. This moment was the unhappiest of my life; and it struck me at the time that if any situation could be more worthy of pity than to die the dog’s death of poor Pepe, it was to be compelled to witness his fate without the power to raise an arm of interposition.

‘Having completed the deed to his satisfaction, this cold-blooded

murderer came to the door of the *cabriolet*, and endeavored to open it. He shook it violently, calling to us to assist him; but it had chanced hitherto that we had always got out on the other side, and the young priest, who had never before been in a diligence, thought from the circumstance that there was but one door, and therefore answered the fellow that he must go to the other side. On the first arrival of these unwelcome visitors, I had taken a valuable watch which I wore, from my waistcoat pocket, and stowed it snugly in my boot; but when they fell to beating in the heads of our guides I bethought me that the few dollars I carried in my purse might not satisfy them, and replaced it again in readiness to be delivered at the shortest notice. These precautions were, however, unnecessary. The third ruffian, who had continued to make the circuit of the diligence with his musket in his hand, paused a moment in the road ahead of us, and having placed his head to the ground as if to listen, presently came and spoke in an under tone to his companions. The conference was but a short one. They stood a moment over the *mayoral* and struck his head with the butts of their muskets, whilst the fellow who had before used the knife returned to make a few farewell thrusts, and in another moment they had all disappeared from around us.

‘In consequence of the darkness, which was only partly dispelled by the lantern which had enabled me to see what occurred so immediately before me, we were not at once sensible of the departure of the robbers, but continued near half an hour after their disappearance in the same situation in which they left us. The short breathing and chattering of teeth, lately so audible from within the interior, gradually subsided, and were succeeded by whispers of the females, and soon after by words pronounced in a louder tone; whilst our mutilated guides by groans and writhing gave evidence of returning animation. My companion and I slowly let down the windows beside us, and having looked round awhile we opened the door and descended. The door of the interior stood open as it had been left, and those within sat each in his place in anxious conversation. In the rear of the coach was a black heap on the ground, which I presently recognised for the six students who had occupied the rotunda, and who having been made to come down one by one, deliver their money and watches, and then stretch themselves out in the road upon their faces, made the oddest figure one can conceive, rolled up in their black cloaks, and with their cocked hats of the same solemn color, emerging at intervals from out the heap. As we came cautiously towards them, they whispered among each other, and then first one lifted his head to look at us, and then another, until finding that we were of the party they all rose at once like a cloud, notwithstanding the threat which the robbers made to them at their departure,

as we afterwards heard, to wait by the road-side and shoot down the first person who should offer to stir.' pp. 47-50.

In this distressed condition the party were obliged to remain, as they were, in the highway, until the *alcalde* of a neighboring village could be sent for. At length a fat little officer appeared, with a red cockade in token of his loyalty; and when he had very deliberately taken note of the transaction, and the two mangled conductors had been put into a cart to be carried back to Amposta, where they both died of their wounds, two of the patrolling guards, whose business it is to scour the country in pursuit of robbers, cut the rope, which had been stretched across the road and had so suddenly stopped the mules, and conducted the diligence on to San Carlos, the next village on their route. They proceeded on to Valencia without any other accident, passing on the way through Murviedro, a small town on the coast, some fifteen or twenty miles north from Valencia, on the site of the ancient Saguntum, which the author commemorates by giving a short account of Hannibal's siege. From Valencia the route still keeps the coast, *for*, but not *towards*, Madrid some fifty miles to the city of San Felipe, which is as far as Valencia from Madrid. At San Felipe, the road turns in a northwesterly direction for the capital of Spain, and after rising gradually until it has ascended to the height of two thousand feet, you come to the wide plain of New Castile, in which rises the branches of the river Guadiana, which discharges into the Atlantic on the southern boundary of Portugal. This plain the author represents at this season, early in November, as being sufficiently chill, dreary, and monotonous. Small decaying villages are scattered at great distances, between which are no habitations, as the danger of robbery prevents the inhabitants from dispersing their dwellings; and not a tree or shrub is to be seen in the wide unbroken prospect. This nakedness of the country is occasioned by a prejudice of the inhabitants, that trees, by giving shelter to birds, would only invite invaders to their scanty crops. According to the description given by the author, it seems a strip lying between the highlands and Mediterranean, along his route, is comparatively fertile, populous, and busy; but on ascending to the wide table-land, for almost the whole distance to Madrid, the signs of fertility and industry disappear.

And so our conductor brings us to Madrid, having met and being about to meet a thousand adventures, and noting a

thousand circumstances, characteristic of Spanish character, manners, and ways of life, which we cannot notice. Indeed we have not often travelled with a writer, who selected his objects and incidents better, prosed less, or described and narrated in a more graphic and lively style, or made more sensible and pertinent remarks. His journal at Madrid from the fifth or sixth of November, to the eleventh of April, including his excursions to Segovia and Toledo, is full of interest and information. Among the numerous passages which might be selected in this part of the work (for the difficulty is in choosing, not in finding), we take the account of Don Valentin with whom he took up his quarters for the winter, as throwing incidentally some light upon the government, the character of the king, and the state of things in Spain. He had already agreed with his instructor, an *impurificado*, that is, a person who had been in service under the constitution, and had not received that sort of acquittal granted, by certain associations of loyalists, to those who had not been flagrant patriots, and who would pay for this purification. This person was Don Diego, who had, under the constitution, been employed in the office of the secretary of state. Diego recommended to his pupil to take lodgings at Don Valentin's, of whom the following account is given.

'Don Valentin was a native of Logronio in the fertile canton of Rioja. He was by birth a *hidalgo*, or noble in the small way, after the manner of Don Quixote, and had been of some importance in his own town, of which he was one of the *regidores*. In the political ups and downs of his country, he had several times changed his residence and occupation; was by turns a dealer in cattle which he purchased in France or in the northern provinces of the Peninsula, to strengthen the stomachs of the combatants, who disputed for the possession of Spain; or else a cloth merchant, keeping his shop in the same house where he now lived, near the *Puerta del Sol*. His last occupation was interrupted, according to his own account, in a very singular way. Whilst he had been *regidor* in Logronio, the *Ayuntamiento* of the town became acquainted with the hiding-place in which some French troops, in retreating rapidly towards the frontier, had deposited a large quantity of plate and valuables, robbed from the royal palace. On the return of Ferdinand, the account of the buried plate reached his ears; and having likewise learned that there was a man in Madrid who knew where it had been concealed, he sent at once for Don Valentin, who was the person in question. When

informed by his majesty that he was required to conduct a party to the place of concealment, he was reluctant to comply. He urged the situation of his affairs. If his store continued open, it would be pillaged by the clerks, who are the most unprincipled fellows, except the *escribanos*, to be found in Spain; and if it were to be shut up, he would lose both present and future custom. Besides, the other *regidores*, his colleagues in the municipality, were yet alive and still resided at Logronio. He hoped, therefore, that his majesty would not send him from his affairs, for he was but a poor man, and had a wife and daughter. These excuses, however, were not satisfactory, and were set aside. Ferdinand promised to recompense all losses that Don Valentin might sustain by abandoning his trade, and to pay him well for the sacrifice; he ended by putting it upon his loyalty. Don Valentin was an Old Castilian; so he hesitated no longer, but sold out, shut his shop and went off to Rioja.

Whether it was owing to the small number of persons who had been knowing to the secret, or to the sacredness with which the Spaniards regard everything which belongs to their religion and their king, the treasure was all found untouched in the place of its concealment. It was brought safely to Madrid, Don Valentin being at the expense of transportation. He now presents his various claims to government, for damages suffered by loss of trade, and for the expenses of the journey, including the subsistence of the foot soldiers, who had served as escort, which he had defrayed from his own purse. These claims were readily admitted, and an early day appointed for their liquidation. The day at length comes, but the money does not come with it. Don Valentin has an audience of the king; for no king can be more accessible than Ferdinand. He receives the royal word for the payment; for no king could be more compliant. He has many audiences, receives many promises, but no money. Meantime he lives upon hope, and the more substantial balance remaining from the sale of his stock. These were near failing together when the year 1820 brought some relief to the misfortunes of Spain. It likewise improved the condition of Don Valentin. Taking advantage of the publicity which was allowed in Spain by the new system, he establishes a reading-room, where all the daily papers of the capital and of the chief cities of Europe were regularly received. This went on very well, until the French, who never yet came to Spain on any good errand, overthrew the Constitution. The liberty of thought and speech fell with it. Don Valentin was invited to shut up his reading-room, and he once more retired to live upon his savings, amounting to some ten or twelve hundred dollars, which he had stowed away in a secret corner of his dwelling. This was taken out, piece by piece, to meet the necessities of his

family, until one day the house was entered by three robbers, who muzzled the old woman with a towel, tied her to the bedstead, and then carried off, not only the earnings of Don Valentin, but silver spoons and forks and everything of any value, to the very finery of Florencia. This last blow laid poor Don Valentin completely on his back. All that he now did was to take the *Diario* and *Gaceta*, which his wife let out to such curious people as came to read them in the common entry of their house. This furnished the trio, of which the family consisted, with their daily *puchero*; his daughter with silk stockings and satin shoes, to go to mass and walk of a feast-day upon the Prado, and himself with now and then his paper *cigarillo*.' pp. 90-92.

The author having established himself with Don Valentin, of whose family and domestic economy he gives a very distinct picture, he sallies out from his lodgings daily in pursuit of the lions of the metropolis. He remarks in regard to the situation of this city, that it is by far the most elevated capital in Europe, being two thousand feet above the ocean, and accordingly many times the height of most others, and twice that of Geneva, which is the next highest. This extraordinary height of the metropolis and whole neighboring district is one cause of the severity of the winter in this latitude. He states that in the winter of 1825-6, some of the sentinels of the royal palace were frozen to death in their boxes, though stationed but for half an hour, and though they were Swiss, who might be supposed to be more able to resist frost than the native inhabitants.

Madrid has fifty public fountains from which the water is carried to the houses by people who make it a business, and this is wholly in the hands of Gallicians and Asturians, who bear water about the city until they have made a small fortune of two or three hundred dollars, and then selling out the good will of their district or range to some successor, retire to their native country to pass the rest of their lives in a comfortable independence. Some of the water-bearers carry water about the streets, selling it by the glass-full to those who pass. They are represented as a rough set, little regardful of ordinary courtesy, who never turn from the narrow side-walk for any one. One day Don Diego, the instructor of our traveller, entered his room with his hat in his hand, endeavoring to rid it of a dint, and cursing the *Gallego* who had run against him at the turning of a corner. He had undertaken to lecture him, but the *Gallego* putting down his keg, and drawing himself up with

dignity, said to him, 'I am a noble, and you, may be, are no more.'

We were struck with the author's account of the figure made by the prompter at the Spanish theatres.

'He is always placed in a tin pulpit, which rises a few feet above the floor, and which is reached from below. The tin, being polished and kept bright, reflects the glare of the lights between which the pulpit is placed, and renders it a most conspicuous object. Hence the prompter reads the whole of the piece, which is afterwards repeated by the players. His book and hand usually project upon the boards, and are seen pointing from one to another of the actors, to indicate whose turn it is. His voice is always audible, and, occasionally in a pathetic part, his declamation becomes loud and impassioned, and he forgets where he is, until called back by the audience. Since the prompter precedes the actor, you frequently know in anticipation what the latter is to say, and the idea is conveyed by the ears before you see the action which is meant to accompany it. After a while the actor draws himself up in a mysterious way, to repeat to you a secret which is already in your possession. This is even more monstrous than the custom which prevailed in the infancy of the Greek drama, of having one man to speak and another to gesticulate.' p. 129.

Some of the public institutions of Madrid appear to be upon a very liberal, magnificent scale, particularly the royal library, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes offered freely to the use of all persons, with a commodious provision of chairs, tables, &c., thirteen persons in all being employed in attendance upon, and superintendence of the establishment. Liberal provision is also made for lectures and instruction in the arts, especially that of painting, in which the Spanish masters hold a very high rank; and the author finds among their works numerous pieces of which he speaks particularly, and for the most part, with great admiration.

Though the Spanish national spectacle of a bull-fight has been often described, we should copy the very animated account of one witnessed by the writer at Madrid had we not already quoted so largely.

Having gratified his curiosity at the capital, the author took his departure early in April for Cordova; and on this journey also, besides those incidents and novelties with which he has a happy talent of filling his journal, he has another opportunity of giving an account of a robbery, for the diligence had but just passed the site of the inn where Don Quixote watched

his armor and was dubbed knight errant, when it was stopped by the robber, Cacaruco, who with his companions proceeded to plunder the passengers, alleging in excuse that he had no other way of bringing up a large family with any decency. But his family was not long to enjoy the benefit of his industry, for the author learned, before leaving Spain, that he had been seized and executed.

In his account of Cordova, as well as in that of Seville, Cadiz, and of Gibraltar, where the journey ends, the author perhaps introduces historical recapitulations a little too copiously, which can be usually resorted to advantageously by a writer of travels, only for those striking events and incidents, which give a greater interest to living characters and present objects or places visited. As the journal proceeds, there is a little abatement of the freshness of coloring and individuality in the description usually imparted to a traveller's style by the novelty of objects on first entering a country, and the distinct and strong impressions consequently made upon his own mind. From this cause, as might naturally be expected, from Cordova to the termination of the journey, the journal is less free, rapid, and vivacious than before. But it does not by any means sink into indifferent travels-making. We cannot but think that the historical epitome in the concluding part of the volume, might have been advantageously omitted, for the same reason that we should have preferred less of history in some of the preceding parts; and the pages in which the latitude, longitude, climate, fertility of soil, and other well known geographical and statistical facts, are given, add little to the value of the work, not because the author betrays want of talent or information in those abstracts, but because they are not what readers look for in a volume of this description.

Some parts of the division under the title of 'General view of Spain,' are among the best portions of the book. The sections upon the revenue, the army, the government, and the clergy, are full of interesting facts and just reflections; and the general view of the Spanish character bears marks of a mind of penetrating observation and good skill in generalizing. In this part of the book the author takes occasion, in a note, to pay a just tribute to the character and reputation of Mr Everett, our late minister to Spain, whom he found at Madrid.

We quote the sketch of Ferdinand the Seventh, whose administration of the government, the author, and justly no doubt,

attributes more to the clergy and the character of the great body of Spanish peasantry, than to any positive qualities and dispositions of his own.

‘From these causes, then, and not from the sovereign will of a single individual, originate those persecuting decrees and apostolic denunciations, which have brought on Ferdinand the appellation of bloody bigot, and all the hard names in the calendar of abuse. There is much reason to believe, on the contrary, that he cares little for religion; and though by way of flattering the clergy and the nation, he may once have made a petticoat for the Virgin Mary, yet if the truth were known, he would doubtless be willing to do less for her than for any living *Manola* or *Andaluza*. The character of the present king is, indeed, little known in foreign countries, where, from the mere fact of his being called *El Rey Absoluto*, everything is supposed to emanate from his individual will. His character is not, in fact, so much a compound of vices, as made up of a few virtues and many weaknesses. He is ready to receive the meanest subject of his kingdom, and is said to be frank, good-humored, accessible, courteous, and kingly, in an unusual degree. He will listen attentively to those who appeal to him, appear convinced of the justice of what they ask, and promise compliance, without ever returning to think of the matter. Facility is his great foible, and yet is he occasionally subject to irritability and a disposition to be wrongheaded and have his own way, to the no small inconvenience of those who undertake to direct him. The faults of Ferdinand are partly natural, partly the effect of education. Instead of being trained up and nurtured with the care necessary to fit him for the high station to which he was born, his youth was not only neglected, but even purposely perverted.

‘Godoy, whose views were of the most ambitious kind, took great pains to debase the character and understanding of Ferdinand. With this view, and partly perhaps to get rid of his own cast-off courtesans, he not only abandoned him without restraint to the ruling passion of his family, but even threw temptation in his way, well knowing the debasing effect of those early indulgences, which sap the moral and physical energies of youth. Thus a life of uninterrupted sensuality has deadened every manly and generous sentiment. The person of the king was noble and prepossessing in his youth, when he is said to have been the most graceful horseman of his kingdom. In 1808 he was the idol of every heart in the nation. Had he but proved worthy of this devoted loyalty, Spain would present us with a different spectacle. Even now, though his figure has been bent by long indulgence, and his features engraven with heaviness and sen-

suality, yet is his appearance still rather pleasing than otherwise. There is about him a look of blunt good humor and rough jollity, which gives a flat denial to the cruelty ascribed to him. He is said to have a leaning towards liberalism—weak, perhaps, in proportion to the inefficiency of his character, yet rendered probable by the fact, that he is now more detested by the ruling party, and acting under much more restraint, than in the most boisterous period of the Constitution.’ pp. 380, 381.

After what we have said, it is hardly necessary to add, that, on the whole, we think very favorably of the work; and the extracts we have made, being tolerably fair specimens, will, we doubt not, be thought by our readers to justify this opinion, and recommend it more effectually to their attention, than any general praise we could bestow. The modest pretensions of the author would entitle him to a liberal indulgence, if the faults of his production required it; but, compared with its merits, they are few and trivial. Though he proposes his book as the production of a youth, there is nothing in it of juvenile, excepting, perhaps, the rather enthusiastic admiration, and frequent mention, of female charms. The opinions seem to be formed with deliberation, and the reflections, in general, bear the marks of a just thinking.

ART. IX.—*Titi Livii Patavini Historiarum Liber Primus et Selecta quædam Capita.* Curavit Notulisque instruxit CAROLUS FOLSOM, Academiæ Harvardianæ olim Bibliothecarius. Cantabrigiæ, Sumptibus Hilliard et Brown. 1829. 12mo. pp. 296.

THIS selection from the remains of the great Roman historian, is designed for the use of those students in our higher schools, colleges, and universities, who have surmounted the difficulties of grammatical construction in the Latin language, and who are prepared to enter on a course of reading, where the higher qualities of style, as well as the structure, sentiments, and general execution of a work, become objects of attention. For this purpose, we know not how a book could be better adapted, than that which we have now named. Livy has been reckoned, even from his own time, among the greatest masters of historical composition; and his copiousness, no-

bleness of expression, and splendid eloquence have called forth the loudest applauses of critics and commentators. If the selection of an author, in reference to the object in view, is unexceptionable, the manner, in which he is exhibited in this edition, deserves also our commendation. The first book, which is made up almost wholly of those great commonplaces which should be familiar to every scholar, is given entire. From the remaining books, to the end of the fourth decade, such parts have been extracted, as promise, from the events described, and from the manner of narration, to fix the attention, and deeply interest the feelings, of the student. That these extracts may have in no instance the character of mere fragments, the *Epitomes* of the books are published in their order; by a reference to which, the place in the history that each part occupies, and its relation to the whole, will be easily understood. This volume is likewise recommended by neatness and correctness, qualities so grateful to every scholar, and exhibits, in these respects, a striking contrast to the wretched guise, in which we find too many of the school-classics with which our book-market abounds.

In reading this volume, some suggestions occurred to our minds as to the use which should be made of it, and the *practical* purposes for which it is fitted; and it appeared to us, that a few remarks, bearing on these topics, might not be without their use. But what can be said now of an author, who has been before the world more than eighteen hundred years, and who has been examined, criticized, and weighed, in so great a variety of forms? Perhaps nothing; and yet, on the appearance of this work, some observations may be allowed, if recommended by brevity. We shall enter upon no discussion of the authenticity of the early history of Rome, of the diligence and faithfulness of its historians, and especially of Livy, in examining the monuments and early records of their country; or of their skill in weighing authorities, or of their impartiality in their final judgments. It will be suggested here, merely as deserving the consideration of the reader, whether due allowance has always been made, in deciding on the credibility of the Greek and Roman annalists, for the difference of manner during the early ages in transmitting a knowledge of events; and whether historical criticism, if not a distinct science among the ancients, may not still be recognised to no inconsiderable extent in their writings;—as common sense is the

same in all ages, and will often, where we little expected it beforehand, force its way and make itself heard, in spite of all obstacles. It may still further merit inquiry, whether, if opinions were to be formed of the diligence and accuracy of the moderns, their freedom from improper biases, and their willingness to allow to all their deserts, from the representations of the English historians of each other, and what they have, moreover, proved as well as asserted, even Livy has any great cause to dread a comparison. Our object is not so remote. We would rather consult the present convenience of our readers, their immediate interest, their practical advantage.

No one can read this volume, whatever he may have thought or heard of the popular eloquence of the Romans, without deeper impressions of its adaptedness to its object, its persuasiveness, its elegance, and its force. Time, which, in most subjects, detects so many errors of judgment and taste, has brought nothing to light here, which can offend the most correct, or shock the most fastidious. Let the addresses, orations, harangues, or whatever other name may best designate them, which are incorporated in the narrative of Livy, be brought to any proper standard, they will bear the trial; let them be weighed in any just balance, they will not be found wanting. Does the occasion require sound argumentation, or careful and exact reasoning? We find it. Is there opportunity for lively description, ardent and powerful appeals to feeling? or does the case in hand naturally awaken emotions of pity and sorrow, of resentment and indignation; or demand ridicule and sarcasm, censure and reproach? We meet them all, each in its proper place; and active must be the imagination of that reader, and quick his discernment in tracing the operations of the understanding and the workings of passion, who does not find himself disappointed at every turn, who is not often surprised by the unexpected pointedness and conclusiveness of the reasoning, the clearness of the statements, and the strength and pungency of the direct appeals to the auditors. Besides, there is a simplicity, a propriety, and an ease of transition from argument to argument, and from topic to topic, that leaves nothing to be wished.

This commendation may be thought high, perhaps extravagant; but we will proceed to a more particular examination. We turn, then, to the speech of Camillus to the commons of Rome, on the proposition to abandon the city, after it had been

taken and ravaged by the Gauls, and to remove to Veji. It will be recollected, that, on the conquest of this latter city, violent dissensions had arisen between the patricians and plebeians in consequence of a project for sending a colony to Veji, and of dividing the senate and people, so that half should remove to Veji and half remain at Rome ; thus of the two cities making one commonwealth. It was urged that Veji had a large and fertile territory, that its situation was superior even to that of Rome, and that its edifices, both public and private, were more splendid and magnificent. The people, pressed forward by the tribune, Titus Sicinius, could hardly be resisted or pacified ; and all the power and dignity of the senate were put in requisition to restore tranquillity. Quiet, indeed, followed ; but the feelings of discontent and resentment, consequent on defeat, still rankled in the minds of the vanquished party. When Rome was in ashes, after being sacked and burnt by the Gauls, nothing could be more natural than the renewal of the former scheme ; and what before seemed desirable, expedient, and highly advantageous, now assumed the form of a necessary and indispensable measure. The question was not now as to quitting their former habitations, for these no longer existed ; the houses of Veji were ready to receive them ; and they could avoid the trouble and labor of rebuilding the mansions in which they had before lived. What was in the first instance a passion, now became a phrensy.

To stem this strong current of popular feeling, required no common courage and adroitness. The commons were to be managed as well as driven, and Camillus showed himself equal to the occasion. This magistrate, he being now dictator, clothed with the favor secured by recent victory, and supported by the whole body of the senate, ascended the tribunal. In the state of feeling in which his audience then was, the speaker would have at once closed every avenue to conviction, by commencing his address with a direct argument on the case. The course he adopts is circuitous, bringing both the tribunes and the people to reflect on the violence of their proceedings, and thus conciliating their attention. He exhibits himself, not as the willing opponent of their measures, but as influenced in his conduct by the highest considerations of patriotism. The meaning of this introduction we will endeavor to express ; the compactness and terseness of the language we should in vain attempt to emulate.

‘Contentions with the tribunes, Romans, are so much my aversion and abhorrence, that, while a wretched exile at Ardea, I had still the consolation to reflect, that I was far removed from these quarrels; and I resolved never more to return to Rome, even should I be recalled by a decree of the senate and an order of your own body. Nor has any change of opinion induced me to again enter the city; but I yielded to the exigencies of the state. The existence of my country was the question at issue, not whether I should reinstate myself in my former situation; and I would now gladly be quiet, nor would I open my lips in your assembly, had not a contest arisen, involving the highest interests of the commonwealth. To be backward and wanting in effort on an occasion like this, while life remains, in others would be disgrace, in Camillus impiety and infamy. Why have we sought the rescue of the city? Why, when it was besieged by the enemy, have we freed it from their grasp, if, after it is recovered, we ourselves desert it? Even when the Gauls were victorious, and the whole city was in their power, the gods and the people of Rome still held possession of the citadel and Capitol; and shall we, now that we are conquerors in our turn, and the city is recovered, desert the citadel and capitol; and our success be followed by wider desolation than our defeat?’ p. 130.

The dictator has evidently approached his subject with caution, but without fear; he has avoided unnecessary difficulties, but shunned no real danger; he has come to his point indirectly, but placed it distinctly in view. Having thus gained a hearing, he first dwells upon motives for remaining, drawn from the ceremonies of religion, and the superintendence of the gods over the affairs of Rome; considerations fitted, in the highest degree, to command the respectful attention of the assembly. He reminds them, that, in the events of past years, they would find, that prosperity or adversity had attended their efforts, according as they had been submissive or disobedient to the gods. He adduces as proofs, occurrences within their own recollection; and proceeds to state facts suited, more than all others, to influence the minds of a Roman audience. They inhabit a city, he declares to them, founded under the guidance of auspices and auguries; that every spot is occupied by the gods and religious rites; that, if their solemn religious sacrifices were assigned to particular days, the *places*, in which they were celebrated, were not less immovably fixed. ‘How does this project of yours,’ he adds, ‘compare with the conduct of the excellent youth, Caius Fabius, who, during the late siege, was seen to descend from the citadel, and rush

through the darts of the enemy, exciting the admiration of the enemy no less than your own, and performed on the Quirinal hill an annual religious ceremony peculiar to his family?' After dwelling on the profaneness of the proposed scheme, and its necessary connexion with the violation of whatever was held sacred in Rome, and directly appealing to the principal deities presiding over the city, he comes to what was, no doubt, the chief argument of his opponents, and one which it required uncommon dexterity to shift off or resist. It had formerly been said, when the proposition to remove to Veji was discussed, that there was nothing to be gained by deserting their present habitations and taking others. Now their houses were in ashes, their city was demolished, Veji was open to receive them, and they could be relieved from the trouble and labor of erecting new buildings on the ruins of the old. Here was a wide field for popular excitement; and the factious tribunes were busy, and would make the most of so favorable a circumstance. The demagogues of the day must have been not a little confounded at the manner of the attack on their favorite position. The dictator shows himself as able in rhetorical, as in military manœuvring. He thus treats this part of the subject.

'But we hear it alleged, that the case itself obliges us to abandon a city laid waste and reduced to ashes, and to take refuge in Veji, where everything is entire, and not to harass the people, reduced as they are to poverty, by compelling them to rebuild their habitations. That this is mere pretence, that the clamor on this point is false and hollow, you would yourselves see, Romans, were I to be silent respecting it; you, who well remember, that when both the public and private edifices were safe, and the city was standing, this same scheme of removing to Veji was agitated. See, tribunes, the difference between my mode of viewing this subject and yours. You think, whatever objections to a removal existed at that time, none exist now. I think, on the contrary,—but do not be surprised, till you hear what I have to say,—that, although a change of residence had been expedient while the city was safe, now, that it is in ruins, to quit it is by no means allowable. The reason is plain. Our recent victory furnished, at that time, a plausible pretence of removing to a captured city, and glory might be anticipated for ourselves and our posterity; but now, a removal would be disgraceful, it would stain our honor, and the credit of the measure would redound to the Gauls. We shall not appear to have left our country as conquerors, but to have lost it, as the vanquished party. It will be

said, that the flight at Allia, the capture of the city and the siege of the Capitol, imposed on us the hard necessity of deserting our gods, and, by exile and flight, abandoning a place we could no longer defend. But have the Gauls been able to demolish Rome, and shall the Romans appear unable to rebuild it? Will you suffer these very Gauls to return with augmented forces (for we well know that their numbers are immense), and to fix their residence in this city, once taken by them, and now deserted by you? What if the Gauls should not do this, and your old enemies the *Æqui* or *Volsci* should establish themselves in Rome,—would you be content, that they should be Romans, and you *Vejentians*? Which would you prefer, that the city, though a desert, should be possessed by yourselves, or be inhabited by your enemies? A more impious and abominable act, than that proposed, I cannot conceive of. Are you prepared to submit to such criminality and disgrace, from disinclination to building? Even if we could erect throughout the whole city an edifice no better or larger than the cottage of our founder, would it not be preferable to dwell, like shepherds and rustics, in huts, while still amidst your temples and gods, than for the state to go into voluntary banishment?’ p. 133.

He proceeds to urge other reasons for rebuilding the city, and dwells particularly on the favorable situation of Rome, its healthful hills, its convenient river, facilitating both internal and external commerce; and the various advantages which the city enjoyed for defence and increase; and closes in the following manner.

‘Since such is the case, what reason can there be for hazarding a new experiment? You may, indeed, carry away with you your bravery, but the fortune of this spot admits of no transfer. Here is the Capitol, where, when a human head was formerly found, it was foretold, that this place should be the head of universal empire. Here, formerly, the gods, *Juventas* and *Terminus*, to the great joy of our ancestors, refused to be moved. Here are the fires of *Vesta*; here the shields sent down from heaven; here, if you stay, all the gods proffer their favor and protection.’ p. 134.

In this harangue, everything is simple, unaffected, perspicuous, ardent, and forcible, and in the highest degree fitted, in reference to the assembly addressed, to convince and persuade. Nothing is introduced remote from the question at issue, nothing which would have even the least tendency to divert attention, nothing to offend, nothing unintelligible or without the ordinary range of thought of a Roman audience. The whole is so arranged, that the parts succeed each other in the closest connexion, every one arising naturally from what precedes it,

and by so easy a transition, that attention is more fixed, and curiosity and desire of learning what follows are constantly strengthened. Art, if it here exists, is no more than consummate judgment in selecting the best topics and assigning to each its proper place. Change the order of any one of the arguments, illustrations, direct addresses, or of the appeals to the gods, and the injury is manifest. Any considerable variation being supposed in the arrangement of the topics of this discourse, a new combination of circumstances, to render the whole appropriate, would be necessary.

We are aware, that it is said, that this speech is the production of the historian, and that Camillus had as little to do with its composition, as Livy must be supposed to have had in the preparation of that, if any such there was, which the dictator actually pronounced. This may be true; yet this circumstance, so far as our object is concerned, is of little consequence. We will admit, that it is possible, nay, probable, that the historian in giving an account of the dissensions at Rome, which arose out of the subject of rebuilding the city after its destruction by the Gauls, in stating the reasons for continuing in the ancient place in preference to removing to another, chose to incorporate them in a popular harangue; and to put this in the mouth of one who was chief in power and influence. All this may be allowed; though we have never seen grounds entirely to disbelieve, that in a commonwealth, where popular eloquence confessedly so much prevailed as in the Roman, and where it had so great and commanding an influence, and where records of certain kinds are known to have existed, some more particular notices of events, and even of many discourses on important occasions, were handed down to posterity, than modern critics are willing to allow, or than we have means of directly evincing. But however this may be, whether this speech was composed from authentic memorials of what Camillus actually said, the performance having received only its polish and coloring from the hand of the historian, or whether it is partly or wholly the production of Livy himself, the character of the performance is not altered. As a specimen of popular eloquence, the estimation in which it should be held, must depend upon its own merits, and not on the fact of authorship. One thing, however, must be allowed as certain, that such an address could not be composed, except in a free state, by one who had been trained in the school of popular discussion, and

who was well acquainted and familiar with the peculiar feelings, partialities, and sympathies of an assembly of Roman citizens. We are aware, that it has been the opinion of some historical critics, that the introduction of this speech into the account of the rebuilding of Rome, and the importance attributed to it, and to an omen observed soon after, connected with the circumstances of the story, throw an air of fable over the whole transaction ; or, at least, render it extremely improbable. Such objections, however, have originated, for the most part, with those who have had little personal knowledge of popular governments and popular assemblies. That to persons born and educated amidst institutions in most respects unlike those of Rome in the early ages, especially to those who have been accustomed to see the government everything, and the people nothing, many events should appear incredible, which yet proceeded from the very constitution of society in the Roman republic, need occasion no surprise. Early associations, as all acknowledge, have a lasting, and oftentimes a controlling influence over the judgment. But nothing is more evident, from the uniform testimony of antiquity, than that in small states, such as Rome then was, the most important concerns were managed in general assemblies under the direction of opposing orators, and that measures, which, for the time, would seem to threaten the existence of the state, after the ferment of discussion was over, would soon cease to attract attention or be forgotten. Everything would then proceed in the ordinary course, till some new tempest was excited by a breeze from another quarter.

But, however this may be, and whatever opinion we may form of the genuineness of the speech of Camillus, there are two popular harangues in this volume, taken from the thirty-fourth book of Livy, concerning which very little doubt can exist, that we have them essentially as they were pronounced in the Roman Forum. These are the addresses of the Consul Marcus Porcius Cato, and Lucius Valerius the tribune, on the proposition to abrogate the Oppian law. Cato, who is better known as Cato the Censor, had a high reputation for eloquence in his time. He began the business of public speaking at a very early age, and managed causes in the Forum without compensation ; which circumstance, no doubt, promoted the rise of his popularity. The number of his friends and admirers rapidly increased, and in consequence he was advanced to the highest honors of the state. He gained so great celebrity by

his pleadings, that he was called the Roman Demosthenes, and he awakened an ardent zeal, among the youth of Rome, for the study of eloquence. Nearly fifty times during his life, he was publicly impeached for misdemeanors; and so fortunate, or so able, was he in defending himself, that in every instance he was triumphantly acquitted. Cato was the farthest from being a recluse, or an orator who spoke according to the precepts of the schools, and not according to rules which he had himself verified in his intercourse with the world. He adhered to the practice of the early Romans, in cultivating the ground with his own hands. He prepared his dinner without fire, and his suppers were of the most frugal kind. His dress was plain and unexpensive; he drank the same wine as his slaves; and this mode of life he followed even after his consulship and the honors of a triumph. He early applied himself to agriculture, and made it his amusement in old age. While in the country, he always invited some of his neighbors to sup with him, entertained them with his conversation, which often turned on the praises of the old Romans; and no one knew better how to apply facts and anecdotes, or had a greater number at command. From the remains of his work on agriculture, it is manifest, that, on these occasions, he could discourse also largely on soils, crops, and manures, the management of cattle, and the best modes of preserving oil and wine; could furnish receipts to make cakes, puddings, or sausages, explain the virtues of cabbage, and prescribe for various diseases which flesh is heir to. This kind of intercourse with his country neighbors necessarily led him to become acquainted with their dispositions, their prejudices, and partialities. Nor was he conversant alone with persons in the humbler ranks of life. Though Cato was alarmed at the introduction of the Greek philosophy into Rome, and predicted that the Romans would lose the empire of the world when Grecian literature once became prevalent among them, and was active in procuring a decree of the senate by which the Greek philosophers were expelled from the city, yet he learned Greek in his old age, and became himself a proficient in that very learning, which he had so much feared, and endeavored to destroy. A man, who was at the same time a warrior and a philosopher, a husbandman and an orator, and distinguished in whatever engaged his attention, must have had unusual opportunities of studying the human character in every rank of life; and an oration from such an individual must deeply interest our curiosity.

That there is good reason to believe, that the oration ascribed to Cato by Livy really belongs to the Censor, with inconsiderable variations, appears from what is said by Cicero. This great Roman orator, in his account of those among his countrymen who had become illustrious by their eloquence, speaks particularly of Cato. He compares him to Lysias, and thinks there is a striking resemblance between the two orators, in their acuteness, their elegance, their sprightly humor, and their brevity. He says that he had seen and read more than one hundred and fifty orations, which then remained of Cato's, and that they possessed the highest rhetorical excellencies. He admits, that the language of the Censor is somewhat antiquated, and that it partakes of the harshness and inelegance of the age in which the orations were composed; but adds, that if it were modernized and should receive the improvement of a more artificial and harmonious arrangement of words, no one would be preferred to Cato. These orations must have been in the possession of Livy; and that which he inserted in his history, was probably one of them, corrected in its style, and fitted in the mode of expression and in the structure of sentences to the taste of the times. The sentiments, the mode of reasoning, the popular cast of the whole discourse, suited, as it is throughout, to the feelings, humors, and prejudices of an assembly of the Roman people, are clearly what might be expected from such a source. Like the other specimens of the popular eloquence of the Romans, furnished by the same historian, it is confined strictly to the subject in view; there are no long digressions; and the connexion of everything said with the main design, is at once perceived.

The occasion of pronouncing the speech in question was this. When the war with Hannibal was at its height, and soon after the battle of Cannæ, so fatal to the commonwealth, a law had been introduced by Caius Oppius, a tribune of the people, by which it was enacted, that no woman should use for ornament more than half an ounce of gold, or wear a dress of different colors, or within the city or any town, or nearer the city than one mile, should ride in a carriage drawn by horses, except for attendance on some religious celebration. In the five hundred and fifty-seventh year of Rome, a proposition was made to repeal this law, on the ground, that as the republic was in a state of great prosperity, the original cause of the law no longer existed. Two of the plebeian tribunes were op-

posed to the repeal, and supported the Oppian law with all their influence. Many of the nobles joined in the discussion, some for the law and others against it; and the Capitol was filled with crowds showing great ardor and zeal, but divided in their opinions. The women, who were determined not to be controlled by any common rules of decorum in a matter which so nearly concerned them, dispersed themselves through the streets of the city, thronged the avenues to the Forum, and besought the men, that in a time of so great public prosperity, this odious restriction on female ornaments might be removed. The throng of women was constantly on the increase, as their number was enlarged by arrivals from the neighboring villages. They proceeded so far as to make personal applications to the consuls, prætors, and other magistrates, and to conjure them to support their cause.

Cato was of course inexorable to their prayers. All his opinions and prejudices were in favor of the law. A man so temperate in his habits, so attached to the simple manners of the old Romans, and so hostile to luxury as the source of individual and national ruin, could not be supposed to look with patience on a measure, which so directly opposed all his notions of policy. The inroad which was threatened by this seditious movement of the women, on the ancient rigid domestic government of the Romans, must have excited his highest indignation. We accordingly see in his speech the stern and severe Roman, earnest and vehement, yet almost disdaining to discuss such a question in the ordinary way, and aiming to effect his object by insinuation, sarcasm, and strong expressions of contempt, as well as by argument. He begins his harangue in the following manner.

‘If each of us, Romans, had supported the proper rank and authority of a husband in his own family, insisting, as he ought, on the obedience and respect of his wife, we should now have less trouble with the whole sex. But because the law is given us at home, and we are there the slaves of female insolence, our independence even in the Forum is contemned and trampled on; and because we have been individually vanquished, we actually stand aghast now we see our wives assembled in a body. I had hitherto supposed, that it was a mere tale, that, in a certain island, the whole race of males was cut off, root and branch, by a conspiracy of the women. Nothing can be more dangerous to either men or women, than to permit these secret assemblies, this caballing and intriguing. I am not confident, whether these

machinations themselves, or the precedent they establish, should be considered more mischievous in their tendency. This female mutiny, whether it is a spontaneous act of the sex, or brought about by your instigation, tribunes, certainly implies fault in the magistracy, and I know not, whether it is more disgraceful to the tribunes or to the consuls. The shame belongs to you, tribunes, if these women are brought here to aid your seditious purposes; to us, if we suffer laws to be imposed on us by a *secession* of the women, as was formerly done by a secession of the common people. It was not without a deep sense of shame, that I just now entered the Forum through a press of females.' p. 251.

We cannot give this speech entire. The determined spirit of the orator appears from the very exordium, and his consummate judgment in giving the discussion, at the outset, such a turn, as to excite in the minds of the hearers a contempt of his opponents. The insurrection of the women, under the lash of his tongue, savors of the ridiculous; and a preparation is obviously made to secure a favorable hearing to what should follow. The allusion to the former secession of the commons to the *Mons Sacer*, must have been to a Roman audience extremely sarcastic. The orator proceeds to insinuate, that something still more intrusive is aimed at, than the repeal of the Oppian law; reminds the assembly under what salutary restraints females were placed by the ancient institutions of the country; and gives the men to understand, that if once the women acquire an equality of rights, the superiority of the sex will follow as a necessary consequence. The introduction of luxury and avarice was the thing which Cato dreaded; and to guard against so great an evil, he strongly urged the continuance of the law as necessary. He says,

'You have often heard me, Romans, complaining of the profuse expenditures of the women, and also of the men, and not only of men in private life, but even of magistrates. I have told you, that the commonwealth was suffering from two opposite vices, avarice and luxury, plagues which have subverted the greatest empires. As the affairs of the republic are daily more flourishing, as we are enlarging our territories, as we have already passed over into Greece and Asia, which are opulent regions, abounding with the strongest temptations to indulgence, and as we are this moment handling the wealth of kings, I tremble, lest these treasures should gain a more entire mastery over us, than we over them. Believe me, Romans, the statues which have been brought into the city from Syracuse, threaten our ruin. I hear quite too

many expressing their praises and admiration of the ornaments of Corinth and Athens, and sneering at the earthen images of the gods placed before the temples of Rome. For my part I prefer these gods, so propitious to our interests, and who, I hope, will continue to be our patrons, as long as we suffer them to retain their stations.' p. 253.

The whole speech deserves attentive study, as containing an artful selection of topics, exhibited in a manner admirably suited to produce popular effect.

The consul, however, was defeated in his opposition. The repeal of the law was carried, and the speech of the tribune Lucius Valerius, in support of the measure, is hardly inferior to that of Cato. As there is no doubt of the genuineness of Cato's speech, there is reason likewise to believe, that the harangue ascribed to the tribune is the one actually pronounced by Valerius, it having been polished and modernized by the historian, as above mentioned. We can cite a single passage only in the introduction. As Cato had spoken so contemptuously of this movement of the women, styling it a mutiny and a *secession* of their body, it was important, at first, to remove any unfavorable impression made by this consular ridicule. The tribune begins with a compliment to Cato, and goes on to ask,—

'But what novelty is there in the conduct of the matrons, because in a question which so nearly concerns them, they have appeared in public? Have they never come out in a body before? I will refer you, Cato, to your own "Antiquities." Learn there, how often they have taken the same course, and always for the public good. And first, in the reign of Romulus, when the Capitol was taken by the Sabines, and a battle raged in the Forum, was not the contest hushed by the rushing in of the women between the two armies? And further, after the expulsion of the kings, and the legions of the Volsci had encamped near the city, did not the matrons avert a storm which threatened the existence of Rome? And when the city was captured by the Gauls, by whom was the ransom paid? Did not the matrons unanimously contribute their gold for the public benefit? The cases may be dissimilar, as you say; but they show that the women have now done nothing new. In exigencies, where the interests of both men and women were at stake, nobody wondered at their conduct. Why, then, should we be surprised at what they have done in a matter which so peculiarly concerns themselves?' pp. 254-255.

The whole of this speech is direct, vehement, and argumentative.

The speeches we have now referred to, as well as all others found in the same historian, and, indeed, in all the historians of antiquity, have throughout that appearance of reality, and that practical and business-like character, which strongly recommend them as patterns for imitation to the youth of our country. They afford examples of a happy union of plainness with elegance, of the utmost clearness and perspicuity, with great closeness and refinement of reasoning, and, what is no slight recommendation, a full and entirely satisfactory exhibition of a subject, with extreme brevity. It is seldom that a passage or a clause can be omitted without obvious injury to the sense, or that anything can be added, which improves the reasoning, or increases the effect which the speaker is aiming to produce. We know not, therefore, where a better foundation can be laid for proficiency in popular eloquence, than in the study of what has descended to us from antiquity, in this department of oratory. For any department of public speaking in modern times, important hints may be derived from the same source. The harangues in other historians have great excellences, particularly those in Thucydides, Sallust, and Tacitus, some of which are perfect in their kind; yet we know of none, which, on the whole, have a stronger claim to attention, than those which are contained in Livy. So manifest are the advantages of making these speeches a study, that we have no hesitation in saying, that whoever enters into their true character, and feels the spirit which pervades every part of them, has made a most important step, in a country like this, towards practical life. He is prepared to read the debates of modern legislative assemblies with additional profit, is better able to separate what is extraneous from what is essential in a discussion, and to unite in the most perfect manner conviction with persuasion, which should be the great object in all public speaking.

Livy has likewise been greatly admired for his descriptions. Whatever he delineates, is painted to the eye; and the effect produced by the works of the greatest artists, either in painting or statuary, must fall far short of that, which follows from the contemplation of one of the pictures of this writer, with no other coloring but that of language. No author ever understood better the selection and arrangement of circumstances, or the power of particular words and phrases, when made to occupy the right place, in affecting the feelings and the imagi-

nation. We are aware, that it has been often said, that the ancients, in their descriptions of great events, dwell too much upon the surface of things; that what they exhibit is graphic and fitted for the canvass, but fails to awaken the deeper emotions and to excite the stronger passions. We suspect there is some error in this view of the subject. They do not perhaps, so often as the moderns, exhibit an emotion of the mind separate from the causes which produce it; but joy or sorrow is seen to belong to individuals, and those individuals to be in circumstances appropriate to their state of feeling.

The several extracts in this volume may be considered what by artists are denominated *studies*; and all of them deserve to be perused not once, or cursorily, but often, and with close and assiduous attention. Let them be read till the language, the thoughts, and coloring are familiar, and no exhortation will be needed to induce the scholar to look after what else remains of the works of this historian. He will read all which time has spared us; nor will he pause without reluctance, till he has become intimately acquainted with all the great masters of ancient learning, whether of history, philosophy, eloquence, or poetry.

ART. X.—*A Poem delivered before the Porter Rhetorical Society, in the Theological Seminary, Andover; September 22, 1829.* By RICHARD H. DANA. Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 8vo. pp. 15.

BOTH the poetry and the prose of Mr Dana stand conspicuous for their beauty, amidst the various and growing, though still youthful, and rather crude literature of our country. He has gained the respect of that class of readers which he himself would most wish to attract, and he has risen above the censures of those who once altogether condemned him on account of his occasional peculiarities and waywardness of taste and style; so that he is now sure of a favorable and very general attention, whenever he sees fit to request it, which is not so often as we could desire.

If we should say that we were pleased with the poem now before us, we should express but weakly and unworthily the

feelings with which some of its passages inspired us; if we should say that we were satisfied with it, we should say too much consistently with the exceptions we have taken to what we have considered its faults. Its subject is, 'Thoughts on the Soul'; and these thoughts are principally limited to the consideration and illustration of the fact, that the soul transfers its features, and lends its complexion, to all external things. The subject is thus announced in the commencement of the poem.

'It is the Soul's prerogative, its fate,
To change all outward things to its own state;
If right itself, then, all without is well;
If wrong, it makes of all around a hell.
So multiplies the Soul its joy or pain,
Gives out itself, itself takes back again.
Transformed by thee, the world hath but one face.—
Look there, my Soul! there thine own features trace!
And all through time, and down eternity,
Where'er thou goest, that face shall look on thee.' p. 3.

This idea, so poetical and so true, is explained and enforced with great power and beauty as the poem proceeds. There is an abruptness, however, in the manner of introducing some of the thoughts and illustrations, which is of serious injury to the connexion of the whole piece, causing partial obscurity, which it requires a second reading to remove. We seem to be presented with several detached fragments, having a general relation to each other, rather than with a succession of regular steps which lead us on from a beginning to an end. The pearls do not appear to be strung. Doubtless there is a connexion, but our complaint is, that it is not sufficiently distinct and manifest.

We could not help thinking, too, as we perused the poem, that some of its most delightful passages were hurt by feeble or colloquial turns of expression, which seemed to our taste to be quite foreign and adverse to the style and spirit and purpose of the position which they occupy. After saying this, we are bound to produce examples of what we mean. Near the commencement of the poem, the speaker asserts that it is in vain to think of discovering and counting all the emotions of the soul, when we find it impossible to master the knowledge of the external world. This position he thus proceeds to illustrate.

‘Ocean and land, the living clouds that run
 Above, or stand before the setting sun,
 Taking and giving glory in his light,
 Live in a change too subtile for thy sight.
 The lot of human kind’s more varied still
 By ceaseless acts of sense, and mind, and will.
 Yet could’st thou count up all material things,
 All outward difference each condition brings,
 Perhaps thou’d’st say, “Good Sir, lo, here, the whole!”
 —The whole?—One thing thou hast forgot—THE SOUL!’

p. 5.

Without presuming to make our own taste a standard for others, it strikes us that the two last lines are a blot on the rest of the paragraph. The little dialogue which is carried on, and the ‘Good Sir,’ which commences it so politely, sound to our ears very much out of tune with the grave and somewhat majestic music of the preceding lines. Another instance of the same kind of defect, as it appears to us to be, occurs in the next paragraph but one. In illustration of the main position, that the world without is a reflection of the world within us, the following comparison is introduced.

‘Yes, man reduplicates himself. You see,
 In yonder lake, reflected rock and tree.
 Each leaf at rest, or quivering in the air,
 Now rests, now stirs as if a breeze were there
 Sweeping the crystal depths. How perfect all!
 And see those slender top-boughs rise and fall;
 The double strips of silvery sand unite
 Above, below, each grain distinct and bright.
 —Thou bird, that seek’st thy food upon that bough,
 Peck not alone; that bird below, as thou,
 Is busy after food, and happy, too.
 —They’re gone! Both, pleased, away together flew.’

pp. 5, 6.

In our view, the beauty of the above comparison is marred, if not destroyed, by the abrupt change which is made from the style of description to that of address. The call upon the bird not to peck alone, sounds unnatural, forced, and ill timed. It also interrupts the continuity of the comparison, and leads our attention away from the subject which it was intended to illustrate. Our thoughts are diverted from the soul, and fixed upon that bird and its image in the water; and after we have been finally informed, in the narrative manner, to which the

poet returns, that both flew away, pleased, together, we are somewhat surprised at finding ourselves with the soul again in the next verse. In short, the whole comparison is made too prominent and too independent. Every reader must feel that it is.

But there is more than excellence enough in the poem to redeem greater defects than those we have noticed. And it is not merely poetical excellence; not merely harmony of numbers, just selection of words, and vividness of imagination; it is something better and brighter superadded to these; it is the excellence of truth, of purity, of moral elevation and moral purpose. The poet's thoughts on the soul are evidently the breathings of his own soul; and his words flow out warmly from his own heart. There is a serious and earnest individuality about Mr Dana's muse, which forbids the suspicion, that she can be playing a part, or that she is in any degree otherwise than what she seems. The love which she demands is respectful love, the homage which is rendered to the beauty of holiness.

We should be unjust to this poem, should we select no other portions from it than those which have already been given. There is a simple majesty, a gentle, persuasive authority in the following sentences, the effect of which is delightful, and so permanent, that it cannot be diminished by repetition.

‘Come, listen to His voice who died to save
Lost man, and raise him from his moral grave;
From darkness showed a path of light to heaven;
Cried, “Rise and walk; thy sins are all forgiven.”

‘Blest are the pure in heart. Would'st thou be blest?
He'll cleanse thy spotted soul. Would'st thou find rest?
Around thy toils and cares he'll breathe a calm,
And to thy wounded spirit lay a balm,
From fear draw love; and teach thee where to seek
Lost strength and grandeur—with the bowed and meek.

‘Come lowly; He will help thee. Lay aside
That subtle, first of evils—human pride.
Know God, and, so, thyself; and be afraid
To call aught poor or low that He has made.
Fear nought but sin; love all but sin; and learn
How that in all things else thou may'st discern
His forming, his creating power—how bind
Earth, self, and brother to th' Eternal Mind.

' Linked with th' Immortal, immortality
 Begins e'en here. For what is time to thee,
 To whose cleared sight the night is turned to day,
 And that but changing life, miscalled decay ? ' pp. 9, 10.

The next and the last passage that we shall quote, is truly eloquent. In it the writer puts forth his best power, and in it the moral application of the whole subject is finely announced. Nor can we refrain from expressing the opinion, that if the poem had ended with it, the effect would have been much better than with the present conclusion.

' Our sins our nobler faculties debase,
 And make the earth a spiritual waste
 Unto the Soul's dimmed eye ;—'tis man, not earth—
 'Tis thou, poor, self-starved Soul, hast caused the dearth.
 The earth is full of life ; the living Hand
 Touched it with life ; and all its forms expand
 With principles of being made to suit
 Man's varied powers, and raise him from the brute.
 And shall the earth of higher ends be full ?—
 Earth which thou tread'st!—and thy poor mind be dull ?
 Thou talk of life, with half thy soul asleep !
 Thou "living dead man," let thy spirits leap
 Forth to the day ; and let the fresh air blow
 Through thy soul's shut up mansion. Would'st thou know
 Something of what is life, shake off this death ;
 Have thy soul feel the universal breath
 With which all nature's quick ! and learn to be
 Sharer in all that thou dost touch or see.
 Break from thy body's grasp, thy spirit's trance ;
 Give thy Soul air, thy faculties expanse ;—
 Love, joy,—e'en sorrow,—yield thyself to all !
 They'll make thy freedom, man, and not thy thrall.
 Knock off the shackles which thy spirit bind
 To dust and sense, and set at large thy mind !
 Then move in sympathy with God's great whole ;
 And be, like man at first, "A LIVING SOUL ! " ' pp. 12, 13.

And now, to leave the discussion of excellences and defects, let us advert for a moment to the fact, that this poem and that of Mr Sprague are the two longest of any considerable merit, which have, for we know not how many years, been given to the American public. Mr Dana's consists of fifteen pages, and Mr Sprague's of thirty. It is true that the occasions on which they were pronounced, forbade their being much longer ; but how is it, that limited as they are, of necessity,

they yet exceed in dimensions any others with which we have been treated for an age? For *lengthy* poems, that is, poems which are long and dull too, we disclaim any particular affection. If they must be dull, let them be as short as the authors can possibly afford to make them. Neither are we so extravagant as to call for anything, for some time to come, quite so long and so good as *Paradise Lost*. But why can we not have a poetical essay, tale, romance, tragedy, or comedy, to which we can sit down, of a winter's afternoon, before a comfortable fire, with the feeling that we hold something in our hands which is to interest and occupy us till bed-time, perchance enchain us beyond our sober bed-time, and find us burning the actual midnight oil? Are we, as Americans, to own no poem, Barlow's *Columbiad* excepted, which, being bound, can stand alone? Alas! that venerable production has stood alone too long. In solitude it waits for a companion. But we have nothing which can be married to that immortal verse. Oh, for a poem in ten books or cantos, or even in six! Seriously and truly, we are longing for poetry which we can sit down to, and be said to read. We want some of our poets to show us, that their pinions are vigorous and broad enough for a sustained flight. Have we none such; or is it that earthly necessities, and the present constitution of society with us, hold our strong ones down? We are disposed to think, that, unpropitious as these influences are, they might be in some measure overcome by a tithe of the patience and perseverance which English bards have erst exhibited in their upward toilings after immortality; and that even an American public would reward both with money and fame the devotion of a few years to the muse, and the temporary self-denial and privation which that devotion would cause. Look at the seven or eight editions which we have had of 'Pollok's *Course of Time*,' which surely is not a book of such excellence as to induce despair. The strain of its theology may indeed have been one principal source of its popularity, but its rapid sale is proof that we are not absolutely indisposed to buy long poems. We are very sure that an American poem, even if it were not of first-rate material, would be bought and read for its rarity's sake. We have had sonnets, madrigals, lines, stanzas, and all that sort of magazine and souvenir poetry in abundance. Much of it is very sweet, we confess, but we are beginning to be cloyed with it, and want something more substantial.

ART. XI.—*The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1830.* Boston. Gray & Bowen. 12mo. pp. 320.

THE Almanac is perhaps the most popular kind of periodical work, which is published ; one which is most widely circulated, and most carefully studied. It is regarded in most families as an indispensable manual of certain kinds of information, and it is often the familiar companion of persons, who read few other books. The first book printed in America, next to the Freeman's Oath, was an Almanac ; and from that date to the present time, probably more copies of the Almanac have been annually sold, than of any other publication. Notwithstanding the general interest felt in this description of work, it is one in which the great body of readers content themselves with a very moderate degree of merit, and a very small amount of real information. A record of the movements of the sun, moon, and tides, is almost the only information that is thought indispensable. It is obvious, that the same manual, which makes known to us the hour of the rising and setting of the heavenly luminaries, might at the same time afford a large amount of other information of daily utility.

In other countries the supply of this information has been successfully attempted, and in many parts of this, Almanacs have been for several years annually published, containing, in addition to the usual astronomical tables, an ample and very convenient collection of facts, relating chiefly to the state in which they are put forth. The information contained in these publications is too limited in its scope, and too local in its character, to answer the most important of the purposes to which this species of periodical work seems adapted. It admits of being made a record, not merely of atmospherical phenomena, of state and county officers, and municipal regulations, but of the statistics of every part of the world, of useful discoveries of every sort, and of important historical facts of every description. To be satisfied how extensive may be the scope of such a work, it is only necessary to cast an eye over the table of contents of the little volume now before us. We cannot better exhibit the objects of this work than by copying the Preface.

‘The main object of this work is *utility*. It has been the

aim of its conductors to collect within the smallest compass the greatest amount of useful and practical information on those topics, in which the community is generally interested. The work is divided into Five Parts, and its plan and purposes will best be seen by a brief analysis of each of these.

‘The FIRST PART is devoted to the *Calendar*, embracing, in addition to the particulars usually inserted in Almanacs, a large mass of important facts in relation to the celestial movements, and tables for nautical and astronomical purposes. The Eclipses and Occultations have been calculated with extraordinary care, and much valuable information will be found connected with the subject of Tides. The Tide Table is followed by a table of the Latitude and Longitude of the principal places in the United States. To suit the calendar pages to every part of the Union, the rising and setting of the Sun and Moon have been calculated for some of the chief cities in different parts. A column in each month is also devoted to useful remarks, and another to remarkable events. Further explanations of this part of the work will be found prefixed to the Calendar.

‘The SECOND PART contains information, communicated in a simple and intelligible form, respecting the celestial changes and most common astronomical appearances. An account of Almanacs is followed by an explanation of the division of time into Days, Weeks, Months, and Years; the Holydays of the Church; the variety of the Seasons; the Signs of the Zodiac; Astrology; the Moon’s Phases, and Eclipses; Tides; Spots on the Sun; the Rotation of the Planets; the Orbits of the Planets; Comets; and much information on other kindred topics, designed to elucidate and adapt them to the understanding of persons of all degrees of knowledge.

‘In PART THIRD are contained miscellaneous articles and directions of general usefulness; a selection from Washington’s Agricultural Notes and Journal; Franklin’s Poor Richard Revived; advice on the Use of Fruit; an Essay on the advantages of Fresh Air in promoting health and comfort; another on Clothing; and Facts concerning Intemperance.

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‘ Such is the outline of our plan, as executed in the present attempt. We confess that our wishes have been but partially realized, especially in regard to the individual states. As little pains are taken in several of the states to collect statistical facts, and less to arrange and present them to the public in a tangible form, it is extremely difficult to carry this head to any degree of completeness. Our enterprise was undertaken, also, at too late a period in the year to enable us to procure intelligence from remote states. In some instances, however, the deficiency must be ascribed rather to the remissness of our correspondents, than to any want of effort on our part. What we have published, will be enough to indicate the extent of our plan, and the manner in which it may be filled out. It is presumed, that the states, for their own convenience, will gradually adopt regulations for collecting and embodying particulars of this sort, and then the task of condensing and combining them into a single work will be comparatively easy.

‘Should the success of the present volume warrant the continuance of an annual series, we may venture to promise essential improvements as we proceed. It will be seen, that a great deal of matter in this volume is of a permanent character, suited for reference at any future day, as well as for use in the passing year. *Facts* are unchangeable in their nature, and, when once recorded, their value is never lost. The method of tabular views, for communicating certain kinds of knowledge, has immense advantages over any other, in presenting, at a single glance of the eye, a mass of information, that would be expanded over many pages if exhibited in any other form. In every part of the volume, our chief aim has been to condense the information into as small a space as possible, and at the same time to convey it in so methodical and clear a manner, that it might be easily received by all classes of readers.

‘The purpose of this work will allow the admission of many facts besides those of a strictly statistical character. The permanent features of geography may be here exhibited from time to time in tabular and compressed forms; such as the extent of different territories and divisions of the earth, the length of rivers, height of mountains, magnitude of seas, lakes, and islands, and all other particulars naturally embraced in comparative geography. The same may be said of chronological records, not merely as denoting the order of a series of events, but as grouping those of a similar kind under particular heads. In this way may be presented the dates at which the sovereigns of different countries were crowned, and the length of their reigns; the dates and places of memorable battles, the number of men engaged, and loss on each side; the dates of the treaties between nations; and other incidents analogous in their character. These remarks may even be extended to the regions of history and biography. A mass of facts thus collected from year to year, not only will have some interest at the moment, but will at length become a useful storehouse for future recurrence.

‘A brief outline of our political progress may also be easily introduced, such as a summary of the proceedings of Congress and of the legislature of the several states for each year, so far as they give rise to any new results either in the promulgation of laws, or the establishment of institutions, or aiding schemes of improvement. All the particulars of this sort, when divested of their extraneous accompaniments, may be brought together within a narrow compass. Notice may also be taken of charitable and religious societies, and associations for promoting the objects of humanity, morals, knowledge, and social order. A comparison of the extent of such efforts might communicate correct views of their effects, and serve as a guide in future undertakings of a like nature.

‘But in all this we have again to confess, that we are only hinting at what may be done, within the scope of our plan, and what we hope will be done, but not what we have actually accomplished or attempted in the present volume.

‘The astronomical part, we believe, will be found more full and accurate, than anything of a similar kind which has appeared in the United States. It is intended to answer all the essential purposes of a nautical almanac, in addition to the usual calculations of an almanac and ephemeris. Should the work be continued, great care will be devoted to this part, and new matter will annually be given, illustrating in a simple manner the practical topics in the science of astronomy.’

The objects here proposed are in general satisfactorily accomplished in this volume. There are however some imperfections, which were perhaps inevitable in the commencement of such an undertaking, without a longer time for preparation, and which it may be presumed will be supplied in future numbers. Some tables appear to have been omitted on the idea, that they are too commonly to be met with, to need being here inserted. This we think is not a satisfactory reason for the omission. We would recommend a more extensive collection of foreign statistics. Means ought to be furnished for learning the condition and progress of other countries; and details of this description will be less likely to come to the knowledge of the reader of this volume through other channels, than those which relate to our own country. Details of the latter class, however, will properly constitute the chief part of the work. With the increased opportunity for preparation, which another year will afford, and with the exercise of judgment and the care exhibited in the compilation of the present volume, the conductors will without doubt present us all that can be reasonably desired in a publication of this sort. We hope it may meet with that degree of patronage, which will induce them to persevere in their design.

It would be improper to close this brief notice, without remarking upon the very neat manner in which this volume is printed. It is in a small and delicate type, and on beautiful paper; and in its style of execution, it will compare advantageously with the handsome productions of the British press.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LXVII.

NEW SERIES, NO. XLII.

APRIL, 1830.

ART. I.—1. *Library of Useful Knowledge*. Nos. 1—60. 8vo.
2. *The Library of Entertaining Knowledge*. Vol. I. and
Vol. II. Part I. 18mo.
[Published under the Superintendence of the Society for
the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London. 1828—
29—30.]

SOME one of the British journals, in speaking of the prolific press of the English Society named above, says, rather freely, ‘We wonder where Brougham can find the men to write all these tracts.’ Now we must as freely say, though without designing the least disrespect, certainly, to that distinguished individual or his praiseworthy coadjutors, that it seems to us they might find them anywhere. The truth is,—and the truth in this case is a matter of so much disappointment and regret to us, that we cannot suppress the expression of it,—there is a most lamentable want of tact, not to say talent, in these publications. No doubt the first series is sufficiently learned, that is, the scientific part of it, though we cannot ‘wonder,’ certainly, that men should be found to do this work for a fair consideration. But the want of talent appears in this, that there is no adaptation, in these tracts, to the purpose for which they were avowedly written. They are wholly unfit for the *diffusion of knowledge* among the mass of the people, or among the mass of general readers. And when this deficiency was confessed, though not remedied in the current series, as it ought to have been, the moment it was discovered; when a new series is brought forward, as if starting anew would better help the matter; when, we say, a new series

(the Library of Entertaining Knowledge) is got up, on purpose to correct the preceding error, what have we but a collection of children's stories about Menageries and Forests, descriptions that look like a traveller's memoranda of trees and plants; rambling anecdotes about dogs, cats, and jackalls; and all this, with scarcely any pretension to philosophical classification or instructive inference. We have had, but this moment, as we were writing, an exact illustration of the character of this series. We were expressing our disapprobation about this work in conversation; and the answer was, 'But don't you think it is a very good thing for children?' 'It is indeed a good thing for children,' was our reply, 'but it was designed for men.' The title 'Entertaining' we were in truth afraid of, from the first; and it seems to have impressed its character upon the tracts, almost to the exclusion of all other objects. They may do good, no doubt; we are not sorry to have them for our youth to read as entertaining books; but we cannot admit, that these or any publications of the British Society are examples of what can be done to further its great project.

Our brethren across the water must pardon us if we express ourselves somewhat strongly; for we have looked to them for the best thing that could be done; we have rejoiced at their great and noble undertaking; we have actually had visions of the good they were to do, and, confess it we must, we are grievously disappointed. The truth is, the first failure seems to have led to a separation of things which it was their very business and intention to unite. Of scientific books we had enough before; entertaining and intelligible treatises, too, such as Goldsmith's and St Pierre's; but the object of the Society was to give these matters a form sufficiently scientific for the best purposes of instruction, and yet to render them intelligible and interesting. Now its first series of tracts had enough of scientific classification, but was not intelligible to the mass of readers. To remedy this, the Society has issued a second series; but, by this arrangement, being unwilling to trench upon the ground of the first, they have cut themselves off from a large portion of the field of interesting and useful instruction; and that, too, the best portion. For instance, in the first series the subject of Vegetable Physiology was treated of; a subject which yields the most interesting results for mental and moral contemplation. But

in the second, as this ground was preoccupied, we have only an account of the general aspects and qualities of trees and plants; all very proper, and such as might have answered a very good purpose, if it could have been introduced to clothe the dry and barren limbs of the first. So again, we have Animal Mechanics in the first series, and the forms and habitudes of animals in the second. Now it does seem to us, that a work may be produced, with enough of scientific classification and detail on the one hand, and yet, on the other, intelligible, interesting, exciting and satisfying inquiry, gratifying the natural curiosity of the human mind, directing it to the practical applications of science, and exalting it to that devotion which is its great end. It might indeed be a work, and one of the noblest works, of united learning, genius, taste, and piety.

We have lately spoken of the new *American Almanac*, a work highly valuable in its general objects and character. There is one portion of it, however, against which we must enter, with qualifications, the same complaint, as against the first series of the English publications. The Second Part, on 'the Calendar, Celestial Changes, and Astronomical Phenomena,' is that to which we refer. There is an interesting series of brief chapters on these subjects; but here and there, when the matter becomes more deep and difficult, the writer certainly forgets that apparently hardest of all things to keep in mind, how many degrees he stands above those whom he undertakes to instruct. We refer, for instances of this observation, to portions of the chapters on the 'Calendar,' on the 'Year,' on the 'Solar and Lunar Cycle,' and on the 'Tides.' We will consent that any intelligent, but general reader, shall be umpire between us and the learned author of the Second Part, on the point which we have respectfully suggested for his attention.

The publications before us, with many others of the same character, invite our attention to a great and interesting project, which is nevertheless so novel and unprecedented, that it is probably regarded by some as extravagant and visionary, and by others, as unimportant and indifferent. A defence of this project, in these points of view, claims attention, for reasons that extend far beyond any limited sphere of our own, and in fact beyond our own country. It is indeed one of the peculiar and great undertakings of the age, to communicate scientific knowledge to the whole intelligent portion of the

mass of society. The energies of the social world, aroused, as they never were before, to the work of general improvement, are now, especially in England and in this country, directed particularly to this object. Three distinct series of publications, having, as one of their leading objects, the advancement of this enterprise, and bearing upon their title-pages some of the greatest names of England, are now issuing from the British press; and the Lyceums, which are rapidly springing up among us, are likely, if the first efforts are successful, to spread over the whole country. The records of Greek and Roman literature give no example or hint of productions or projects such as these. The splendid fables of Arabic learning and genius, though royal halls gave audience to them; the mystic lore and cumbrous philosophy of the East, furnish nothing that can enter into the comparison. The Lyceum, that was first built on the pleasant banks and among the shady groves of the Ilissus, where Aristotle taught philosophy, was designed only for a few studious youths. Those sequestered retreats were never invaded by the footsteps of the Athenian artisan or tradesman, nor by fruiterers or husbandmen from the fields of Attica. The noble project of bringing down high philosophy and holy science to the mass of the people, has been reserved for this age. It is a novel enterprise among mankind. It is an unwritten page in the history of the world. It is a project, we do not think it too much to say, which never before entered into the conceptions of men; for it is an attempt to pluck from the sun, 'in the highest heaven of philosophy,' the Promethean fire, to burn on the common hearth-stone in the humblest abodes of mortals.

The error of past ages has been, to accumulate power, wealth, learning, and even religious responsibilities and trusts, in a few hands. Monopolies have not been confined to property; they have extended to knowledge too. Science, as well as religion, has said to the mass of mankind, 'Stand by thyself, for I am holier than thou.' The paths of the scholar have led far away from the beaten track of common life. He has conceived himself to have little to do with the world at large; he has had few sympathies with it; he has felt little interest in it. He has compared science indeed to the light of heaven; he has talked eloquently about its properties; but he has talked in figures; he has not actually felt that it is one of the lights which men may daily walk by. In-

deed, these primary interests and blessings of the world, to which we have referred, have not failed of diffusion because they have not been duly appreciated ; but because they have been held by their possessors in a sort of selfish estimation ; because they have been considered as too good for the mass of mankind, or because it has been imagined that they would be soiled by a common use. But it is the strong tendency of all liberal thought and feeling, at *this* day, to bring every human acquisition to a practical account ; to make men in politics their own rulers, in religion their own guides ; to spread wealth, by abolishing the laws of entail and primogeniture, into general competence and comfort ; and, as the best pledge and safeguard for all the rest, to call down knowledge, from its proud and inaccessible heights, to be the companion and cheerer of the lowliest toil and of the humblest fireside. *Diffusion* is the watchword of the age ; and unless the spread of intelligence keeps pace with that of power, of wealth, and of religious liberty, it will become the motto of universal disappointment and defeat.

It is certainly an interesting question therefore, whether this tendency of things on so large a scale, and whether the professed undertaking to further it, in the department of the sciences particularly, promises to be either successful or useful. Is not the project to diffuse a knowledge of the sciences, visionary, impracticable ? Or, if it is not, if it can succeed, is there a prospect of much good to be effected by it ? These are the questions before us. And there is the more occasion to discuss them, because this practical character of the age, of which we have spoken, is sometimes falsely considered in such a light as to furnish specious, but unsound objections to our views ; and because there is, in many minds, a peculiar skepticism about the practicability and expediency of diffusing generally a knowledge of the sciences.

The first feeling, in many persons, to whom this sort of knowledge is proposed for their acquisition, is a vague feeling of utter incompetency to the undertaking, or of the absolute impossibility or impropriety of the thing,—a feeling, as if it were proposed to them literally to scale the heights of heaven ; or, at any rate, to put themselves altogether out of their place and sphere. ‘ We cannot know anything about these matters. They are for scholars to understand. They are to be learnt in colleges. If you attempt to teach *us* things of this

sort,' say many with an incredulous air, 'you must take patience with you at any rate.' It takes some patience to listen to the objection, we confess. For why cannot men, and all men, know? And why should they not? The objects of this kind of study are God's works, works which were expressly designed to be studied and admired by all his rational creatures; and, as religious reasoners, so far from admitting these things to be out of the province of the mass of mankind, we should say, that the world is not, and never will be, *right*, till they are generally understood. It is not in a fair and right state for its moral probation. But we have occasion, at present, only to urge the general propriety of these pursuits. If the object of God's works on earth had been mere temporary accommodation and comfort, less than all the infinite wisdom displayed in them would have sufficed. Plants, for instance, could have been caused to grow without their present curious structure and beautiful appearance. It is as evident that the world was made to display to its inhabitants the wisdom, as the goodness of its Creator. It is reasonable, therefore, that they should study it. No inquiry could be more proper for men, and for all men.

And why, we repeat, can they not know? The objects to be examined are all around them; the subjects of study are the very elements with which they are every moment conversant; the instruments are their senses; to see, to hear, is to know. The times for study are all times that are not necessarily engrossed with other pursuits; when they take a walk, when they look around them upon the works of nature, especially when they are at leisure. Why cannot a man, who sits down before his evening fire, spend an hour in reading a few paragraphs that will teach him the curious and beautiful theory of combustion? Why cannot any man read enough upon the nature and changes of the atmosphere, the clouds, and the seasons, to be in the habit of reflecting philosophically on what is passing around him, instead of receiving, as passively, in this respect, as the post before his door, the visitation of the elements? And as to time, 'the time that makes a wise man is the time that makes a fool; and the counters, with which the untaught lose the game, are the same with which the skilful win it,'—says, or should say, some proverb of the East or of the West. It is strictly true in this matter, that 'time and chance happen to all men'; but all men do

not know how to use them. The thing to be learned is ‘not in heaven, nor beyond the sea, but it is nigh us.’ It is said that Linnæus, when abroad one day in the fields with his pupils, laid his hand upon the green turf, saying, ‘he had that under his hand, whose consideration might justly occupy all of them for a considerable portion of their lives. He verified this assertion, by showing that within that space there were thirty-four different species, either of grass or moss, or insects, or animalcules, or varieties of mineral.’

‘Yes, but all this is nothing,’ say our objectors. ‘*Science* is what we are talking about.’ Nay, but this *is* the very thing. The foundation of the sciences is observation. The business of philosophy is not to construct theories, but to state facts; not to deal with mysteries in mysterious language, but to deal with plain matters in intelligible language. Science, instead of being a high and abstruse mystery, is a clearer up of the mysteries that lie in our daily path. We have no doubt, that the casual observations of many practical and plain men, if they had been properly and philosophically noted down in their own minds, would have laid the foundation for much useful philosophy. The judgment, for instance, which seafaring persons form of the weather, which seems at once as sure and as mysterious as instinct, is no doubt founded on actual and careful observation. If the observer had been, in this respect, a philosopher; if he had been able fully to state the grounds of his almost unerring predictions, he might have furnished far more valuable aid to the science of meteorology, than is now given in dry tables of temperature, wind, rain, and sunshine. And if the same observations were made on the land, it would not be difficult to form a *Farmer’s Manual*, or a *Traveller’s Directory*, which, in many cases, would be of great convenience and utility.

When science is mentioned, the minds of many persons are at once carried away from what is around them, to strange diagrams and curious and costly apparatus. These things have their place and use, it is true. Diagrams are essential in the mathematics; and apparatus is a needful auxiliary to scientific observation. But observation need not wait for them. The inquirer may begin his researches without stirring from the spot where he stands. He has only to revive the curiosity of childhood, a curiosity unhappily dulled by repeated disappointment; he has only to ask, What is this,

and why is that? and he has begun the work of scientific philosophy. If he has any zeal in these inquiries, he will procure or invent some simple apparatus to aid him; not to say that our Lyceums are now likely to make the necessary provision for his wants.

It was thus, and without these resources of modern enterprise, that our Franklin and Rittenhouse advanced through the first steps that led to their distinction as philosophers. We do not expect that many among us will rise to the same eminence; but we do say, that, with only a moderate portion of the same inquisitiveness, many may attain to a degree and kind of knowledge, that will give a new character to their minds and a new complexion to their lives, that will open treasures in nature, more truly valuable than the most fertile soil or the wealthiest mine. And to this end, we repeat, they are not to wait for lectures or apparatus, but to begin those inquiries which will as certainly lead them to reading and to experiments, as cause will ever lead to effect. It has been proposed as a good method of instructing children, to confine their attention to the apartment they are in, and to question them with regard to the nature and origin of everything in that given space. Such a course, we believe, never fails to interest them. And thus, if a man would question himself with regard to all the objects within the circle of his vision, he would find enough to elicit his curiosity, to task his reason, and give direction and employment to his hours of reading.

‘True,’ some will say, ‘but all this requires a great deal of thinking; and our business is to labor.’ But why not join them? Need a man stop turning over the furrow of his field, because he observes the chemical properties of the soil? Must the builder pause in his work, because he proceeds upon a full understanding of the principles of mensuration and architecture? Does any artist labor less assiduously or effectually, because he understands not only the practice, but the philosophy of his art? Does the merchant lay his plans less wisely, because he brings into his contemplation a sagacious and comprehensive view of the principles of trade? The truth is, that in all these cases knowledge does not hinder, but helps a man. Precisely as the philosophical, we had almost said, the imaginative system of the double entry helps the accountant, or as the science of geometry aids the surveyor, or of navigation, the mariner. And in a simple

journey upon the land, may not the traveller, without any interruption, take a philosophical survey of the country he is passing through, notice its soil, its productions, its capabilities, its mineralogical character? Even in judging of its scenery,—and no man would be thought so negligent as not to know whether he had passed through a fine or a dull tract of country,—even here, there is use enough, if he understood it, for the philosophy of taste. And with a mind thus employed, he would not only not be retarded, but he would find many sources of pleasurable interest; he would be saved from some portion of the tedium of a journey; and he would not need such frequent resort to the coarser stimulants which the tavern furnishes.

‘But we do not know how to class these things,’ still say our men of doubt and difficulty; ‘we have no books, and we do not know how to begin; or if we do begin, we do not know how to proceed without instruction.’

There is some ground for these objections. Nature, at first, presents itself to the observer as an indigested mass. It is desirable that he should have some elementary works to aid him at the outset, to answer immediately those first inquiries, which we have represented as the beginning of philosophy. And we must confess, that there is here a deficiency, which we trust is yet and ere long to be supplied. Most of the Manuals of Natural Philosophy, of Chemistry, of Mineralogy, Zoology, &c. are designed for scholars. We want something of a simpler character. But what then? shall we do nothing for ourselves, because everything is not done to our hands? The Lyceums which are rising around us, we trust, are to furnish an answer to the question. Some among us have undertaken to instruct and to aid one another. And let it be observed in this connexion, that those who shall, in these institutions, give the results of their inquiries in the form of dissertations or lectures, who shall, with a generous zeal, study for that purpose, cannot, in their communications, use too ‘great plainness of speech.’ On this point, also, it is important that they should not put one thing for another. Prolixity is not plainness; nor are many words to be mistaken for much simplicity. Perfect clearness of ideas, no matter in how few words, provided they be intelligible, is the first qualification of a lecturer.

But again, let it be asked, shall we not read books, be-

cause they are not precisely what we want? Few books would be read or studied, by this rule. Besides, there are portions of most of the Manuals that may be read, with understanding and to advantage, by almost every one. And what if these things, in the outset, cost some study? What if some pages must be read over twice and thrice before they will be understood? If any one thinks these matters not worth the attention; if he is willing that the vision of nature should pass before him as an idle show; if he cares not to understand the works of infinite wisdom, it is not to him that this subject is to be addressed. If he has any intelligent concern or reasonable zeal on this subject, he will not think it too much to spend some of his leisure hours in the reading and study of those authors that will lay open to him the secrets of that world of science, which as yet, to most men, is truly an invisible and unknown world.

‘Ay,’ says some skeptical observer of this undertaking, ‘you may address whom you will; you may say and do what you can; but you will never accomplish much. It is all a Utopian scheme; one of the forms of modern extravagance; an attempt to carry people out of their condition, to make philosophers out of ploughmen, and lecturers out of laborers. Let us rear up a community of plain, industrious men, who understand their business; and let those who please, dream of a nation of dreamers like themselves.’

There are some predictions which have no other chance of accomplishment, than their own credit yields. If the spirit of society falls in with language of this sort; if it is the tendency of the times to doubt or to condemn all projects for intellectual improvement; if skepticism is stronger than conviction, and ridicule is more weighty than men’s interests, then we admit that this great and noble undertaking of the age may fail. But even then we shall not admit, that it is at all necessary it should fail. We maintain, that, if society would seriously and earnestly set about the work of self-improvement, there are intellect and ability of every sort enough, and a hundred times more than enough, to accomplish all that we desire. If we could promise that every leaf of scientific knowledge should turn to a bank note, though of the humblest denomination, the work would be secure of the desired fulfilment. If men would seek knowledge, not as they seek silver, but with a hundredth part of the same zeal, we should not fear

for the result. If, for opening the sources of innocent and elevated enjoyment, society would expend the tenth part of what it now pays for excess, vice, disease, ruin, and death, it would be enough; enough to build Lyceums everywhere; enough to procure apparatus and libraries; enough to pay lecturers; enough to meet all the expenses of the most liberal, or of the most extravagant projects, in this cause.

The substance of the objections we are now considering is, that the undertaking to disseminate scientific knowledge among the mass of the people, is visionary, that it is unsuitable to the state and objects of society. But let us consider what it is in this matter that is visionary. Not the knowledge proposed to be gained; not the treasured wisdom of nature; not the pleasure of contemplating it; not the aptitude of the human mind for such an employment; not the capacity of *common* minds to receive the elementary truths of science, for they are very simple. What then is visionary in this project? That, undoubtedly, which has caused every improvement that has been projected in the world to be denominated visionary. It is the novelty of the undertaking. It is this that marks it as chimerical. Unless, indeed, it may be said that one part of mankind were *made* to be ignorant and to work; and another part made to be wise and to rule them. On this summary classification and appointment, it is true, we easily comprehend what is meant by 'rearing up a community of plain and industrious men, who understand their business.' But, we trust, it is not visionary for men also to understand their own nature, to reverence their Creator, and to look, with earnest inquiry, into those proofs of power, wisdom, and benevolence, which he has spread before them. There cannot be a steam-boat, a power-loom, a fire-engine, the model of a carriage for a rail-way, or a newly invented machine of any valuable description, presented for inspection, but it is thought a mark of reasonable curiosity and enlightened judgment to examine and understand it. And shall we pass through this crowded world of skill, contrivance, wisdom, and beauty, and scarcely bestow upon it a casual thought?

But the point we are now considering opens to a wider discussion. The general question of utility here naturally offers itself. We have thus far been endeavoring to meet the question, whether anything can be done.' Let us now

go to the inquiry, whether any good is likely to be done, provided the undertaking can succeed.

What is useful cannot be pronounced to be visionary. And yet what it is that constitutes the utility of any measure, or of any acquisition, may be a question, on which there will be all that difference of opinion, which shall make the project we advocate appear to some to be a visionary undertaking, and to others to be the soundest wisdom and the best policy.

With some, nothing is useful but what immediately tends to increase the property, comfort, and outward well-being of the people. And be it admitted, with all the readiness and latitude that can be desired of us, that these are important objects ; yet they are not the only things that come into account, as affecting the welfare of society. But admit the importance of these interests. We believe that no one estimates them, singly considered, at a higher rate than we do. We are tempted to say, that one of the greatest evils in society is, that people are not well enough off. Not that there is a want of means, for Providence everywhere is bountiful ; but these means are so distributed, and the maxims and habits of society are such, that the struggle of human interests and necessities is too hard ; that, through human misdirection, the temptation to dishonesty, ambition, and mutual strife, presses harder, if we may venture to say so, than it was meant to press. We have reasons then, beyond all worldly prudence, for wishing that competence and comfort may be increased in the world.

But here we say, and might argue much at large, did our space permit, that the spread of scientific knowledge, a knowledge, in other words, of the mechanical powers and of the capabilities of nature, would tend, and directly tend, to bring about this result. Science, it has been often said, is man's empire over nature. It is this that makes a large part of the difference between the barbarian, who is subject to the elements, and of the civilized man, who commands them. It is this that, in civilized countries, is, every day more and more, rendering nature subservient to man's use, for food, medicine, clothing, habitation, fuel, convenience, comfort.

These, it may be said, are the labors of the learned. But Arkwright and Fulton were not learned. Besides, why should that which, in the hands of the studious, is so powerful an instrument, be so useless in the hands of the active

and laborious? We know that it is not. And it is demonstrable, as a matter of the plainest inference, that he, who works not as a senseless machine, but as an intelligent handicraftsman, who understands the powers he wields, and the elements and materials he works upon, will have a great advantage in his knowledge. The artisan, with this qualification, will be constantly improving his tools and the productions of his skill, and shortening the processes of his labor. The farm will be certain, other things being equal, to be better cultivated, and to be made more productive, by a scientific agriculturist. He will turn the stock, as well as the soil, of his farm to greater account, with the knowledge that books of science will give him. How many horses have been ruined by ignorance in the farrier of the part he operates upon. The foot of the horse is connected with the leg by muscles and ligaments, which answer the purpose of a fine elastic spring, that saves the animal from the shock, which every step would otherwise give him. This effect is aided by the expansion of the hoof, and by the descent, between the two parts of it, of a soft, muscular substance, technically called the *frog*. Now, if the shoe be placed too far back, or be formed so as to contract the foot, it will interfere with this admirable provision of nature; and lameness will ensue. In the building of houses, again, scientific principles are indispensable, and undoubtedly a thorough understanding of them would enable the carpenter to improve his plans, and to facilitate the execution of his task. But there is one evil that especially calls for a scientific remedy, and that is, the evil of 'smoky houses.' There are principles, if we are rightly informed, on which every chimney may be constructed, so as certainly to draw smoke; and any one may convince himself of this by the fact, that a Franklin stove is an invariable remedy for a smoking chimney. And yet, in many places, if not generally, more than half of the chimneys are so built, as to inflict this lasting evil, this century's calamity, upon a whole household. The fuel, that is expended, either to make a stronger draught by increasing the fire, or to heat rooms with half-open doors; the colds, rheumatisms, and various diseases induced in this way; the irritation, the actual ill temper occasioned by such circumstances, constitute, all together, no small item in the troubles and afflictions of domestic life! And all this, because one class of our artisans do not understand, in this particular, the philosophy of their business!

Life, it is often said, is made up of little things. And how much of the discomfort, the diseases, the irritations, and even vices of society, is owing to little things, to little defects of precaution, skill, or knowledge, is a serious question. This is not the place to enter into the subject. But of the minor evils that beset us, 'at home and abroad, in the house and by the way,' we are persuaded that a fair proportion might be corrected or avoided by a little knowledge and consideration of the laws of nature. We see human beings, as they now are, instead of going on harmoniously with the system of things around them; instead of conforming to the laws of their own constitution; instead of acting with decision, wisdom, and skill, in circumstances expressly designed to call forth these qualities,—we see them at war with nature, and not only so, but contending at a disadvantage, floated and buffeted by the elements, without the needful safeguards, misled by appearances, troubled by mistakes, overcome by accidents, often sick from the want of care, and sorrowful for the want of objects, though the world is full of objects.

Yes, full of them; and we now come to consider the question of utility in another point of light. That, emphatically, is useful which contributes to the happiness of the mind. And if this is true, then ideas, reflections, thoughts are to be set down on the scale of utility, and are to be set highest on that scale. Though not reckoned in the ledger, though not gathered into the granary, nor deposited in the warehouse; though neither manufactured, nor bought, nor sold,—yet thoughts are useful. Nothing is so much to a man as what he thinks. 'As a man thinketh so is he,' and, especially, so is he happy or miserable.

And yet there is, with many, a kind of regular and set exclusion of the mind itself from the estimate of human welfare, and an exclusion, by the same rule, of knowledge from the objects that are worthy of a distinct, professed, and practical attention, among the mass of mankind. Knowledge, indeed, is allowed to be useful, but it is useful as being auxiliary to some more valuable, some visible acquisition. Thus the knowledge of the lawyer, of the physician, of the merchant, is acknowledged to be useful; but useful, all the while, as a commodity in the market. That is the only popular vein of it. And there is no doubt that the very words, *utility*, *advantage*, *good*, always, in popular use, relate to outward possessions. And, of course,

with this state of mind, all efforts and combinations to obtain such possessions, all banking associations, insurance companies, fur companies, copartnerships in trade, compacts of all sorts to lay a grasp on the 'main chance,' are the most reasonable things in the world. Nothing is visionary here but what fails; not the South Sea Company, till the bubble bursts; not the cotton or woollen factory, till the stock falls fifty per cent. But a Lyceum, a combination among the people to obtain knowledge, and especially scientific knowledge, a knowledge of such things as the air, and the light, and the stars, an ideal good, a bubble at the outset, a thing that cannot be put on the file of bonds and deeds, nor served up in the feast, nor made anything of in any way,—why, says our wise man, the project is chimerical! And forthwith he begins to talk about Utopia, and Oceana, and Arcadia, and sundry other things that have no real existence.

But knowledge is itself a good, and a real good. And the Lyceum that, in ten years' successful operation, adds twenty per cent. to a man's knowledge and enlargement of mind, will be, at least, as much valued by him, as the bank that, in the same time, adds twenty per cent. to his estate. The sort of knowledge that comes under the denomination of scientific, it is true, must, at least a portion of it, be sought for its own sake; and the defence of it is, therefore, to be put on that ground. We say, then, that the knowledge of nature, in those respects which have the least to do with men's business, is of itself a most delightful acquisition. To stand amidst the works of the wonderful Architect, as their admiring interpreter; to look around, not with the dull, unconscious gaze of mere animal sensations, but to comprehend, in their qualities and uses, the things that we behold, the air, the sunshine, the storm, the lightning; to see all things rising in their order, and moving in their harmony; to stand, as did the first man, and 'call by their names' all things that 'pass before us,' is to take one of the noblest and happiest positions on earth; and fittest, too, for the lord of this lower creation. The bare classification of outward objects is of itself a great pleasure. It is this, in part, that accounts for the enthusiasm of the mineralogist. Mineralogy, at first view certainly, is a very dull science. And yet its votaries take journeys on foot; endure storms, cold, hunger, and weariness; traverse extensive districts; scale lofty mountains with an eagerness that seems

almost like mania ; and all this they do, not to put gold in their purse, but to put a few useless stones in their cabinet. Now, whatever be the cause, here is undoubtedly a great deal of pleasure. The huntsman has not a keener ; no, nor the miser, nor the voluptuary. And the objects which yield this satisfaction are abundant, are common, are everywhere to be found. The stones in the street, the dull walls by the wayside, present to the eye of the mineralogist well-known and interesting forms and qualities.

But if the dullest things in nature yield this pleasure, what must its brighter, its more beautiful, its living forms ? its plants of every shape and structure, and birds of every plumage, and animals that sport in all its elements and regions ? Let our Wilson tell,—for our country was his by adoption,—who lived among the birds, made them as it were his companions, and understood their notes, as if they had been the voices of his children. Let the venerable Blumenbach of Germany tell, who has pursued the study of natural history till the period of eighty, with undiminished enthusiasm and delight. Or, to take singly the phenomena of vegetation,—what a secret world of wonders is there in every plant ? It seems unfortunate that any man should pass through one spring season, and understand nothing of these most curious and beautiful processes, that are going on all around him. Growth, vegetable growth, which to the ignorant is a bare and naked fact, to the scientific eye is a history, a whole history of things, the most interesting to every intelligent mind. Survey it throughout, from its foundation silently and mysteriously wrought in the dark and senseless earth, till it rises up to the stately plant, or the towering forest tree ; examine its interior structure ; trace the firm and tough fibres that give it strength to resist the storms amidst which it flourishes ; observe the ducts and channels carefully laid in it, to convey streams from the rich fountains of life below ; mark its numerous cells, those secret laboratories of nature ; and then consider the liquid sustenance, carried to its topmost bough and its outermost leaf, with no forcing pump to raise it, and conveying each particle to the exact place and position where it is needed, by a process of secretion that seems like mystery, and mystery it is ;—survey this exquisite and wonderful workmanship, and who, we ask, would not know something of all this ? Who would not give a little time to procure so great

a satisfaction? Who can be content to pass through the world in ignorance of these works of his Creator?

But there is another view of the intellectual good to be derived from such sources. Scientific knowledge supplies objects to the mind, that help to preserve it from stagnation, *ennui*, and melancholy. Something has been before said about the want of time for scientific inquiries. To this it has been answered in general, that there is time enough if it be well husbanded and improved. But to put this answer in the form of an indisputable fact, we say, that a great deal of time is actually occupied with reading among the mass of the community around us. There are many persons, who are not students, but who spend some hours every week in the perusal of the light and fictitious works, that crowd, almost to the exclusion of all others, the shelves of our circulating libraries. Now one great evil of this sort of reading is, that it trains no mental faculty, and awakens no intellectual effort; that, although it arouses the passions, it leaves the mind passive to the impressions made upon it. No intellect is more void of activity, more fatally dull, than that of the worn-out novel-reader. Scientific researches would produce a wholesome action, a salutary curiosity; and the gratification of this taste would not be confined to the pent-up room and the waning lamp, but would attend the cheerful walk, amidst the light and breezes of day, and the rich and fair scenes of nature.

There is much need of this kind of excitement. Most people want more to think about, and especially more that is useful, interesting, and worthy of a rational nature. In truth, there is a great deal of dulness, of mental sluggishness, in the mass of society. If it were not for the newspaper and the novel, our people would not know how to wear away the heavy hours allotted to them. But these do not sufficiently answer the purpose of excitement, not to say that one of them does not answer it in the best manner. Besides, our country is more destitute than any other of public entertainments, of public and professed holidays; and many of the simple resorts of this nature, the 'bees' and 'huskings,' are disappearing from our farm-houses, giving place, it may be feared, to grosser stimulants, to more solitary and sadder pleasures. All this, it is true, may not be so much felt in the immediate circle of commercial pursuits, of active and en-

grossing trade, and hazardous speculation. But it is felt abroad in the land, where no deep risks or keen rivalships agitate the people, and no evening assemblies, no theatres nor shows invite them. The long winter evenings pass wearily and heavily in many a habitation. This is a people, then, one might think, ripe for the great modern project of improvement, ripe for Lyceums and library societies; too intelligent to sit down stupidly and think of nothing, and as yet too little supplied with objects. And if the more active classes, in our cities and villages, less need such resorts as we propose, on one account, they need them more on another. For it were well, if it were possible, to calm down these agitating excitements of trade. It were well, if by any possibility it could be done, to make people feel that there is something valuable in this world besides money. It would be a truly republican project, too, to bring all classes of our citizens together, in the equally ennobling pursuit of knowledge.

Do our people, then, crave entertainment? Nature stands before them as a mighty storehouse of materials. The showman, the manufacturer of fire-works, has nothing like this. It would furnish to the people one grand and perpetual *fête*. It would open scenes of enchantment, and miracles of art, beyond all that theatre, or royal palace, or the fabled halls of oriental magicians could offer. The entertainment, too, would be comparatively cheap. Less than what it now costs to dress up artificial scenery,—and yet, if the theatre could be the noble school that it ought to be, we should not object to it;—less than what is given to pay for the feats of jugglers, mountebanks, and dancers; and less, far less than what it costs to distil the wholesome fruits of nature into poison, would be sufficient to unfold the secrets and wonders of this mighty treasure-house.

In the light of this contrast indeed, were it fully displayed, the contemplation of human folly would be perfectly overwhelming. If all that has been done, and expended, and lost, by the abuse of nature to purposes of gluttony, intemperance, luxury, vanity, and vitiating entertainment, had been devoted to the knowledge and cultivation of nature; and then, if all the boundless sum of treasure, toil, and life, that has been sacrificed in bloody and barbarous wars, had been converted to the same rational and beneficent use, it is impossible to describe or imagine the improved and happy condition in

which the world would now be found. If all human power, wealth, activity, zeal, and ingenuity had been fairly brought to bear upon the world's improvement and welfare, a scene would have been presented, to which the fabled Arcadia of the poets would be as the simple field to the well cultivated garden. The earth would indeed have been as 'the garden of God.' Means of communication, means of comfort might have been provided; broad and beaten pathways might have been opened through mountains and forests, to convey the blessings of civilization, and the greetings of affection, to the uttermost regions; fair cities and marble palaces and temples might have risen in every wilderness; rich groves and bowers of peace and contentment might have covered every plain, now barren and desolate, and oftentimes stained with blood. There need have been no ill-constructed habitations, no damp and loathsome hovels, no scantily provided board, no gaunt and haggard visage of hunger, no 'looped and windowed raggedness'; and, comparatively, there need have been no disease, nor vice, nor misery,—at least, no such frightful masses of these evils,—in the whole world. And yet, when we propose to turn the human mind to a consideration of the powers and uses of nature, when we propose to raise it from these dreadful and wasting delusions to knowledge, virtue, and religion, we are asked, as if the world had never proceeded upon any other rule,—'What use is there in all these things?'

We say, to religion; and upon the tendency of a knowledge of nature to awaken a rational, habitual, and fervent piety, we must add a few remarks in close.

Among the qualities of the human character, it seems to us that piety has been, least of all, wisely and successfully cultivated. And we speak of the cultivation of piety now, as one of the great *interests* of mankind. This is not the place to enter into the reasons, why it is to be thus regarded. But that it is a spring of lofty sentiments, a direct source of happiness, a promoter of virtue in its noblest forms; that it is a needful refuge for human weakness, and an interpreter of what would otherwise be life's troubled mystery; that it is, moreover, a most reasonable homage of creatures to their Creator, we shall consider as positions undisputed by those to whom we choose at present to address ourselves.

But although it is thus the interest, and, we might say, the

grandest form of the great interest of every human being, piety, it seems to us, among the body of mankind, has been one of the most inoperative, inconstant, and factitious of all sentiments. Let theologians dispute as they may about human depravity, total or partial, it must be conceded by all, that the Being, whose presence is ever and everywhere most truly with us, whose presence is constantly and most strikingly manifest in every object around us, is least of all present to men's thoughts. Now one reason of the deficiency of that great sentiment, for which, as we believe, there is a natural aptitude in the human breast, is, we doubt not, the want of knowledge, the want of enlarged and distinct ideas. It is not enough to say, in the general, that God is wise, good, and merciful. It is not enough to teach this on set times and occasions. It would not be enough to do this concerning any other being, in whom we wished to awaken a deep and habitual interest. We want statements, specifications, facts, details, that will illustrate the wonderful perfections of the infinite Creator ; and these details require to be such as will make their impression every day and hour, as will mingle their suggestions with all the toils and cares of business, and record their instructions on all the paths of life. Men, it is often said, and too truly, are so engrossed with occupation, so oppressed with labor, so agitated by competition, and perplexed with difficulty, that religion is precluded and kept out of sight. What is needed then is, that religious reflections should be mixed up, if possible, with the mass of human pursuits, should start up unbidden on every side, should make their impression, as all deep and abiding impressions are made, by constant and unforced repetition.

Now, it is precisely this want that is supplied by the scientific knowledge of nature. Not that men would think less of their Bible, for thinking more of this knowledge. It would help to explain their Bible, and give a loftier meaning to many of the noblest passages of 'Holy Writ.' Nature, too, is as truly a manifestation from Heaven as the Scriptures. ' 'Tis elder Scripture, writ by God's own hand.' The knowledge of it could scarcely fail to be a most powerful means of devotion. It is worthy of remark, that those philosophers, in general, who have been students of nature, have been distinguished by a pious reverence for the Author of nature. How without that 'madness,' which the poet charges upon 'the un-

devout astronomer,' could they escape it? It follows, as inference from premises, as cause from effect. A man, who reads a work of genius, if he comprehends it, unavoidably admires its author. How could a similar, but loftier sentiment fail to arise from a study of the volume of nature!

But this volume has an advantage, in one respect, over all other volumes. It is, as we have already intimated, 'ever open before us, and we may read it at our leisure.' Nay, we must read it, if we understand its language, almost in spite of ourselves. 'Its line is gone out through all the earth, and its words to the end of the world.' Now of this various, unceasing, omnipresent communication, knowledge, knowledge, we repeat, is the great interpreter. It would make the world a new sphere to us, a sphere of new and nobler influences. Nothing that we remember, besides the direct effect of religious emotion, ever so effectually and entirely placed us in a 'new world,' as the simple philosophical history of vegetation. Knowledge would write lessons of piety on every leaf. Every 'turf would be a fragrant shrine.' The earth, in its light, would rear ten thousand altars around us. The air we breathe would be incense. And heaven, beyond towering arch or temple's dome, would bear us to contemplations, glorious, sublime, unspeakable, of the adorable Creator.

ART. II.—*Curiosity; a Poem, delivered at Cambridge, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, August 27, 1829.* By CHARLES SPRAGUE. Boston. J. T. Buckingham. 8vo. pp. 30.

If we may believe certain high authorities, it was once thought that poetry required peculiar natural powers; such as are not given to all men, at least in the same measure. The poet, in order to pass muster, was required to possess the highest attributes of mind and the best affections of the heart; to have an eye wide and searching, quick to discern the magnificence and glory of nature, and able to look down into the depths of the soul. Beside the delicate sensibility which voluntary retirement could give him, he was expected to have an acquaintance with all the principles of human action, from the power which lifted and swayed the stormy passions of

the multitude, to the hair-spring which set in motion the wayward ambition of kings. But not to dwell on these easy generalities, it is enough to say, that the poet was the favorite creation of the imagination of the ancients. Their deities were hardly respectable in their character and pretensions; they were nothing more than human agents, exalted to the power and dignity of evil spirits; with more capacity of doing evil, and even less disposition to do good. The poet made the hero; so that he had no rival in the admiration of men; and this may account for the number and greatness of the qualifications required in those who aspired to the sacred name.

For many years this imaginary being has ceased to be found, and grave men have doubted, whether any such ever existed. Certainly, the impression that any peculiar powers are required for the production of poetry is completely done away. The time which Johnson prophesied, in no good humor, is come in this country, if not in his own, when 'the cook warbles lyrics in the kitchen, and the thresher vociferates his dithyrambs in the barn.' One of the first efforts of our forefathers was to destroy the monopoly of genius, and to impress upon their children the valuable truth, that man could do again whatever man had done. They entered the sacred ground of poetry without putting off their shoes, and made sure of success beforehand, by establishing the principle, that praise was due to well-meant exertion. If an epitaph, an elegy, or even a hymn-book was called for, they considered it not a matter of choice, but of duty, to supply the demand. Even the great epics of our country, in more modern times, were written with the same intrepidity. The writers saw that all other great nations had their distinguished poetical works, and they resolved that their own land should not be without them; if no one else would write them, they would; though they had little leisure for the labor, and for the art itself neither propensity nor vocation.

From their time to the present, Mr Kettell will bear us witness, vast quantities of good merchantable poetry, of which his three volumes are only specimens, have been thrown into the market every year; or rather, we should say, have been produced; for some of the worthies of that collection little dreamed of being translated from the dark corner of a newspaper to a place among the northern stars. The result of

making this business so common has been a great development of mechanical skill. Very tolerable verse may now be made with very little expense of time and labor; though there is reason to fear, that, in many cases, the workmanship covers the want of material. It is not long since an individual in one of our cities offered to supply the public with good verse, suited to any occasion, and at low prices; but the domestic manufacture had become so common, that he found no encouragement in his profession. We are evidently approaching a state of independence, even beyond that contemplated by the American system; when not only our nation shall cease to be indebted to others, but every individual shall furnish his own supply; and as all are pretty well satisfied with their exploits in verse, we rejoice in believing that every one will be supplied to his mind with poetry, which, if none of the best, is good enough for him.

But it must not be denied, that those who are inclined to look upon the dark side, represent this as a sign of the temporary decline of the art. For they say, and, it must be confessed, with some show of reason, that the gods have made excellence the prize of labor; and if the public are disposed to favor productions of the lighter kind, the fact, that excellence is no longer required, proves that the public taste is also declining. Neither is the success of the great poets of the present day any objection to this statement, because the labor spoken of is not required for single efforts, but in the preparation for great exertions. Thus it was by slow degrees, that Scott prepared himself for those works, which are now the wonder of the world; it was not at once, that Moore became master of his miraculous versification and imagery; and it was long before Mrs Hemans acquired that beautiful power, which now appears, however lightly her hand passes over the strings. With all their fine natural talent, they evidently felt and acted upon the conviction, that labor was essential to excellence and permanent success. Such is the opinion of sundry poetical skeptics; and whether it is a sound and sensible doctrine, or only an antiquated prejudice, time will show, when the momentary fashion is passed away. One thing, however, is clear; that those, who believe that no industry is required, fall into direct and servile imitation, and that not of the best models. For even to become sensible of the excellences of the great masters of the art, re-

quires thought and study ; no man is struck, at the first glance, with the greatness of the *Paradise Lost*, any more than the power of one of Raffaele's pictures ; we do not choose such works for the entertainment of our leisure hours, till we have become familiar with their beauties ; and as such works are not so popular as those which are less admired, the judicious race of imitators choose a nearer way to applause, and copy the marvels of the hour. But the peculiarities, which are pleasing in original writers, will not bear imitation by the ablest hand, and such are not the hands which usually engage in this employment ; so that the imitation, like Gothic architecture in our country, is more desperately Gothic than its original, and at last model and imitation are brought alike into contempt ; a fate, of which we have abundant illustration. We must not judge of excellence in this way. No man chooses the noblest sciences, the sublimest scenes, nor the greatest men, for the companions of leisure hours ; and it is but a mistaken gratitude to pronounce those who have best entertained us the greatest masters of the lyre.

A great proportion of the poetry in our country is of this imitative kind. There is evidence enough, that it is not owing to want of genius, and we are inclined to ascribe it to a want of correct and strong ambition. No man here makes poetry a serious and engrossing pursuit ; and those who treat it merely as a graceful accomplishment, naturally imitate the manner of the writers they are most familiar with ; and as, for the reason just given, the writers most admired are not always most read, it has come to pass, as once in Israel, that they 'go in by-paths,' and the highways are deserted. Still we are confident, that the way of Milton and Pope, by which we mean the way of thoughtfulness, care, and labor, will triumph at last ; for we are convinced that there is a large body of cultivated men in our country, who, though no lovers of what bears the name of poetry at present, do yet take pleasure in reading our older writers and the truly excellent of the day ; who know that genius is as much a matter of cultivation as of nature ; who know that a taste for the beauty and grandeur of the visible world is formed by meditation, that acquaintance with the heart is not intuitive, and that power over hearts and souls is not to be acquired in an hour ; who therefore have no patience with those, who rest their claims upon immediate inspiration, and will neither read

nor hear without first having some assurance, that the writer, who invites their attention, instead of relying on charms and spells, has deliberately prepared himself for one of the highest and most difficult, and, when successful, most glorious enterprises of the mind.

Mr Sprague has secured the verdict of such men in his favor, and this is no light testimony to his merit. The occasion for which his longest poem was written, is one that assembles many persons who have no particular taste for poetry, but are disposed to listen and criticize it like any other intellectual exertion. Doubtless they are disposed to be pleased with what they hear, for want of candor is not the fault of our audiences ; but we think that the poet would hazard much, who should attempt to interest them by the prevailing prettiness of the day. He is obliged to address himself to a manly good sense, and to that degree of cultivation in his own department, which men of education are apt to reach in every fine and graceful art. It was evidently with such impressions of his audience, that Mr Sprague prepared the poem before us ; and, as might be expected from his ability, he ensured perfect success. Many of those, who looked for no pleasure from verse, except its lulling sounds, were amazed to hear from a poet so manly and business-like a production.

We cannot help thinking, that it would be well for our poets to have some such tribunal, from whose decisions they might learn the public taste, which is generally merciful in its judgments, and almost always just. If the poet writes for himself, it is hardly worth while to publish his works, and he may choose what style he will ; but if he intends to amuse or instruct the public, he must conform to their taste, unless he can prove it widely distant from truth and nature. This, we apprehend, no one could do. Our audiences are at least as enlightened as those of ancient Greece ; and there can be no doubt, that such works as Campbell's '*Gertrude*,' Moore's '*Melodies*,' Southey's '*Roderick*,' Byron's '*Corsair*,' and Mrs Hemans's '*England's Dead*,' would be listened to with enthusiastic delight. We have often thought, that, in all the fine arts, as well as fine writing, the object should be to gain the favor of refined minds, which have no intimate acquaintance with the particular art ; in other words, to aim at that simplicity which is universally and always pleasing. We do not believe that one of Allston's pictures could pass unnoticed

by any educated man, who had the least attachment for the art, however unversed in the mysteries of light, shade, and proportions. And when we have seen the exquisite weariness of audiences, listening to music which was understood by none but the performers, not to speak of the contortions of such as were lashing themselves up to rapture, common humanity has tempted us to wish, that some means could be devised to check this wanton expenditure of skill. Whoever has listened to the wailing of neglected poets, more in anger than in sorrow, over the perversion of public taste, would rejoice if a way was discovered to spare them that torture. We take the liberty to recommend to them to consult the public taste in one or two efforts; and if they deserve success, we believe they will have no reason to regret the trial. Nothing can exceed the favor shown to poets in this country. Bryant, Halleck, and others have been read and praised with enthusiasm; and if Percival had but followed their judicious example, his fine imagination and remarkable power of language would have given him a place second to no other in the public regard.

Mr Sprague has shown great good sense in this respect, and has accordingly met with uncommon favor. Though he has succeeded so well in theatrical addresses,—and where Byron failed, it is no small praise to have succeeded,—we cannot wish to see any more of them. Such a stiff and ungainly service is not worthy of his powers. Nor are we disposed to be so partial to his ‘Shakspeare Ode,’ brilliant although it is, as to some other pieces of less pretension. We prefer the following lines on ‘Art,’ which, we believe, were written for some public occasion. The circumstances are well selected and happily combined, and would give any reader the impression of true poetical power.

‘When, from the sacred garden driven,
Man fled before his Maker’s wrath,
An angel left her place in heaven,
And cross’d the wanderer’s sunless path.
’T was Art! sweet Art! new radiance broke,
Where her light foot flew o’er the ground;
And thus with seraph voice she spoke,
“The curse a blessing shall be found.”

‘She led him through the trackless wild,
Where noontide sunbeam never blazed;—

The thistle shrunk,—the harvest smiled,
And nature gladden'd as she gazed.
Earth's thousand tribes of living things,
At Art's command to him are given ;
The village grows, the city springs,
And point their spires of faith to heaven.

' He rends the oak,—and bids it ride,
To guard the shores its beauty graced ;
He smites the rock,—upheaved in pride,
See towers of strength, and domes of taste.
Earth's teeming caves their wealth reveal,
Fire bears his banner on the wave,
He bids the mortal poison heal,
And leaps triumphant o'er the grave.

' He plucks the pearls that stud the deep,
Admiring Beauty's lap to fill ;
He breaks the stubborn marble's sleep,
And mocks his own Creator's skill.
With thoughts that swell his glowing soul,
He bids the ore illumine the page,
And proudly scorning time's control,
Commerces with an unborn age.

' In fields of air he writes his name,
And treads the chambers of the sky ;
He reads the stars, and grasps the flame
That quivers round the Throne on high.
In war renown'd, in peace sublime,
He moves in greatness and in grace ;
His power subduing space and time,
Links realm to realm, and race to race.'

The next quotation is part of an address to two swallows, which flew into a church window during divine service. It reminds us of the mild and thoughtful beauty of Bryant's 'Lines to a Waterfowl,' perhaps the finest of that popular poet's writings. No subjects better display the talent of a man of genius ; to give such interest to a trifle, and use it to suggest high and important instruction, though often attempted, is seldom so successfully done.

' Gay, guiltless pair,
What seek ye from the fields of heaven ?
Ye have no need of prayer,
Ye have no sins to be forgiven.

‘ Why perch ye here,
Where mortals to their Maker bend ?
Can your pure spirits fear
The God ye never could offend ?

‘ Ye never knew
The crimes for which we come to weep ;
Penance is not for you,
Bless’d wanderers of the *upper deep*.’

Mr Sprague is best known by his Poem delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, in August, 1829. The poet, on this occasion, labors under some disadvantages. He succeeds an orator, who has already engaged the attention of the audience with some high intellectual subject, for a time limited only by his own discretion ; and who, whether dull or able, may be supposed to leave his hearers little disposed to listen to any other. Beside, by an absurd and unexplained arrangement, those, who would secure places for these performances, are compelled to endure an hour or two of previous declamation, of the unmeaning kind in vogue in our public institutions. All these things are certainly against him ; and it is not easy to select a subject which will afford sufficient interest for the variety of hearers. Mr Sprague, however, not only added to the high reputation which he put at stake, but made himself known as the author of a poem, the high classical merit of which has established his poetical character.

His subject is Curiosity, and we think it happily chosen ; if the subject is a matter of importance to one, who can give interest to any by rich and various illustration. The beginning of the poem is well imagined to awaken curiosity ; but it was a bold experiment to hold the minds of his hearers so long in suspense, and but for the excellence of what succeeds, would hardly have been forgiven.

The effect of this principle, in childhood, is thus beautifully described.

‘ In the pleased infant see its power expand,
When first the coral fills his little hand ;
Throned in his mother’s lap, it dries each tear,
As her sweet legend falls upon his ear ;
Next it assails him in his top’s strange hum,
Breathes in his whistle, echoes in his drum ;
Each gilded toy, that doting love bestows,
He longs to break and every spring expose.

Placed by your hearth, with what delight he pores
 O'er the bright pages of his pictured stores;
 How oft he steals upon your graver task,
 Of this to tell you and of that to ask;
 And, when the waning hour to-bedward bids,
 Though gentle sleep sit waiting on his lids,
 How winningly he pleads to gain you o'er,
 That he may read one little story more.' p. 5.

Mr Sprague has taken advantage of this occasion, to lash many of the vices and follies of the times. His censure on the press is timely and powerful. We may endure to hear the prints of half the country praising 'The Course of Time,' but their eulogies of the licentious and disgusting 'Pelham,' deserve his severest sarcasm. The fierce and brutal violence of this mighty element, for a few years past, is enough to fill a thoughtful mind with dismay, when we reflect, that millions are daily drinking from these poisonous and polluted streams; and we are glad that Mr Sprague has given us a bright side to this dark and hopeless picture, colored with his usual power.

'All are not such? O no, there are, thank Heaven,
 A nobler troop to whom this trust is given;
 Who, all unbribed, on freedom's ramparts stand,
 Faithful and firm, bright warders of the land.
 By them still lifts the Press its arm abroad,
 To guide all-curious man along life's road;
 To cheer young genius, pity's tear to start,
 In truth's bold cause to rouse each fearless heart;
 O'er male and female quacks to shake the rod,
 And scourge the unsexed thing that scorns her God.'

p. 12.

We give next the character of the miser, which reminds us of the characters of Pope. It would be well if such portraits were oftener held up to detestation in this country, where the power of gain being universal as the passion, and balanced by no other restraints than conscience and religion, which have but little influence with the worshippers of Mammon, we are in some danger of mistaking avarice for a virtue, and the miser for a benefactor of mankind.

'Go, seek him out on yon dear Gotham's walk,
 Where traffic's venturers meet to trade and talk;
 Where Mammon's votaries bend, of each degree,
 The hard-eyed lender, and the pale lendee;

Where rogues insolvent strut in whitewashed pride,
 And shove the dupes who trusted them aside.
 How through the buzzing crowd he threads his way,
 To catch the flying rumors of the day ;
 To learn of changing stocks, of bargains crossed,
 Of breaking merchants, and of cargoes lost ;
 The thousand ills that traffic's walks invade,
 And give the heart-ach to the sons of trade.
 How cold he hearkens to some bankrupt's wo,
 Nods his wise head, and cries,—“ I told you so ;
 The thriftless fellow lived beyond his means,
 He must buy brants,—I make my folks eat beans ; ”
 What cares he for the knave, the knave's sad wife,
 The blighted prospects of an anxious life ?
 The kindly throbs that other men control,
 Ne'er melt the iron of the miser's soul ;
 Through life's dark road his sordid way he wends,
 An incarnation of fat dividends ;
 But when to death he sinks, ungrieved, unsung,
 Buoyed by the blessing of no mortal tongue ;
 No worth rewarded and no want redressed,
 To scatter fragrance round his place of rest,
 What shall that hallowed epitaph supply—
 The universal wo when good men die ?
 Cold Curiosity shall linger there,
 To guess the wealth he leaves his tearless heir ;
 Perchance to wonder what must be his doom,
 In the far land that lies beyond the tomb ; —
 Alas ! for him, if, in its awful plan,
 Heaven deal with him as he hath dealt with man.'

pp. 17, 18.

There is one of the finest pictures we remember ever to have seen, of a family, the father of which is led by ‘ curiosity ’ to visit foreign lands. The gloom of his mansion, the regrets of his wife and children, and the thoughtfulness with which he leans over the cradle, with his purpose almost shaken, are described with truth and feeling ; and powerfully wound up with a view of him, lying in the cabin of the homeward vessel, with the seal of death on his brow, till the short preparation is made for that most forlorn of all services, the funeral at sea. We have only room for the close.

‘ Cold in his cabin now,
 Death's finger-mark is on his pallid brow ;
 No wife stood by, her patient watch to keep,
 To smile on him, then turn away to weep ;

Kind woman's place rough mariners supplied,
And shared the wanderer's blessing when he died.
Wrapped in the raiment that it long must wear,
His body to the deck they slowly bear;
Even there the spirit that I sing is true,
The crew look on with sad, but curious view;
The setting sun flings round his farewell rays,
O'er the broad ocean not a ripple plays;
How eloquent, how awful in its power,
The silent lecture of death's sabbath hour;
One voice that silence breaks,—the prayer is said,
And the last rite man pays to man is paid;
The plashing waters mark his resting-place,
And fold him round in one long, cold embrace;
Bright bubbles for a moment sparkle o'er,
Then break, to be, like him, beheld no more;
Down, countless fathoms down, he sinks to sleep,
With all the nameless shapes that haunt the deep.'

pp. 24, 25.

Mr Sprague's language is simple and nervous, and his imagery brilliant and striking. There is a spirit of pervading good sense in this poem, which shows that he gives poetry its right place in his mind. Above all there is a lofty tone of thought, which indicates superiority to the affectations of the day. Notwithstanding the intimations conveyed in the close of this work, that the duties of his life are of no poetical character, we venture to hope, that some moral subject will again inspire him, and hazard nothing in predicting, that, in such an event, he will do honor to himself and the country.

ART. III.—*Suggestions respecting Improvements in Education, presented to the Trustees of the Hartford Female Seminary, and published at their Request.* By CATHARINE E. BEECHER. Hartford. Packard & Butler. 8vo. pp. 84.

MUCH of the existing evil in the world may be removed or lessened by human agency. What now is, and always has been, regarded as the most powerful means for improving the condition of our race, is education. This being so well understood, it is sometimes asked, Why, then, are the hopes of

careful and conscientious parents so often defeated in the future character of their offspring? Why is it, that the wealth lavished on education, and the unremitted labors of friends and teachers, so often yield but miserable and unsatisfactory returns; that where the good seed is sown, the harvest is nothing but weeds? We do not now inquire, as to the causes of crime and wretchedness among individuals who are borne down by poverty and ignorance; or of the low and sensual morality of nations on which the light of Christianity has not yet shone; or of those which have been for ages oppressed under absurd political systems. But why is it, that, in a country like our own, whose political institutions are wise, in which education is made an object of chief importance, it should so often prove unsuccessful in its influence on the character even of those who are most fortunately situated?

It is not our intention, at present, to enter very deeply into the discussion of these questions. It is evident, that the imperfect success of education, compared with the means used, does not arise from any want of interest in the subject. On the contrary, the whole community of our country seems to be fully aware of its importance, and is striving earnestly to increase the present means, and improve the present modes of education. Every year is adding new states to the number of those which provide free schools for the instruction of all classes. Legislatures and individuals have showered their bounty on our seminaries of learning. Every day brings forth new treatises for the use of schools and colleges, and new volumes for the instruction and amusement of youth, which, compared with those in use twenty years ago, exhibit great and manifest improvement. We behold, on every side, proofs of the earnest and constant efforts which are making to promote the welfare of the rising generation. We daily hear of new schools on improved plans, and of new systems of instruction introduced into the old. Sunday schools, too, which are now so common, are an instrument to act on the moral nature of the people, the power of which is great, and as yet, perhaps, not fully appreciated. The societies for the diffusion of knowledge, the Lyceums, and Mechanics' Institutions, the popular scientific lectures, also afford means of advancing the intellectual, and, at the same time, the moral condition of the great mass of the community, to which former ages present no parallel. And not only are the respectable

portions of the laboring classes thus incited and led to improvement ; but even those degraded outcasts, the tenants of prisons and houses of correction, have been sought out by a judicious humanity, and made the objects of the blessings of education.

However much satisfaction we may feel in contemplating the facts to which we have alluded, still we cannot but confess, that education is as yet a very imperfect instrument, compared with what it might be rendered. The object of the little volume, named at the head of this article, appears to be to show some of the causes of this imperfection, and to suggest improvements. The author is the Principal of the Hartford Female Seminary, an institution for the education of females, which has acquired a high reputation under her direction. It appears from the title-page, that it was presented to the trustees of the Seminary, and that it is published at their request. The author, after pointing out the defects in school education, states some of the modes of instruction which are pursued in her own establishment, and finally proposes certain changes in it for the consideration of the trustees.

We can truly say, that we have read this little volume with great pleasure. Not that we give our entire assent to all that the author advances, for we shall have occasion, before we finish, to controvert some of her positions ; but her book exhibits great good sense, a thorough practical knowledge of the business of instruction, and a deep and lively interest in the subject. It is evidently the work of patient reflection and careful observation ; and written in a very animated and forcible manner. Her suggestions do not all merit the praise of absolute novelty, but many of them have the higher merit of truth and correctness ; and, indeed, when we consider that, as far back as the time of Lycurgus, the science of education was, in some respects, as well understood and thoroughly practised as at present, and recollect the attention which such minds as Quintilian and Locke, to mention no others, have devoted to the subject, we shall readily believe, that what the public requires is not always to have new paths pointed out, but to be recalled to the old. We believe that few parents and few instructors can read this little volume without deriving from it something useful. And perhaps that heavy mass, the public, which is oftentimes so difficult to move, but

whose momentum is so irresistible when it is once set in motion, may be forced into action by this and similar publications.

After remarking, in the outset, how much time, labor, and money are expended to little purpose in the instruction of youth, and what service teachers might render by communicating to the public the results of their experience, the author continues as follows.

‘Most of the defects, which are continually discovered and lamented in present systems of education, may be traced, either directly or indirectly, to the fact, that the *formation of the minds of children has not been made a profession securing wealth, influence, or honor*, to those who enter it.

‘The three professions of law, divinity, and medicine, present a reasonable prospect of reputation, influence, and emolument, to active and cultivated minds. The mercantile, manufacturing, and mechanical professions, present a hope of gaining at least that *wealth* which can so readily purchase estimation and influence. But the profession of a *teacher* has not offered any such stimulus.

‘It has been looked upon as the resource of poverty, or as a drudgery suited only to inferior minds, and far beneath the aims of the intellectual aspirant for fame and influence, or of the active competitor for wealth and distinction. The consequence of this has been, as a general fact, that this profession has never, until very recently, commanded, or secured the effort of *gifted minds*. These have all forsaken this for a more lucrative or a more honorable avenue; and few have engaged in it, except those whose talents would not allow them to rise in other professions, or those who only made it a temporary resort, till better prospects should offer.

‘In all other professions, we find *bodies of men* united by a common professional interest; we find organs of public communication, in the form of *periodicals*, or of official reports; in all other professions, the improvement of distinguished minds, and the result of their successful experiments are recorded and transmitted for the benefit of those who may succeed. The duties of all other professions are deemed of so much consequence that *years* must be spent, even after a liberal education, in preparing for these *peculiar* duties; and the public are so tenacious lest these professions should be filled by persons not properly prepared, that none may be admitted, but upon an examination before those qualified by study and experience to judge of the acquisitions of each candidate.

‘Even the simple business of *making a shoe*, is deemed of such importance and difficulty as to demand an apprenticeship for *years*, and mankind are usually very cautious not to hazard em-

ploying even one of this profession who is unprepared for the business he attempts.

But to *form the mind of man* is deemed so simple and easy an affair, that no such preparation or precautions are required. *Any person* may become a teacher without any definite preparation, and without any test of skill or experience. Thousands will be found who would consider it ridiculous for a child to have his foot covered by an awkward and inexperienced artisan, who yet, without a moment's examination, would commit the formation of his mind to almost *any one* who will offer to do the business. Were our country suddenly deprived of every artist who could make a shoe, we should immediately witness frequent *combination and consultation* to supply the loss. The most ingenious would be employed to communicate to others their skill, and thousands of minds would be directing their energies to restoring this useful art to its former advance toward perfection. But the *human mind*, that spark of immortality, that wonderful origin of knowledge, invention, affection, and moral power, where has been the combined effort, the patient instruction, the collected treasures of experience, the enthusiasm of interest, which should direct in clothing this emanation of Deity with all its expanded powers, its glowing affections, and undying energies? Has it not been the desultory, disunited business of a class of persons, driven to it by necessity, performing it without the enthusiasm which glows in all other professions, and leaving it whenever a livelihood could be obtained in any other respectable way?' pp. 4—6.

Perhaps this passage may be considered as rather an exaggerated picture; but, unfortunately, its general truth cannot be questioned. The author next shows, how unfitted mothers and teachers frequently are for the business of education.

'It is to *mothers* and to *teachers*, that the world is to look for the character which is to be enstamped on each succeeding generation, for it is to them the great business of education is almost exclusively committed. And will it not appear by examination, that neither mothers nor teachers have ever been properly educated for their profession? What is *the profession of a Woman*? Is it not to form immortal minds, and to watch, to nurse, and to rear the bodily system, so fearfully and wonderfully made, and upon the order and regulation of which the health and well-being of the mind so greatly depend?

'But let most of our sex upon whom these arduous duties devolve, be asked; Have you ever devoted any time and study, in the course of your education, to any preparation for these duties? Have you been taught anything of the structure, the nature, and

the laws of the body, which you inhabit? Were you ever taught to understand the operation of diet, air, exercise, and modes of dress upon the human frame? Have the causes which are continually operating to prevent good health, and the modes by which it might be perfected and preserved, ever been made the subject of any *instruction*? Perhaps almost every voice would respond, No; we have attended to almost everything more than to this; we have been taught more concerning the structure of the earth, the laws of the heavenly bodies, the habits and formation of plants, the philosophy of language; more of *almost anything*, than the structure of the human frame and the laws of health and reason. But is it not the business, the *profession* of a woman to guard the health, and form the physical habits of the young? And is not the cradle of infancy and the chamber of sickness sacred to woman alone? And ought she not to know at least some of the *general principles* of that perfect and wonderful piece of mechanism committed to her preservation and care?

‘The *restoration* of health is the physician’s profession, but the *preservation* of it falls to other hands; and it is believed that the time will come, when woman will be taught to understand something respecting the construction of the human frame; the philosophical results which will naturally follow from restricted exercise, unhealthy modes of dress, improper diet, and many other causes, which are continually operating to destroy the health and life of the young.

‘Again, let our sex be asked respecting the instruction they have received in the course of their education, on that still more arduous and difficult department of their profession, which relates to the *intellect* and the *moral susceptibilities*. Have you been taught the powers and faculties of the human mind, and the laws by which it is regulated? Have you studied how to direct its several faculties; how to restore those that are overgrown, and strengthen and mature those that are deficient? Have you been taught the best modes of *communicating* knowledge, as well as of *acquiring* it? Have you learned the best mode of correcting bad *moral* habits, and forming good ones?’ pp. 7—9.

The remarks upon the common want of proper preparation in schoolmasters for their profession, and their consequent unfitness for it, are judicious. This is indeed a great evil, and one for which it is difficult to suggest an adequate remedy. A very large proportion of all the teachers in our country, are persons who adopt the business of instruction merely as a means of support for some short period, not intending to take it up as the profession of their lives. These individuals, however meritorious, cannot feel a deep interest

in this temporary calling. An employment, which is always extremely laborious, becomes irksome and disagreeable to those who have assumed it from necessity, not choice, and are constantly looking forward to leave it as soon as possible. With such feelings, how can they be expected to perform their duties in a manner satisfactory to themselves, or useful to their pupils. Even with the most conscientious desire of doing everything which they ought to do, they cannot feel that interest in their pupils and their pursuits, which is essential to good instructors. They will rarely exert themselves to make any improvements in the received modes of teaching; or, if they do make such exertions, will rarely have opportunity to mature and apply them successfully. It may also be remarked, that the personal characters of many men, who are in other respects estimable, totally unfit them for teachers. Should men, who are arbitrary, irritable, impatient, and passionate; or abstracted and inattentive; or cold, severe, and taciturn; ever be admitted into the office of instructors? In theory, there can be but one opinion on this subject, that such persons should never be allowed to undertake the business of teaching; yet, in practice, it is but little regarded. What effect will such instructors have on the dispositions of the youth committed to their charge?

Our author says, very justly, that many of the most serious evils in education have arisen from the want of proper school-books. There is undoubtedly much ground for complaint in this respect. Yet the evil is in a fair way to be gradually cured. In many of the books of instruction, published of late years, especially those intended for younger children, we find a more exact adaptation to the capacity and wants of the pupils; an attempt to make everything as clear and simple as possible, to give interest to the dry abstractions of science, and thus to make books the pleasant companions, instead of the severe masters, of youth. The introduction of the plan of Pestalozzi in arithmetic, for instance, by Colburn, must have led to some beneficial changes in the mode of teaching that branch of knowledge. So the improvements in the reading-books for young children must render their path up the hill of science less rugged. And we should think, that the use of a Greek lexicon with English definitions might make the study of that rich and delightful language less repulsive to young students, than it is

when the meanings of words in an unknown tongue are given in another scarcely less unknown. The introduction of English, in the place of Latin notes, in the Roman classics, is also a real and substantial improvement. What could be more absurd than to suppose that a boy, who cannot learn the meaning of twenty or thirty lines of Virgil in less than two or three hours, should be willing to task his leisure with finding out the meaning of twice the quantity of the learned notes of Father Ruæus. The dictionary and the notes, which ought to be assistants to the scholar, if in a foreign language, only perplex him with new enigmas. A great future improvement in school-books may certainly be looked for with confidence from what has already been done, and is now doing.

Our author remarks, that ‘another great defect in education, is the habit which is so often formed, of *committing to memory words*, instead of acquiring *ideas*.’ ‘To teach children to think, to reason correctly, to invent, to discover, and to perform various mental operations with speed and accuracy, to communicate ideas in suitable language, and with clearness and facility, these have been the objects of but little attention. So general is the feeling that education consists in *committing to memory facts and principles*, that a great multitude of parents and pupils would feel, that following such pursuits as discipline the mind, induce habits of correct reasoning, cultivate quick perceptions, and give a ready command of language, as of little value; and it is difficult for teachers to combat this not uncommon prejudice.

‘Another deficiency, in past modes of education, has been the neglect of using *objects of sight* to aid in illustrating and communicating ideas. It is stated by philosophers as a fact, that impressions made upon the mind by the organ of *sight* are much more vivid and abiding than those made by any other sense, and, therefore, that all ideas connected with such objects are much more readily recalled by the principle of association. Teachers also can testify to the fact, that whatever can be explained and illustrated by pictures, diagrams, or other apparatus, is much more readily comprehended, and more faithfully retained, than if mere *language* be the only method of communication. In our infant schools, which are probably founded on more philosophical principles than any other establishments for education, this principle is extensively adopted. And those who have witnessed what the infant mind can achieve, when words are not used till they are fully understood, and where *objects of sight* are combined with language in communicating instruction, can readily conceive that the same principle, applied to more matured in-

tellects, must be of incalculable benefit in securing clear, accurate, and abiding knowledge.

‘But how little has this principle been adopted in common schools, where all books are crowded with words which children do not understand, and where, in most cases, not a single object of sight is presented for their aid.’ pp. 12—14.

We have only to add our hearty assent to these remarks. One of the greatest dangers, in all systems of instruction, undoubtedly is, that it should become too formal and mechanical, that the master should content himself with following the beaten track, without ever considering whether it is the best road to his object. To appoint a task to be learned from a book, and to hear a recitation, are, in too many schools, all that is usually done or thought of. The strength of the memory, no doubt an important object, is thus increased. But the aim of the master should be, beyond this, to see that the boy understands thoroughly the subject which he is studying, that he is not permitted to take a new step till the last is firmly planted. He should endeavor to interest his pupils in whatever study they are employed upon, to animate and encourage them. No recitation should pass without a conversation between the master and his pupils. He should set before them the uses and objects of the study which they are pursuing, point out to them why they are required to engage in it, and direct their attention to everything in their lesson which should interest them. If there is anything in it difficult to be understood, he should explain it, and should urge them to ask for explanations, if he neglects to make them. He should also use such illustrations as are adapted to their minds, and endeavor to inspire them with zeal in the pursuit of the branch of knowledge which is before them. He must, if he wishes to interest them, feel a strong interest himself in the subject of his instructions. He should never for a moment suppose, that they will learn everything from books, without any assistance from him, but should constantly bear in mind, that oral communications are a far more efficient mode of instructing children than any books can be; that in addressing his pupils, he has it in his power to suit his instructions, his explanations, and illustrations, exactly to their present situation, their character, and moral and intellectual progress; all which a book can do but imperfectly; and that, if he addresses them as a friend who feels an interest in their

welfare, his voice will command their attention incomparably more than any printed volume.

We shall not attempt to give an analysis of the remainder of the publication before us; trusting that the specimens which we have already presented will be sufficient to recommend it to those who are concerned in the subject of which it treats. The author mentions as another defect in education, 'that it has not been made a *definite object* with teachers to *prepare their pupils to instruct others*;' and expresses an opinion, that 'many of the defects in the present system of education arise from the fact, that *the public have no standard by which to test the character of schools*.' She also urges very strongly the importance of introducing a greater *division of labor* into school education. Her own seminary, she thinks, affords a proof that this is 'the true principle both of *success* and *economy* in education.' This she illustrates by a comparison of the present state of the school with what it had previously been. The account of the state of things, before the principle of a division of labor was introduced, is as follows.

'The school increased for two or three years, till gradually the number had risen from fifteen to nearly one hundred; thus indicating that the *public*, at least, considered it as good as ordinary schools of that character. Being accommodated with only one room, not more than two teachers could be employed at the same time, and it generally was the case that from eight to twelve branches were taught every day, beside the exercises in writing, reading, spelling, and upon the slate. In several of these branches, owing to difference in age and capacities, one, two, or three classes were necessarily instituted, making the number of recitations so great, that not more than eight, ten, or, at most, fifteen minutes could be allowed, even to the most difficult and important recitations.

'The teachers spent their time in the following manner. Upon entering the school they commenced in the first place the business of keeping in order and quietness an assembly of youth, full of life and spirits, and many of them ready to evade every rule, were not the eye of authority continually upon the watch. To this distracting employment (enough sometimes to employ a dozen minds) was added the labor of hearing a succession of classes, at the rate of one for every eight, ten, or fifteen minutes. In attending to this, no time could be allowed to explain or illustrate. The teacher must endeavor to discover as quick as possible, if the pupil could repeat a certain set of words; if so, nothing more could be expected; if not, some extra stimulus, in the form of

reproof or inducement, must be applied, and then all that the teacher could do was accomplished; the next class must come, and thus through the day.

‘By the time the duties of the day were over, the care of governing, the vexations of irregularities and mischief, the labor of hearing such a number and variety of lessons, and the *sickness of heart* occasioned by feeling that *nothing was done well*, were sufficient to exhaust the animal strength and spirits, and nothing more could be attempted, till the next day arose to witness the same round of duties. While attempting to teach in this manner, the writer felt that no single duty of a teacher could possibly be performed. The pupils could not be taught to *read*, or *write*, or *spell*, though many of them came most imperfectly prepared, even in these very first parts of education. No study could be understood by the pupil, nor in a single branch could the teacher prepare *herself* to instruct. All was a round of haste, imperfection, irregularity, and the mere mechanical commitment of words to memory, without any chance of obtaining a clear and definite idea of a single branch of knowledge.’ pp. 21–23.

We have only room for a part of the account of the improvements since adopted.

‘The accommodations consist of one large hall, where the pupils assemble for all the general exercises of the school, and where they are expected to study when not engaged in other school duties. Beside this, there are *ten* other rooms employed for the other purposes of instruction, such as a Library, Lecture Room, and Recitation Rooms. Most of these are furnished with black boards, and in some cases all the sides of the rooms are devoted to this purpose. *Eight* teachers are employed, and to each one the care of not more than one or two branches is committed. Beside these, there is a class of *eight* or *ten* *assistant pupils* employed, who are preparing to become teachers, and who have the care of instructing one class an hour each day, in some particular branch. Each teacher receives her classes at regular hours, in a recitation room devoted exclusively to her use, and is allowed an *hour* for the purpose of hearing and explaining each lesson. Each teacher is considered as responsible for the improvement of all who attend to the study in which she instructs. It is expected that, by reading and study, she will qualify herself to teach it *thoroughly*, and, at the close of the term, that she conduct the public examination of her classes in this particular branch.

‘Beside the division of labor in the communication of knowledge, one other arrangement has greatly contributed to the best interest of the school. One teacher is exclusively occupied, as *governess*, in enforcing the rules of neatness, order, and propriety, and in administering the government of the school. She sits in

the hall which is devoted to study, to see that perfect quiet is preserved; she is the person from whom all permissions are sought; she attends to the regular departure and return of the classes to and from the recitation rooms; and in short relieves the other teachers from all care except that of communicating knowledge. No arrangement has more effectually contributed to the comfort and prosperity of the institution than this.' pp. 24, 25.

The author afterwards gives an account of the mode of instruction pursued in different branches of science, and what she considers necessary to be taught in each of them. Many of her observations are valuable. The mode pursued in teaching the art of composition, for instance, shows a careful attention to the subject; and we are not at all surprised at the success which the author represents to have attended it. We doubt, however, the expediency of requiring pupils to imitate or *parody* particular sentences from good writers. Such a course must tend to produce servile imitation and mannerism.

Connected with the division of labor, the author urges very strongly the necessity of having one person devoted to the formation of the moral character of the pupils.

'We have yet to learn,' she says, 'what could be effected, were the cultivation of the social feelings, and the formation and correction of the moral character and habits, the distinct department of one person, who should by talents and experience be suitably qualified. To fill such a station, it would indeed task to their utmost limit all the powers of intellect, the resources of knowledge, and the affections of the heart.

'The writer holds that it ought to be a maxim in education, that THERE IS NO DEFECT IN CHARACTER, HABITS, OR MANNERS, BUT IS SUSCEPTIBLE OF REMEDY. Heretofore it has too often been the case, that teachers and guardians of youth, when they have found bad habits and bad dispositions existing in their pupils, have felt that these were evils that they must learn to *bear with* and *control*, rather than peculiarities which must be *cured* and *eradicated*. But this is not so. Let a teacher have sufficient time and facilities afforded, let her make this a definite and express object, let her seek to learn from the experience of others the various operations of the human mind, let her study the various methods of controlling the understanding, the conscience, and the natural affections, and there is scarce anything she may not hope to effect. A selfish disposition can be made generous; a morose temper can be made kind; a reserved character can be made open and frank; an indolent mind can be stimulated to activity; pettishness and ill-humor can be changed to patient cheer-

fulness; a stubborn and unsubdued spirit can be made docile and tractable; vanity and heedless levity can be subdued; negligence in dress and personal habits can be remedied; uncouth or disagreeable manners or habits can be cured; *anything* can be effected in a mind endued with reason, conscience, and affection, if proper efforts are made, and proper facilities afforded.' pp. 43, 44.

'Let us suppose an institution where the pupils are all members of the same family, and in this establishment one teacher of suitable qualifications devoted to the formation and regulation of the moral character and the social feelings. Let it then become a prominent object with this teacher to gain the confidence and affection of the pupils. In accomplishing this it would be indispensable, that all the benevolent and generous affections of her own heart should be cultivated and in active exercise. Let her endeavor to discover all the *good* and *interesting traits* in the character of her pupils, that she may become *really* interested in them, and thus regulated by *affection* in all her efforts for them. This is the only way to secure their confidence, and to make them feel that all that is said and done is the offspring of kindness, and intended for their happiness. Let her also endeavor to make them acquainted with *her own* peculiar characteristics and feelings, and thus gain their esteem and affection; let her come to them with all the authority of a teacher, the affability of a companion, and the affection of a friend, and what might she not accomplish in correcting bad habits and forming good ones?

'In addition to this, let her be able to command the aid and coöperation of all the other teachers of the institution. From them she can learn their failings and their improvement, and to them communicate her views, and direct those efforts and that moral suasion, which can be used by others as well as herself in restraining and correcting faults.' pp. 46, 47.

The following remarks seem to us deserving of attention.

'Another defect in education has arisen from the fact, that teachers have depended too much upon *authority*, and too little upon the *affections*, in guiding the objects of their care. It is not uncommon to see teachers, in their intercourse with pupils, feeling it necessary to maintain a dignity and reserve, which keeps their scholars at such a distance as prevents all assimilation of feeling and interest.

'But if teachers possess such a character as, when known, entitles to respect; if they are firm and decided in making and enforcing the regulations that are necessary; if they take sufficient pains to show their pupils, that every regulation has their comfort and improvement as the primary object; if they can gain their confidence and affection, the decided and dictatorial voice of authority is seldom required. A request is the most

effectual command; a kind and affectionate remonstrance the most severe reproof. Teachers can mingle with pupils as companions, and gain a thousand times more respect and influence than could be gained at the most elevated and imposing distance. And they can cause the principles of assimilation and imitation, which are so powerful in forming the young mind, to act only in familiar contact with those committed to their care; and for this very reason every teacher of youth needs to make the cultivation of easy, affectionate, and affable manners, an object of especial attention. But while alluding to this defect, it ought to be remembered, that oftentimes teachers are so oppressed with care and responsibility, and their efforts are so constantly needed in discharging other duties, that it is *impossible* to seek a frequent and familiar intercourse with their pupils. Yet still it is believed, that if teachers generally would make this a *definite object* of attention and effort, more than double the influence could be exerted over the minds of their charge; for the *wishes* of a beloved teacher have unspeakably more influence, than the *authority* of one who is always beheld only at a respectful distance.

‘For these and other reasons, it seems of great importance that the formation of the female character should be committed to the female hand. It will be long, if ever, before the female mind can boast of the accurate knowledge, the sound judgment, and ready discrimination, which the other sex may claim. But if the mind is to be guided chiefly by means of the affections; if the regulation of the disposition, the manners, the social habits, and the moral feelings are to be regarded before the mere acquisition of knowledge, is not *woman* best fitted to accomplish these important objects? Beside this, in order to secure the correction and formation of intellectual and moral character, which is deemed so important, it is necessary that a degree of familiarity of intercourse, at all times and places, an intimate knowledge of feelings, affections, and weaknesses be sought by a teacher, which is not practicable or proper for one of the other sex to attain.

‘It may be said, and said truly, that women are not prepared by *sufficient knowledge* to become teachers in many branches. But they *can be prepared*, and where they are not so well qualified as one of the other sex, they so often excel in patience and persevering interest, as to more than counterbalance the deficiency.

‘The writer cannot but believe, that all female institutions, for these and *many other reasons*, ought to be conducted exclusively by females, *so soon as suitable teachers of their own sex can be prepared.*’ pp. 49–51.

Some disadvantages undoubtedly attend on all places of

instruction where a large number of pupils are brought together. One of the greatest is, that the instructors cannot be sufficiently intimate with the pupils. Whether this evil is remedied by the proposal to have one person entirely devoted to the moral character of the pupils, as is proposed by our author, seems to us a little questionable. One person cannot obtain an intimate knowledge of the character of a hundred young ladies at the same time. Besides, is there not danger that, by making morals the peculiar charge of one instructor; all the rest may become forgetful of their responsibility for the good character and conduct of their pupils?

We would not, however, have it thought that we disagree with our author as to the importance of a greater attention to moral culture in all places of education. On the contrary, there is much reason to fear, that the formation of the moral character is too often lost sight of by instructors. Not that this object is not understood, or that it has not been duly considered in treatises on education, or even that all teachers are insensible to its importance; but merely that, in many schools, academies, and colleges, as commonly conducted, the cultivation of the moral powers and feelings is not made so constant and direct an object of attention as it should be, and as we trust it will become in the gradual progress of improvement.

ART. IV.—*Elements of Technology, taken chiefly from a Course of Lectures delivered at Cambridge, on the Application of the Sciences to the Useful Arts. Now published for the Use of Seminaries and Students.* By JACOB BIGELOW, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica, and late Rumford Professor in Harvard University; Corresponding Secretary of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Member of the American Philosophical Society; of the Linnæan Societies of London and Paris, &c. Boston. Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 8vo. pp. 507. 1829.

THE word Technology gives but an imperfect idea of the contents of this volume. The end of a name would have been better answered by some title showing, that it treated

of the scientific and practical principles of many of the useful, curious, and elegant arts. All the arts may safely be called useful; it would be difficult to bring one to mind, which has not been, or might not be, made to 'promote the benefit of society,' and all probably owe their remote origin to that necessity which has so long been recognised as the mother of inventions. But what are the elegant arts, if not some of those treated of in this volume, Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, Engraving? And what objects of Art are more curious than the Steam Engine, the Hydrostatic Press, the beautiful exhibition of mechanical contrivance called a Governor, checking or hastening, almost of itself, the too rapid or too tardy action of water or of steam; the Hydraulic Ram of Mongolfier, creating a perennial fountain by the simple passage of the current of an open river through a tube; or the machine called Barker's Mill, in which, without wheels or flume, corn is ground by the reacting force of a stream of water spouting against the empty air?

Everything however, in the volume, has a practical tendency, and is suited to fulfil the intentions of the founder of the Rumford Professorship, from the chair of which the lectures of Dr Bigelow were delivered.

'A certain degree of acquaintance with the theory and scientific principles of the common arts, is found so generally important, that most educated men, in the course of an ordinary practical life, are obliged to obtain it from some source, or to suffer inconvenience for the want of it. He who builds a house, or buys an estate, if he would avoid disappointment and loss, must know something of the arts which render them appropriate and tenantable. He who travels abroad to instruct himself, or enlighten his countrymen, finds in the works of art the most commanding objects of his attention and interest. He who remains at home, and limits his ambition to the more humble object of keeping his apartment warm, and himself comfortable, can only succeed through the instrumentality of the arts.

'There has probably never been an age in which the practical applications of science have employed so large a portion of the talent and enterprise of the community, as in the present; nor one in which their cultivation has yielded such abundant rewards. And it is not the least of the distinctions of our own country, to have contributed to the advancement of this branch of improvement, by many splendid instances of inventive genius, and successful perseverance.

'The importance of the subject, and the prevailing interest

which exists, in regard to the arts and their practical influences, appear to me to have created a want, not yet provided for, in our courses of elementary education. Information on these subjects is scattered through the larger works on mechanics, on chemistry, mineralogy, engineering, architecture, domestic economy, the fine arts, &c., so that it rarely happens, that a student in any of our colleges gathers information enough to understand the common technical terms which he meets with in a modern book of travels, or periodical work. It is only by making the elements of the arts themselves subjects of direct attention, that this deficiency is likely to be supplied.' pp. iii, iv.

Such are the purposes for which the lectures were originally written, and for which the substance of them is now given to the public. Probably few young men, during the last twenty years, have come out from their courses of study at college into the business and interests of the world, without feeling more or less of the want, of which Dr Bigelow speaks. The great end of a rightly conducted education is, to bring out and give the complete exercise of one's faculties ; and so long as the possession of a clear judgment, a quick apprehension, a fine taste, a correct mode of reasoning, and the right and ready use of language shall continue to be desirable, something like the system now pursued at our highest places of education will undoubtedly be continued.

But these are not enough. There is this great want to be supplied. The young graduate finds the conversation of people in society occupied with subjects that are new to him, on which he feels, notwithstanding, that he is expected to be better informed than others. He has long had his best thoughts absorbed with the principles of science ; he is eagerly looking round for their applications. In considering the connexion he is to have with the productive classes of society, he sees how important it is to him, in whatever relation he is to stand to them, to have some knowledge of their pursuits. He is surrounded by the products of the arts ; his necessities are supplied, his taste is gratified by them ; he wishes to understand how the raw productions of nature have been so skilfully and beautifully converted into the fabrics which minister to his use and convenience, and give such facilities to his advancement. What are the combinations of machinery, which have, in a few years, in the manufacture of cotton, woollen, and iron, increased the productive labor of a great nation in a two-fold or threefold degree ? What are the modifications in the

application of steam, which are so changing the face and condition of parts of our own country and of others, opening new regions to the light of society and commerce, and bringing near each other the inhabitants of distant climates? What are the inventions to which he hears such frequent reference, as proving the great superiority of the age, and which have exercised, and brought forward to public view, the genius of Watt and Fulton, Arkwright and Perkins?

He has curiosity of a higher kind. He has not drawn so long from the Greek and Roman fountains, without imbibing an undefined reverence for the hitherto unseen and almost unimagined excellence of creative art in painting, architecture, and sculpture. What are these charming arts of Greece and Italy, which the highest and noblest have admired most? What were the slow advances, what the coincidence of sagacity and fortune, urged by what necessity, or what inspiration, has Grecian skill converted the log hut of the savage Pelasgian into the temple of Virgin Athené or of Olympian Jupiter? What is the art by which Phidias could so give the form of life to marble,

‘*Che non sembiava imagine che tace*’?

To gratify, and still more to excite this curiosity, and to supply this want, are the tendency and object of the *Elements of Technology*. Such have undoubtedly been the effects of Dr Bigelow's lectures, and many will recollect with what interest and advantage they were heard. As a textbook, this work is likely to be still more useful. It may offer the occasion, as it gives the means, of forming, in many places of education, a new department or a new study, as important undoubtedly, and capable of being rendered as attractive, as any study or department whatever.

The object of such a department would be the application of the principles of philosophy to the arts and pursuits of men. And philosophy should be here understood in its most extensive sense, as comprehending, not only what has been fixed by the principles of science, but what has been discovered by experience and observation, or brought accidentally to light, in whatever concerns the external accommodation of the solitary or social man, facilitates his intercourse immediately or remotely with his species, gives him power over the elements and the productions of the earth, or enables him to extend his inquiries above or below him, and to penetrate

into the hidden parts of the creation. Such a department, or course of instruction, should not take the place of any other now existing, but should be superadded, as the key-stone of the arch, to give completeness and solidity to the fabric of education.

At the end of an elaborate, but somewhat flattering, comparative estimate of the character of the arts of ancient and modern times, we have the author's opinion of the value of the study we are recommending, which we are glad to bring forward in support of the view we have taken.

‘Let any one, who would know what modern arts have accomplished, compare the repeating watch, and the unerring chronometer of the present day, with the rude sun-dial and clepsydra of the ancients. Let him consider the multiplied advantages which attend the invention of glass, which has enabled us to combine light with warmth in our houses; which has given sight to the aged, which has opened the heavens to the astronomer, and the wonders of microscopic life to the naturalist. Let him attend to the complicated engines and machinery, which are now introduced into almost every manufacturing process, and which render the physical laws of inert matter, a substitute for human strength.

‘But it is not the contrast with antiquity alone, that enables us to appreciate the benefits which modern arts confer. In the present inventive age, even short periods of time bring with them momentous changes. Every generation takes up the march of improvement, where its predecessors had stopped, and every generation leaves to its successors an increased circle of advantages and acquisitions. Within the memory of many who are now upon the stage, new arts have sprung up, and practical inventions, with dependent sciences; bringing with them consequences which have diverted the industry, and changed the aspect of civilized countries. The augmented means of public comfort and of individual luxury, the expense abridged, and the labor superseded, have been such, that we could not return to the state of knowledge which existed even fifty or sixty years ago, without suffering both intellectual and physical degradation. At that time philosophy was far distant from its present mature state, and the arts which minister to national wealth were in comparative infancy. No man then knew the composition of the atmosphere, or of the ocean. The beautiful and intricate machinery, which weaves the fabric of our clothing, was not even in existence. When George the Third visited the works of Messrs Boulton and Watt at Birmingham, and was told that they were manufacturing an article of which kings were fond, and that that article was power; he was struck with the force and disadvan-

tageousness of the comparison. Yet the steam-engine had not then been launched upon the ocean, and had developed only half its energies.

‘So long as the arts continue to exert the influence, and to yield the rewards, which they have hitherto done, there will be no want of competent minds and hands, to carry forward their advancement. With their increasing consequence, there must also be an increasing attention to their study and dissemination. Curiosity keeps pace with the interest and magnitude of its objects. And unless the character of the present age is greatly mistaken, the time may be anticipated as near, when a knowledge of the elements and language of the arts will be as essentially requisite to a good education, as the existence of the same arts is to the present elevated condition of society.’ pp. 5, 6.

Dr Bigelow’s book is well suited to be the foundation of a course of instruction in this study. It is not, as might, from looking over its contents, be thought, a superficial work, gleaned hastily from books of science, and treatises on the arts, but evidently the fruit of much study and research, carried on for ten years, with the leading view of collecting, on the subjects which it embraces, what is best ascertained and of most important practical bearing. Except in the introduction, the author, throughout the work, confines himself to giving the clearest and most satisfactory account possible of the object he is describing, and he must often, one would think, have exercised great self-denial in avoiding all speculation, when most inviting, and all subjects of associated interest. His descriptions are very much condensed; sometimes, perhaps, too much so. An indolent or superficial reader would be likely to consider this a defect. For the purpose of a text-book it is an excellence, as it increases, without obscurity, the mass of materials far beyond what could have been presented, by a different mode, within the same compass.

It is strictly what it professes to be; and one who should take it as the basis of instruction in the subjects of which it treats, having thus furnished to his hand all the essential materials for his lectures, all that requires the greatest research to collect and the most care to arrange and express, might give his undivided attention to those less important but often more interesting particulars, of a historical, discursive, or speculative nature, which might be employed to introduce and recommend the solid utility of the substance of the book.

The first chapter is upon the materials used in the arts,

taken from the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. To make it interesting as it might be made, access should be open to a cabinet richly stored with the spoils of the ocean and the land, from the bone that lines the mouth of the whale, to the horn of the wild ox * of Brazil, or the buffalo of Missouri, and the tusk of the elephant ; the soft skin and hair of the goat of Cashmere, and fur from the northern lakes ; specimens of each variety of wood, or stone, or metal, of ornament or use, whether growing in our native forests, or taken from the quarries beneath them, or brought from the shores and mines of distant countries ;

‘ Oro ed argento fino, e cocco, e biacca,
Indico legno lucido e sereno,
Fresco smeraldo.’

In describing them, it would be more difficult to avoid, than to select valuable and curious facts in natural history to enliven the details.

The second chapter treats of the form, condition, and strength of materials, and begins, as do most of the chapters, with exact definitions of the language to be employed. Among the authorities referred to at the end of the chapter, we miss an illustrious name. The first treatise upon this most remarkable and useful branch of mechanics was written by Galileo, with an elegance and simplicity which make his works the delight of the scholar, as they are and always have been the pride of his countrymen. His original treatise contains the clearest elementary views that have, perhaps, at any time been given ; and the best illustrations are still drawn from the same source.

Let it not be thought, that the name of Galileo is irrelevant, when we are speaking of a subject which owes its origin, the best of its methods, and the most beautiful of its illustrations, to the unacknowledged ingenuity and patience of this great man.

Chapter third is upon the arts of writing and printing. The first section, upon the modes of transmitting knowledge before the invention of letters, ends with the following observations.

* Not less than seven distant places in South America send to the comb-makers in New England contributions of horns from the great herd of wild cattle, that roam the interminable plains from Patagonia to the bay of Honduras, and a practised eye distinguishes by the twist of the horn the region from which each came.

‘The founders of the Pyramids have not been able to convey to us their names, and the productions of the earliest sages and poets can never be appreciated from acquaintance. The symbolic sculptures, which cover the antiquities of Egypt, are now subjects of empty speculation to the curious. History must have remained uncertain and fabulous, and science been left in perpetual infancy, had it not been for the invention of written characters.’ p. 53.

If the portion upon the invention of letters had been written a few months after the time at which, as we understand, it was sent to the press, the author would doubtless have caught some hints from the investigations of Champollion and the other publications upon the subject of Egyptian hieroglyphics, in regard to this invention, and might have been led to consider the ‘symbolic sculptures’ as subjects of something more than ‘empty speculation.’ The only purpose for which we now refer to these very curious discoveries, is to notice the light, which the mode pursued in deciphering the hieroglyphics has thrown upon the hitherto dark path, by which the human mind was led on to the invention of letters.

This most important of inventions may well be, as it has been, considered the most ingenious or most fortunate that has ever been made by the human mind. If we could trace it, in its several steps, we should probably find that the first hint was suggested by necessity or furnished by accident, that this was gradually wrought upon by patient and sagacious thought, and carried out to its perfection by that divine instinct of fine minds, which forbids their resting satisfied with what is faulty or incomplete.

After the obvious invention of picture-writing, or the representation of visible objects by delineating their figures, and the higher and more difficult invention of hieroglyphics, representing ideas or abstract qualities by the figures of objects having a real or supposed resemblance to them, it became necessary, on the monumental structures of the Egyptians, to represent the names of individuals. When a name was significant, as are most proper names among rude nations, it would be an obvious device to delineate the figure of the object, of which the name was significant, with some mark to show that it was not to be understood symbolically. Thus, the figure of a wolf or a cross, sculptured upon the stone, would call to mind an individual who had borne one of these names.

Compound names of the same kind, such as *wood-house*, *Horne-man*, *Dart-mouth*, would present no greater difficulty ; and in a language almost entirely made up of monosyllables, as the ancient language of Egypt is said to have been, nearly all the syllables were probably significative, and the syllables of most frequent occurrence significative of the most common visible objects. In such a language it would not be difficult to represent to the eye such a word as *Spi-ne-to*, by objects which should immediately recall the sounds of which it is composed.

This mode once adopted with significant names, or names made up of significant syllables, would be easily extended to those of different structure. Where it was found impossible exactly to hit the sound, an approximation might be made to it. In most cases, the sound of only a single syllable, or a single letter, would be indicated by a single figure, to a people speaking a language nearly monosyllabic. Where an object suggested more than one simple sound, choice or necessity might lead to consider it as representing only the initial sound. The figure of a *pen*, a *seal*, or a *vase*, would thus suggest only the sound of *p*, of *s*, or of *v* ; and the figures of a *hand*, a *ring*, the *mouth*, and a *seal*, would express the name *Hermes*. The vowel-sounds need not be expressed, as they are omitted, to this day, in several of the oriental languages.

The Egyptian would thus have been furnished with the means of expressing any proper name in characters significant of sounds only ; and it is precisely in this way, that the names of *Ptolomæus* and *Cleopatra* are found expressed on the famous Rosetta Stone, which has acted so important a part in so far solving the riddle of Egyptian hieroglyphics.

It would apparently not require a great stretch of sagacity to discover, that the figures which had been employed to express the sounds of which proper names are composed, might be applied to the expression of the sounds of all other words, and we are thus furnished with an alphabet of letters, made up of the figures of the most common visible objects. The difficulty and trouble of representing these accurately would gradually lead to the use of the outline of figures, instead of the figures themselves, or a part for the whole, so that at length only a rude resemblance would remain to the form of the original object.

The figures and names of the Hebrew letters are such as

they would have been, if invented in the way we have here supposed. A resemblance, more or less distant, to the whole or a part of such objects as the bull, a house, a camel, a door, is still to be traced in these letters, and is said to be still more striking in those of the more ancient Phœnician alphabet. The Phœnicians, according to Mr Astle, as quoted by Dr Bigelow, are thought to have the best claims to be considered the inventors of letters; and it is in their alphabet, that we most clearly perceive indications of their having been invented in the way we have endeavored to trace.

From the invention of letters, Dr Bigelow proceeds to the materials used, at different periods, in writing, and to whatever is most curious in the arts of printing and stereotyping, as they are now practised. Probably no part of the volume will be so new to the greater number of readers as this chapter. The concluding remarks are curious, as showing how near an approach had, more than once, been made to the art of printing, previous to its invention.

‘Although printing with moveable types is exclusively a modern art, yet there are some steps in the discovery, which have claim to greater antiquity. The Chinese have printed with their characters for more than nine hundred years, but as the nature of this character requires that much should be expressed by a single figure, they are obliged to cut each character with all its complications in a block of wood, so that their method resembles a limited kind of stereotype printing.

‘Among the relics of ancient Rome, there have been found letters cut in brass and raised above the surface exactly like our printing types. Some of these contain the names of individuals, and from their shape and appendages, were evidently used for the purpose of signature, the letters being small, smooth, and even, while the ground beneath them is unequal, and rough, so that they must have been employed, not for impressions into soft substances, but for printing with colored liquids, on a surface like parchment or paper. Had the individuals, whose names were thus printed, been visited with the thought, that, by separating the letters, they might print the name of another, it is probable that the art would have been at once discovered, and that the dark ages might never have happened.’ pp. 69, 70.

To illustrate skilfully the chapter upon designing and painting, would require the knowledge and taste of a painter. With a few engravings, however, and a few pictures, the subject might be made perfectly plain and interesting. Without such illustration, and the instruments referred to or described

in this chapter, it is not venturing much to say, that by most persons the observations on perspective would not be understood. This is true of only a small part of the chapter. The greater portion of it, and the whole of the next two chapters, on engraving and lithography, and on sculpture, modelling, and casting, are in the highest degree interesting, and perfectly intelligible. It is needless to remark, how much a collection of good engravings in the different styles here described, a specimen or two of the metal plates engraved, of the stone and other materials used in lithography, of casts and *bas reliefs*, in plaster and in bronze, and a few engraved gems, cameos and intaglios, and mosaics, would add to the impression made on the mind of the learner.

But the most interesting and satisfactory portion of the volume, both from its subject and the full and successful manner in which it is treated, is the chapter upon architecture and building. The history of architecture and sculpture, if it could be fully written, would be the history of many of the noblest exertions of the human mind, from its first asserting its nature in the most remote antiquity, in the happiest and most flourishing periods of the great empires, and in their decline, through that period, which, with this history, might cease to be considered dark, down to the present day. It would trace these arts from their original caves among the troglodytes of ancient Ethiopia, the present country of the Abyssinians and Nubians, distinguished even in that remote age by traits of feature and form which we are wont to regard with pity or contempt as the marks of an inferior nature.

As far as can be learnt from the earliest and most authentic remains of art and tradition, dark-colored men, with flat faces and limbs not so straight as ours, were the first cultivators of the infant art. They dwelt in lime-stone caves in the hill country about the sources or between the branches of the Nile. Emerging, at whatever period, from these abodes, they built houses for their kings, and temples for their gods, in that massy style which most nearly resembled the sides of the caverns in which they had been reared. They descended the Nile, carrying with them arts, religion, and commerce. Elder Thebes was their colony. The Egyptians were their pupils, and perhaps their children. Under that splendid hierarchy of their priests, which had already fallen into decay when the materials for the first profane history which has

reached us were collecting, the valley of the Nile became richer, not only in corn, with which it supplied the wants of its neighbors, but in temples and cities, in colossal statues, in obelisks and pyramids, than any country the sun has ever risen upon. One of its works, and that too under ground, the labyrinth, Herodotus* pronounced to have cost more labor than the pyramids, or than all the public buildings of Greece. Here architecture had a purpose, it spoke a language. Wisdom and might of the Deity were the language of the Sphinx. The obelisk, which we attempt to imitate, but dare not dream of equalling, sacred to the sun, may have been a visible representation of a ray of his light, or an imitation of the figure of flame, one of the earliest objects of adoration, and not unfitly representing the creative, preserving, and destroying power of Deity.

A similar style of architecture and sculpture was carried by the same, or a kindred race, through Syria into Persia, and Southern India, and may still be seen in the ruins of Persepolis, and in the temples of Elephantæ and Ellora. Is it not the same, too, which the genius of the Greeks has perfected, in the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian? Is it possible that Cadmus and Cecrops, and other forgotten captains and legislators; that Thales and Pythagoras, and others who studied in Egyptian schools, should have taken, along with the letters and sciences which they carried home to Greece, no drawings of columns and statues? Is the resemblance in shape and proportions, between the reeded pillars † of Luxor and the fluted Doric, and between the lotus capital of Latopolis and the acanthus capital of Corinth, accidental?

The origin of the orders of Grecian architecture is, notwithstanding, considered uncertain. The account the Greeks themselves give of it, as we learn from Vitruvius, is deserving of at least something better than the contempt with which it is spoken of by Wilkins.‡

* Euterpe, 148.

† The origin ascribed to the peculiar form of the Egyptian pillars is curious and probable. They are supposed to have been meant to resemble bundles of the sacred lotus, fastened together at intervals, and having the leaves bending downwards at top, forming the capital.

‡ In reference to the Egyptian origin of architecture, the ingenious Mr Wilkins, with almost marvellous inconsistency, calls that nation *contemptible*,—those fathers of the sciences and arts, whom the ancients, with singular unanimity, revered also for their virtues and

At some remote period, according to the Roman architect, Achaia and all the Peloponnesus were under the dominion of Dorus, a son of Hellen and the nymph Opticho. In a temple, which this prince erected in honor of Juno, in the ancient city of Argos, he had the good *fortune* to hit upon a style of building, which from him has since been called Doric. The same style was from that time adopted in the other sacred edifices erected in the cities of Achaia, although no exact proportions had yet been fixed upon to guide in their erection.

In after times, by command of the Delphian oracle, and with the common consent of all Hellas, the Athenians sent thirteen colonies into Asia, under the supreme command of Ion, an acknowledged son of Apollo. Under his guidance these colonies landed on the coast of Asia, dispossessed the native Carians and Leleges, and founded thirteen powerful cities in the fertile region, to which, in honor of their leader, they gave the name of Ionia. There they established the worship of the immortal gods, and began to erect temples. And first to Apollo Panionius, the god of all the Ionians, they erected a temple in imitation of those they had seen in Achaia, and called it Doric, from being built in the style first adopted in Dorian cities.

Desirous, however, to introduce in this building columns of new and settled proportions, which should, at the same time, be beautiful to the sight, and suited to give a firm support to the weight which rested upon them, ('ad onus ferendum essent idoneæ, et in aspectu probatam haberent venustatem,') they bethought themselves to measure the foot of a man, and compare it with his height. The proportions they transferred to the Doric column, the height of which with its capital was, from this circumstance, made six times its diameter at the base. Thus the Doric column first exhibited in architecture the proportion, firmness, and majesty of the form of man.

In the columns of a temple to Diana, they introduced the more graceful proportions of the female form. These columns were made eight diameters in height. A slight base

their wisdom. The learned Gouget says of them, 'Aucune nation, de quelque côté qu'on l'envisage, n'a fait dans les anciens temps plus d'honneur à l'humanité.' See '*Origine des Loix, des Arts et des Sciences*,' Vol. I. p. 44.

was in imitation of the slipper ; the volutes, of the curls of hair on each side of the face ; the cimatia and other ornaments, of the ringlets on the forehead, and the flutings, of the folds of the robe. The proportions, Vitruvius says, were improved by the better taste of a later age ; and this beautiful style of architecture, thus first adopted by the Ionian colonists, has been ever since called the Ionic order.

The Corinthian column, the lightest of the three, has the slender and nymph-like proportions, and more delicate ornaments, of the virgin age. The story of the invention of its capital has been often told. A young maiden of Corinth died. Her nurse arranged the vases, in which she had delighted while alive, in a basket, and placed it upon the top of her tomb, with a tile upon it to protect them from the weather. The basket had accidentally been set upon a root of acanthus, which, as spring drew near, threw out its leaves and shoots, and climbed up the sides of the basket. On reaching the tile on the top, they were forced outward, and made to assume the curve, which we still see in the Corinthian volutes. It chanced that Callimachus, who, from the elegance and skill with which he wrought in marble, was known among the Athenians by the name of 'the artist,' passed by, and, charmed with the gracefulness and beauty of the arrangement of the leaves, and their position on the top of the monument, adopted them as the most appropriate capital of the columns he was raising at Corinth.*

Such is the account which Vitruvius gives us of the origin and proportions of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns ; and which Mr Wilkins dismisses with the easy and unauthorized declaration, that it is a dream. The story itself is not altogether improbable, and although it would be rash to vouch for, and perhaps impossible to prove, its truth, it is unphilosophical, as well as presumptuous, to reject it altogether, without giving historical or other reasons for so severe a judgment. We have too much of this hasty criticism, which pro-

* We have thrown the substance of the account of Vitruvius into our own language, as the translation of Vitruvius, which is usually quoted when reference is made to this author, fails, in several important particulars, of giving correctly the full force of the original. The word *fortuito*, Mr Wilkins has not translated at all, although it is against this word that one of his sarcasms is directed. See *Wilkins's Vitruvius*, and *Liber Quartus, Caput Primum*, of the unpagged Venetian edition of the original.

nounces whatever is of doubtful authority an *impossibility* or a *dream*. There is hardly a strange custom among unknown nations to which these hard words have not at some time been applied. The instances of Herodotus and Marco Polo are almost too notorious to be mentioned, of men, who, having been for ages, from the ignorance of their readers, disbelieved, have been found at last substantially, and often most minutely, correct.

Neither are the circumstances of this story entirely inconsistent with what is probably the real, remote origin of the Grecian orders. It may have been the good *fortune* of Dorus to employ an architect, who had received his education, with numbers of his countrymen, in Egypt, and who would naturally adopt a mode of building with which he had been familiar. So, indeed, might the Ionian architects, borrowing the idea of a column from the beautiful examples in Thebes and Memphis, give it the definite proportions which it wanted, and that perfection of elegance to which nothing in Egypt had attained, by the profound and poetical study of the human form, which has long been, among artists, considered the measure and the perfection of every object of art. And Callimachus may have been familiar with the capitals of Egyptian columns, and yet have borrowed a hint from some accident like that related, prompted, as he would have been, by the pride of skill, which could be so much more fully displayed upon the rich and waving leaf of the acanthus, than upon the simple outline of the lotus leaf. The history of inventions in all the arts fully shows, that it is more frequently the prerogative of genius to pursue to perfection some casual hint, than to soar at once, unassisted, into the heaven of invention. The creations of Grecian genius leave enough for the admiration of posterity, even if we do not add the merit of the first invention to that of having perfected all the arts they touched upon.

What a picture of the vigorous action of the mind, of the character of the society, and of the genius of the religion of Greece would the succeeding chapters of our history present. What illustrations it would afford the scholar, of passages or words in almost every writer; from the treasure houses in Homer to the descriptions of tombs and temples in Pausanias. In the last period of the art, it would introduce us to what may be called the poetry of architecture, the

most curious and the most imposing of all the styles—the Gothic architecture, which, notwithstanding the fastidiousness of the southern taste, will long continue to command the admiration of the northern nations, with the wild songs and irregular dramas of the romantic school of poetry.

On this part of the subject, it would have been well if Dr Bigelow had been more full. There is no part of the history of the art, so little known in this country, indeed there is hardly a branch of any art so little known, as the different modes, the different eras, and the best examples of Gothic architecture; and there is certainly none more fully deserving and more sure to reward inquiry.

The section concludes with what is called, by a well known term, the application.

‘In edifices erected at the present day, the Grecian and Gothic outlines, are commonly employed to the exclusion of the rest. In choosing between them, the fancy of the builder, more than any positive rule of fitness, must direct the decision. Modern dwelling-houses have necessarily a style of their own, as far as stories and apartments, and windows and chimnies, can give them one. No more of the styles of former ages can be applied to them, than what may be called the unessential and decorative parts. In general, the Grecian style, from its right angles and straight entablatures, is more convenient and fits better with the distribution of our common edifices, than the pointed and irregular Gothic. The expense, also, is generally less, especially if anything like thorough and genuine Gothic is attempted; a thing, however, rarely undertaken as yet, in this country. But the occasional introduction of the Gothic outline, and the partial employment of its ornaments, have undoubtedly an agreeable effect, both in public and private edifices; and we are indebted to it, among other things, for the spire, a structure exclusively Gothic, which, though often misplaced, has become an object of general approbation, and a pleasing landmark to our cities and villages.’ p. 152.

We would beg leave here to suggest the want and the value of some exact information, and some wholesome suggestions, in regard to what would properly be called domestic architecture. By this we mean, plans and elevations of large and small houses, suited to the town and to the country; plans for the arrangements of the rooms of the different stories, so as to combine, within a given space, the greatest possible amount of conveniences; some account of what constitutes the comforts and conveniences of a house; the most useful arrangements for heat and for water, for light and for air.

Nothing certainly is more wanted by the great mass of our people, than correct notions upon the modes of building cheap, convenient, and comfortable houses. Great improvements have been made within a few years, in the mode of disposing the space within the walls. But how much is still suffered from mistaken and defective plans. How much is thrown away on brick and wood, in situations where stone, a material peculiarly suited to our climate, as warmer in winter and cooler in summer than any other, would be less expensive in its first cost, and would be laid for a distant generation.

Of the plates of illustrations of this chapter, we can speak in great praise, for their selection, arrangement, and easy comprehensibility.

The valuable chapter on Heating and Ventilation is well suited to our climate, fuel, and modes of building. Of the chapter upon the Arts of Locomotion, it is sufficient to say that it gives a perfectly clear description, accompanied by many important suggestions, of the structure, form, &c. of wheels; of the best modes of attaching horses; of the different kinds of Roads, Bridges, Railroads; Canals, Tunnels, Aqueducts, Locks, Boats; form and motion of Ships; Steamboats, Diving-bell; Balloon, and other modes of passing on air, earth, and water;

ἡμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρόν,
ἡδ' ἐπ' ἀπειρονα γαίαν.

We were sorry not to see added to this useful mass of information, particular directions upon the making of country roads. Two points demand the attention of legislators and of all, whose business it is to superintend the *construction* of roads, namely, the form of surface best suited to secure a dry and firm way, and the angle of declivity, which will allow vehicles to go quite to the middle of the gutter on each side, without being overturned. This, for safety, ought always to be possible, where the sides are not guarded by some firm barrier.

The value of the chapter upon the Elements of Machinery is suggested by its title. Every person, who is not somewhat skilled in mechanics, should read it before he can expect to derive the greatest satisfaction from a visit to any manufacturing establishment whatever. Among other curious contrivances described in this chapter, are, that for changing velocities, by means of two cones situated with their axes parallel to each other, and their larger diameters in opposite direc-

tions ; the Sun and Planet wheel of Watt ; that combination of power called the Toggle Joint ; the Fly Wheel, commonly supposed to have the faculty of creating force, and really acting as if it had ; and that miracle of self-regulating power, which has already been spoken of, the Governor.

It is not a common fault of authors to think too well of their readers, but it is one into which most writers on this part of Mechanics have fallen. To be suited to unlearned readers, several of the descriptions should, we think, be longer and more minute. A person must have uncommon quickness of perception, to understand immediately, from the description here and usually given of the Sun and Planet wheel of Watt, why the fly wheel revolves twice while the other is revolving once, and yet a line or two of explanation would make it perfectly plain. So the principle on which a fly wheel, the *effect* of which is very accurately described, accumulates power, does not become evident, until after mature reflection upon the nature of inertia, and a more full and particular account of that property of matter than is usually given. We recommend these and some other like points to the care of the author in future editions.

There is no subject on which there is more vagueness of thought among practical men, or more inaccuracy of statement in most writers, than the subject of the next chapter, the 'Sources and Comparative Value of the Moving Forces used in the Arts.' All of them, animal strength, water, wind, steam, and gunpowder, are extremely difficult to estimate accurately by themselves, and still more so to compare with each other. Notwithstanding the many careful experiments that have been made, much still remains to be determined, and we shall look with great impatience for the conclusions arrived at, in the experiments which, we understand, have been lately undertaken in a neighboring town, by a person, who has uncommon qualifications and extraordinary facilities for experimenting. Some fixed unit of measure ought to be adopted, as Hachette many years ago endeavored to persuade mechanics, to which all forces should be referred. The unit he proposed, or the *dynamic unit*, was the force required to raise a kilogramme to the height of a metre in a given time.

The measure recommended by Mr Watt, and generally, as Dr Bigelow says, adopted, is the average power of a horse. 'The measure of a horse's power, according to Mr Watt, is,

that he can raise a weight of 33,000 pounds to the height of one foot in a minute.' p. 256. Now, to say nothing of the uncertain quantity of a horse's power, and of its difference among different breeds and in different countries, what an awkward unit is 33. How much simpler to refer at once to some absolute unit, such as the force necessary to raise one or one thousand pounds one foot in one minute.

In the chapter upon the Moving Forces, we have accounts of the different kinds of water and wind mills; of the steam engine, carriage, and gun; of the useful application of gunpowder. Some fuller developement might have been given with advantage, of the three modes of action of steam; but the drawings and description of the machine are exceedingly clear and satisfactory, and taken from the latest and best authorities.

The fifteenth chapter treats of the modes and means of making ropes, carpets, cotton, woollen, and linen cloths; hats and paper, and of *spinning jennies*, *mules*, *power looms*, *double speeders*; with a word of memorial (may it prove a monument of lasting fame) to Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton, Moody, and others. We can only say of it, that as we found a great deal of it new ourselves, we are much inclined to think others will find it so likewise.

In the two succeeding chapters are contained descriptions of clocks, watches, and other instruments for measuring time; and of the modes of extracting, with many processes of working, the precious and useful metals. In these and the succeeding chapters, the bountiful contributions of the sciences of Mechanics and Chemistry to the arts, are exhibited, with a great mass of facts usually hidden from all eyes but those of artists and operatives, yet amply deserving the attention of every one. Three of these chapters are upon the subjects of communicating and modifying Color, by paints, dyes, and other processes; Vitrification, or the making and cutting of glass, artificial gems, and Reaumur's porcelain; and Induration by heat, or the arts of making bricks, and various kinds of pottery and porcelain, ancient and modern, from the unburnt bricks of Babylon, to the Etruscan vases.

'The use of bricks in building, may be traced to the earliest ages, and they are found among the ruins of almost every ancient nation. The walls of Babylon, some of the ancient structures of Egypt and Persia, the walls of Athens, the Rotunda of the Pan-

theon, the temple of Peace, and the Thermæ, at Rome, were all of brick. The earliest bricks were dried in the sun, and were never exposed to great heat, as appears from the fact that they contain reeds and straws, upon which no mark of burning is visible. These bricks owe their preservation to the extreme dryness of the climate in which they have remained, since the earth of which they are made, often crumbles to pieces when immersed in water, after having kept its shape for more than two thousand years. This is the case with some of the Babylonian bricks, with inscriptions in the arrow-headed character, which have been brought to this country. The ancients, however, at a later period, burnt their bricks, and it is these chiefly which remain at the present day. The antique bricks were larger than those employed by the moderns, and were almost universally of a square form. Besides bricks made of clay, the ancients also employed a kind of factitious stone, composed of a calcareous mortar.* pp. 463, 464.

The work very properly concludes with a chapter upon the Preservation of Organic Substances; and appended are twenty neatly executed plates.

A complete cabinet of apparatus, suitable to the illustration of the several subjects of the volume, would exhibit models of most of the curious engines and machines, which are employed in the useful arts, and collections of substances and instruments that would be, at the same time, useful in the departments of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. Beautiful models of columns and other parts of buildings, and of some of the most remarkable ancient and modern edifices, may be easily imported. A common carpenter might be instructed to make wooden models of arches, domes, bridges, fire-places, stoves, carriage wheels, water wheels, and many other parts of simple machines. A common clock of large size and the parts of a watch, would exhibit everything of greatest importance in Horology, and furnish specimens of many of the Elements of Machinery. Spinning jennies and double speeders might be found among the machinery in our manufactories, that has been superseded by the ever active ingenuity of our inventive countrymen. A working model of a steam-engine ought to be found in every place of education, for without it no one can get perfectly accurate ideas of its mode of action.

Much of what we have enumerated, may, however, be dis-

* Some travellers have even advanced the opinion that the Pyramids of Egypt are constructed with an artificial stone.

pensed with. The only indispensable part of the apparatus is, specimens of the *materials* used in the arts. No *description* or uncolored drawing can enable the imagination of one not familiar with colors, to conceive of a pigment of a particular shade of blue or yellow, or of Quincy sienite, or bird's eye maple. And, indeed, what more beautiful exhibition could there be to a person interested in the arts, or what more likely to create an interest in them, than a full collection of the native and foreign marbles, granites, and other stones used in building, showing their appearance when rough from the quarry, and when they have received surface and shape from the hand of the artist, and a similar collection of the various kinds of imported and indigenous woods?

At the end of each chapter Dr Bigelow has given a list of the best books upon the subjects of that chapter; and few treatises of high authority have been omitted. This adds much to the value of the work. By means of it an exceedingly valuable library might be collected; and the use of it would, in some measure, supply the want of a *catalogue raisonné* of a library already formed. We could wish there had been added the titles of some authorities, for hints or materials for lectures on domestic architecture, which we have noticed as among the *desiderata*. The Italian writers on Architecture would doubtless afford something to supply the deficiency. The second volume of the Civil Architecture of Milizia, a work which ought to be given to our language, would furnish at least abundant suggestions on the subject.

We trust it is unnecessary to add to what has been said anything to recommend Dr Bigelow's book. It ought to be in the hands of every scholar, and of every gentleman of taste or leisure, and we hope it will lead to a more general attention to the arts as objects of liberal curiosity.

Every educated person may find time, at some period of his life, to gain an intimate knowledge of some one of the useful or elegant arts, or of some branch of science or of literature. In a great majority of cases, this can be done consistently with that devotion to the peculiar studies of a profession, which is the only foundation of eminent success. A comprehensive and liberal mind will regard this occasional relaxation as a want. Instead of diminishing the vigor of its action, it will in the highest degree contribute to it. From the delights of its voluntary pursuit, it will return to the necessary duties of daily

occurrence with renewed animation. Some such recreation, indeed, is essential to the health and freedom of the mind, and will give it strength for higher and more energetic action.

In the desultory habits of reading, which are now too prevalent, relaxation is sought for in an endless variety of pursuits. Few give their attention long enough to any single object, aside from their profession, to obtain the commanding knowledge of it which will enable them to enlighten others, or to acquire a strong interest in it themselves. The choice of the afternoon's conversation, or the evening's reading, is left to the accident of the last review or gazette, or the latest novel. Years and lives of leisure are thus wasted without a purpose, and without enjoyment, by men who, by giving the hours of relaxation to a single object, might easily gain such a mastery of it, as to prepare a fund of entertainment for their friends, and for themselves a delightful resource against the monotony of daily cares, and the heavier but hardly less certain oppression of disappointment.

This resource may, indeed, be found in almost any pursuit which has been illustrated by human genius, or which opens an avenue into any part of the boundless field of natural science; no matter whether it be the history of Tuscan literature or the infinitesimal calculus, the language of the Mohawks or the habits of the ant, Greek history or the history of optics; any one, pursued far enough, becomes a subject of great and constant interest. But the successful study of many of these supposes a degree of leisure, or peculiarity of taste, or conjuncture of circumstances, which it falls to the lot of few to possess. It is not so with several of the arts. A knowledge of the history and principles and some skill in the practice of painting, drawing, or sculpture, or a complete acquaintance with the theoretical principles, without the practice, of architecture, mechanics, or any other of the useful arts, might be acquired in almost any situation; and their number is such as to leave free action to every variety of taste. Let each individual of a number of gentlemen who are in the habit of meeting together to exchange thoughts, select thus, and pursue, during the leisure hours of a single year, some one favorite object, and their meetings can hardly fail to become greatly more pleasant to all, when each shall bring to the common stock something which belongs to himself alone, than they are likely

to be, while, pursuing one course, their ideas and sources of information are nearly the same.

Nor is it only as contributing to the entertainment of social circles and the luxury of private study, that the apportionment we speak of is important. Without it the fine arts in this country can never be successfully cultivated and made to produce anything like the beautiful models of which the older countries in Europe are full. They have here no imperial or ducal patrons, no Juliuses or Leos, to lavish upon them the revenues of empires and of centuries; and may they never have a Pericles to appropriate the contributions of independent federal states to the ornament of a single city or a single state. The patrons of the fine arts among us are legislative or municipal assemblies, and parishes, and their organs are committees.

In this state of things our only hope for the advancement of the arts is in the cultivation of individual taste, in the gradual formation of a love for the arts, which shall render a few at least in each state and in each town so far distinguished, that it shall seem ridiculous even to a popular assembly to pass them over, in the choice of committees, in favor of the demagogues, by whom, in other concerns, they are often so willing to be led. Then only shall we cease to see public buildings curtailed of their wings, and left to support their dome as they can without them; or slender Greek pillars, of a light order, crushed beneath the weight of an enormous Gothic spire; or solemn gray walls of eternal granite enclosing the tawdry ornaments appropriate to a village assembly-room.

Wherever a pure taste in the arts exists, we see it producing its natural effects. The few instances of beautiful public buildings in our towns, can easily be referred to the influence of some single mind. It is only necessary to render, among educated men, and particularly among men of wealth and leisure, the cultivation of the fine arts more general, to make the violation of good taste in building, painting, and music, as rare as it now is common.

What has been said in regard to the cultivation of the arts, is almost equally true in regard to the exact and the natural sciences. In all there is a want of concentration of individual effort, of the apportionment of the parts of the wide domain of science to single proprietors. There should, it is true, be a union of action; but the purpose for which the cul-

tivators of the different districts should assemble, should be to give common facilities, and to enrich themselves and each other by the exchange of their separate commodities.

The publication of Dr Bigelow's book will contribute to the diffusion of a better taste, by making known the essential principles of the arts, and thus preparing for the circulation of larger and more particular treatises. It will do it no less by laying before the young inquirers something like a map of the various regions of pleasant knowledge, at a time when the affections are unoccupied, and

‘The world is all before them where to choose.’

ART. V. Report of the Secretary of the Navy to the President of the United States, December 1, 1829.

WE know of no work of art, no production of human genius and human power, that in any manner rivals, or may even be named in comparison with, the sailing ship. Nor can we, in all the various modes of existence resulting from modern civilization, find any social position so strange, so unnatural, and yet so full of interest, as that which is offered by a ship of war. How singular the sensations of him who gazes for the first time upon this artificial wonder! His awe at the immense proportions of the huge machine mingle with astonishment at the celerity with which it traverses the water by the aid of its wide-spread and snowy wings,—at the ready obedience with which, at the will of a pigmy, like himself, it changes its course, advances towards the wind, retreats before it, or, entering the port, suddenly becomes still and stationary as the surrounding hills, while the clouds of canvass, which, an instant before, whitened the heavens, disappear, as if by magic, from his view. As he approaches, the awe excited by its growing size and formidable defences, keeps pace with the pleasure which he feels in finding these qualities blended with so much of symmetry and beauty. The smooth side broken only at regular intervals by the protruding cannon, the graceful curves of bow and stern, and the nice proportions of the tapering spars, as they rise in exact and Corinthian harmony, each sustained by its system of stays and rigging, in turn attract and gratify his eye.

And when at length he stands upon the deck, perplexed and amazed at the strange sights and sounds that surround him, his ears pierced by the shrill whistle of the boatswains, or grated by their rough bellow, rising above the din of the multitude, in voices which he can scarce recognise for those of his fellow men; when suddenly he beholds this scene of more than Babel confusion pass at the command of an individual, first into a death-like silence, and then into a movement as concerted as of a single body yielding to its inward will; and finally turns to survey and scrutinize the various arrangements for the comfortable accommodation of so many inhabitants, for destruction, and for defence,—no spectacle can have equal power to overwhelm him with wonder and admiration.

There is, indeed, much that is curious in a man-of-war. Each ship offers in itself a perfect community, self-existent and self-dependent; entirely unlike anything to be met with on shore. In fact, the land does not more differ from the water, than life ashore does from life afloat. One of the very first things which strike landsmen when they enter a man-of-war, is the entire restraint, nay, absolute surrender of volition in all except one of those embarked; the stern superiority of him who orders, and the mechanical and unqualified submission of those who obey. A ship, indeed, with its captain, officers, and seamen, forms no imperfect miniature of a monarchy, with its king, nobles, and third estate. If there be any difference, it is that the gradations are more decided, the despotism more complete. This state of things results less from the subordination necessary and common to all military establishments, than from the peculiar difficulties and dangers attending naval life, which do not allow each man to remain, even in immaterial things, master of his actions, but, inasmuch as the fate of all depends upon the conduct of each, requires a harmony of action only to be obtained by the most complete subordination to a single will.

These peculiarities render the economy of a man-of-war very interesting to landsmen, and the subject, well treated, is susceptible of much attraction. In '*Roderick Random*' we have a good and true description of naval life. The '*Pilot*' and '*Red Rover*' of our countryman give us a more general, and at the same time more graphic picture of sea affairs; no author has more completely mastered the mysterious sources of interest that hover over the wanderers of the deep. With-

out abandoning the fireside, we are yet led forth in fancy to roam the trackless waste of waters, become participants in the elastic feelings of his heroes, as they dash onward, triumphing over space and the elements. He teaches us to prepare for battle, and nerves our arms to meet and grapple with the foe ; to read the prognostic of the coming storm, to share the mariner's anxiety, to aid him in arresting its fury, and fairly carries us rolling forward, until the head swims and the eye grows dizzy. Nowhere, however, have we seen, in so few words, so spirited and moving a picture of the warrior-ship, as in those noble lines of 'Childe Harold.' They bring all our quarter-deck recollections thronging so palpably around us, that we cannot forego the pleasure of copying them.

'He that has sailed upon the dark blue sea,
Has viewed at times, I ween, a full fair sight ;
When the fresh breeze is fair as breeze may be,
The white sail set, the gallant frigate tight ;
Masts, spires, and strand retiring to the right,
The glorious main expanding o'er the bow,
The convoy spread like wild swans in their flight,
The dullest sailer wearing bravely now,
So gaily curl the waves before each dashing prow.

'And oh, the little warlike world within !
The well-reeved guns, the netted canopy,
The hoarse command, the busy humming din,
Where, at a word, the tops are manned on high ;
Hark to the boatswain's call, the cheering cry !
While through the seaman's hand the tackle glides ;
Or school-boy midshipman, that, standing by,
Strains his shrill pipe as good or ill betides,
And well the docile crew that skilful urchin guides.

'White is the glassy deck, without a stain,
Where on the watch the staid lieutenant walks ;
Look on that part which sacred doth remain
For the lone chieftain, who majestic stalks,
Silent and feared by all—not oft he talks
With aught beneath him, if he would preserve
That strict restraint, which broken, ever balks
Conquest and fame.'

The Report of the Secretary of the Navy we have placed at the head of this article rather as affording us an opportunity to express some of our opinions on the subject, than with a view to criticism or elaborate discussion. We have only to remark in passing, that the Report contains some suggestions which seem to us important, and we are particularly glad to find in it

a renewed recommendation of the establishment of naval schools. But on this topic we shall touch hereafter.*

Without further preliminaries, we shall avail ourselves of the present occasion to institute a brief inquiry into the origin and progressive improvement of navies in general, and into the condition and prospects of our own in particular. And if it be remembered that, independently of the protection of our commerce, a navy is our natural means of defence; that all the nations from which we have anything to fear are separated from us by intervening oceans (we consider the present proximity of British territory as but accidental and temporary), and that they can only reach us by a display of naval power; that, in fact, of the foreign wars we have already waged, a majority have been exclusively of this character; that, whilst this mode of warfare demands infinitely less sacrifice of life and money,

* In reverting to naval concerns, we are forcibly reminded of a work of much merit, which perhaps we ought sooner and in a more formal manner to have introduced to the notice of our readers. We allude to the 'Sketches of Naval Life, in a Series of Letters from on board the Brandywine and Constitution Frigates.' The title of the book itself promises much entertainment, and the author has well redeemed this promise. Descriptive scenes of a well-ordered ship of war, adorned in the first place by the presence of the most interesting and most enviable individual now living, the warrior, the patriot, the philanthropist, Lafayette—him whose generous sympathies were too expansive for a single hemisphere,—and afterwards relieved by visits to the fairest portions of the old continent, accidentally rendered more deeply interesting by the passing events of a revolution, then fixing the attention of the world, furnish no unworthy or ungrateful theme. Perhaps full justice has not been done to it, for this would be no easy achievement; yet we should neither deal fairly by the author, nor by our own feelings, did we not commend his total freedom from pretension and quackery, and the patriotic and liberal spirit in which his work is written. We would especially bear testimony to the good sense of that part in which he speaks of the improvements necessary to the perfection of our naval system. His concluding letters constitute the most valuable portion of the work, and may be read with equal advantage by naval men and by legislators. The advice to a young midshipman about to enter upon the duties of his profession, is equally creditable to the sound sense and good feelings of its writer; and we think that every young man, thus situated, might derive great advantage from its attentive perusal. Such a one is apt, when commencing his career, and looking with an eager eye to the attainment of honor and excellence, to form vague determinations as to the course of conduct which is to lead him to success. A system of action thus methodized and written down, might tend in no trifling degree to keep alive these generous aspirations.

the force by which it is maintained is without danger to our national liberties; finally, that a navy goes forth to meet the danger at a distance from our shores, leaving the cultivator to reap in peace the fruits of his labor, unalarmed by the turmoil of approaching war, and spared the slaughter and destruction that mark the track of armies;—if we keep in mind these facts, the subject may well command our attention.

Naval war exists in the earliest stages of society; it has its origin in the very passions and constitution of our nature. The savage has scarce learned to venture forth upon the water in the canoe which he has rudely hollowed from a tree of the forest, ere, embarking with his bow and arrow, his hardened war-club, his javelin, or his lance, he transports himself to the spot whither he is attracted by revenge for some real or supposed injury, by avaricious longing for some contemptible booty, the desire of making prisoners, of adding to the number of his wives, of providing victims for the altar of idolatry, or of furnishing a horrible banquet. He succeeds in his enterprise; or, met by a wary adversary, with equal weapons, and with everything to defend, they join battle; instead of trumpets, the wild whoop and war-conchs sound the onset; arrows and javelins are hurled, clubs are brandished; the frail barks of the combatants are overturned beneath them; and with the sea for an arena, and fury to make up for the imperfection of their weapons, they are enabled to strew it with victims. And thus we find the Caribs, not only destructively encountering each other, but disputing the victory with the steel-clad Spaniards, who first intruded upon the scenes of their triumphs; and with no better weapons than bows and arrows, even these wielded by the hand of woman, offering fatal resistance to the ferocity of the civilized.

Not very different from these Carib battles was naval war in the earliest ages reached by history or tradition. The heroes of Homer went forth in slight barks that were stranded and launched at pleasure, and the same individuals rowed and fought alternately. Among them, as among the Caribs, superior strength and valor decided the victory. In process of time, however, naval war began to assume a peculiar system; the ordinary vessels built for commerce were no longer used for warlike purposes, but as transports; and the galley, in whose construction and exercise the Athenians especially excelled, already acted an important part at the battle of Salamis.

In succeeding centuries naval warfare was gradually improved with the general progress of civilization. The Carthaginians, inheriting all the commercial skill of their Phœnician ancestors, were stimulated to new enterprise by their condition as colonists in a novel and growing region. Removed too from the extremity of the Mediterranean to the neighborhood of its mouth, they were no longer willing to remain circumscribed within its narrow limits, but stood boldly out beyond the *Ne Plus Ultra* of less adventurous voyagers, carrying their commercial enterprises to the extremities of Europe and Africa. As in all other countries the development of their military marine kept pace with the commercial one, of which it was the natural and necessary protector; and Carthage, monopolizing the maritime trade of the world, pretended, like her modern representative in pursuits and character, to the exclusive dominion of the common highway. To support these pretensions, a formidable and well-equipped navy was constantly maintained; and we may accordingly look to the most flourishing era of Carthaginian history for the perfection of naval war, as it existed among the ancients.

The galley was the form of vessel used for war. It was long, low, and narrow, having space for the arrangement of many rowers, whilst it offered little resistance in dividing the water. Thus the Carthaginian *triremes* were usually one hundred feet long, by only ten broad, and seven high. The prow either curved gracefully, or was formed into the image of some ferocious beast. It was always sharp, and armed with metal to cleave the side of an adversary, and often had a projecting weapon, like a ploughshare, beneath the surface of the water, to pierce the bottom. On the summit of the prow stood the emblem; on the Athenian galleys it was an owl, on the Phœnician and Carthaginian, a cock. Here also floated the distinguishing pendant. The stern was no less sharp than the bow, curving gracefully upward so as to overhang the poop, and sometimes presented the figure of a shield. Below it stood the *tutela*, representing the deity, patron of the ship, to which prayers and sacrifices were offered, and which was held so sacred, as to afford a sanctuary to those who took refuge there. Nor was exterior ornament neglected in the galley; paint and gilding were profusely used, and gods and animals represented on the outside. The locomotive means of the galley consisted in sails, which, with their masts, were taken down at pleasure;

and in oars, which constituted the main dependence. These were arranged in rows ascending above each other, to the number of three; for though we read of *quinquiremes*, *octoremes*, up even to thirty and forty, this cannot mean distinct banks, but probably divisions; for the length of the oar, increasing for each ascending bank, must have been already unwieldy in the upper row of a *trireme*. The oars ascended diagonally above each other; the bench of one rower furnishing the footstool for the one immediately above and behind him. Each bank of rowers had its distinct name and class; the higher ones received most pay; for in addition to their being stouter men, it was necessary to load the handles of their oars, in order to counterbalance the increased length of the portion without, which the narrowness of the galley did not admit of doing by a corresponding length of *loom*. A large oar from either quarter changed the direction of the galley at the pleasure of the pilot. The officers and men, by whom the vessel was thus propelled and guided, were entirely distinct from those who fought. These were heavy-armed soldiers, trained to sea service, who stood drawn up in battle-array upon the deck which covered the rowers.

In preparing for battle, the galleys were disburthened of all unnecessary articles, the sails and masts were taken down and stowed, and the oars alone used, so as to move, turn, and assail, without reference to the prevailing wind. The fleet was then formed into a triangle, pointing towards the enemy, the store-ships forming the base, and the admiral-ship being at the angle in advance. This being done, the chief, entering a boat, passed from galley to galley, encouraging his followers in a set speech. When he had returned to his own, a gilded shield or a blood-red banner was conspicuously displayed as a signal for the onset. As the opposite fleets now approached by the exertions of the rowers, the shrill trumpets animated the soldiers by their blasts, as they passively awaited their moment for exertion, invoking the gods, and singing a pæan to the lord of battles. The admirals being in advance, first came in contact, each endeavoring, by celerity of movement, to break the oars of his adversary, and pierce his side with his beak, so as to sink or overturn him; darts, javelins, and stones were hurled; when nigh enough, the soldiers thrust at and transfixed each other with their spears of twenty cubits, or plied their battering-rams against the sides; huge pieces of iron (called *dolphins*, from

being cast in the form of that fish,) were projected from the top of the mast, so as to pass through the deck and bottom; fire-ships, filled with pitch and brimstone, were sent among the adverse fleet, or pots of combustibles were cast aboard, until at length, ship grappling ship, the soldiers fought foot to foot and hand to hand with sword and buckler. The battle being decided, the victorious fleet returned to port, towing its prizes, and hung round with pieces of the wrecks; the conquerors, crowned with wreaths, entered the port shouting and singing pæans to Apollo. The choice of the spoil was piously set apart as an offering to the gods; wrecks and entire galleys were placed at the porticos of the temples, and, to commemorate the event, the beaks of others were raised upon the tops of columns.

Naval war underwent but slight variation until the Romans, urged by their contest with Carthage for the possession of Sicily, first turned their attention to the creation of a marine. It is a singular instance of national greatness and magnanimity, that, when without a ship, and totally ignorant of maritime affairs, the Romans should have meditated a contention for the dominion of the seas. A Carthaginian galley, opportunely cast upon their shore, furnished them with a model; and, for want of better sailors, a sufficient number were hastily *manufactured*, while the galleys were building, by means of benches placed upon the land, where the rowers were trained to the use of the oar. The galleys being complete, the rowers were embarked and further exercised in port; and then the soldiers were taken on board, and the fleet set sail. And now, to do away with the vast disparity between his own motley crew and a thoroughly practised enemy, the Consul Duillius resorted to an expedient which brought about a partial revolution in naval warfare. He caused a plank bridge to be so suspended from the mast of each galley, that, by loosening a cord, it could be let fall at pleasure on board of an adjoining vessel; where the spikes at the bottom, and grapnels attached to it, held it immovably fixed. This was the origin and character of the *corvus*; the result will show its use. The adverse fleets came in sight off Sicily, and the Carthaginians, flattered by the comparison between their own trim ships and the clumsily built and worse manœuvred galleys of the Romans, were filled with the happiest anticipations. As they drew nigher, the lumbering appendage at the mast, hitherto the object of derision, be-

gan to excite distrust. This grew stronger when they found that, instead of pausing to send off their missiles, the Romans, concealed behind their curtain of hides, urged boldly on until each galley had struck an adversary, when the *corvus* was let fall with terrible force upon the deck, crushing and transfixing those who had gathered to defend the entrance. The two galleys being thus connected as by a bridge, the Romans rushed boldly to the assault, covering their bodies with their shields. The skill of the Carthaginians was completely neutralized, while their previous confidence was exchanged for consternation; the Roman soldiers, on the contrary, fighting as on land, deserved and won the victory.

Little modification took place in this system of naval warfare until the introduction of cannon. The navies of the Eastern empire continued to consist of galleys, now reduced to *dromones*, having two tiers of fifty oars, making in all one hundred, rowed by as many men. Signals had been introduced to convey orders when out of hearing, and the line of battle was changed from a triangle to a crescent, of which the horns pointed rearward. The admirals, remaining in the centre, continued to head the encounter. The weapons, of annoyance were still bows and arrows, engines discharging javelins with terrible force, as well as huge rocks, a single one of which was often fatal to a galley and her crew. But the most destructive machine then used was the iron tube which each galley carried on her bow, and from which the *Greek fire* was projected in a constant stream upon the enemy, kindling a blaze which water made but more furious, and scattering a horrible death, to which the sea offered no alternative.* Though the assault of the beak remained in use, it was more common to grapple at once, so as to escape the terrible range of the fire-tube, and lie broadside to broadside; thus attached, whilst the rowers transfixed each other with lances through their row-locks, the soldiers fought with such desperation, that often none remained to claim the victory.

* The *Greek fire* has been lately rediscovered by our countryman, Mr Brown. He discharges it, like water from an ordinary engine, through a leathern hose terminating in a tube of metal; and from its resinous and adhesive quality, he projects it to a much greater distance. The moment the stream emerges into the open air, it is kindled by a match affixed to the end of the tube, and converted into a liquid fire of a destructive activity, nowise inferior to that described by the ancients.

The revolution in naval war produced by the introduction of cannon, though not immediate, was eventually greater than upon land. They were first used by the Venetians, who mounted them on the deck of their galleys, either pointed over the rail, or through port-holes pierced through the bulwarks. In the *galea*, which was first used at the battle of Lepanto, a row of small cannon was pointed between different divisions of the oars, while the heavier pieces were arranged upon the poop and forecastle. Notwithstanding the efficacy of cannon to destroy such frail fortresses as ships that a single shot might deliver over to the lurking enemy on whose bosom they reposed, yet, perhaps because their adaptation was at first imperfect, we do not find that they immediately became the chief means of annoyance in naval engagements. At Lepanto we see Don Juan and Ali, the rival admirals, after a short cannonade, rushing to the encounter, grappling ship to ship, and fighting with bows and arrows, firelocks, swords, attack-hans, pikes, and battle-axes. The Christians prepared for the *melée* by such defensive armor as mail and helmet, and the Turks covered their bodies with huge leathern shields. At length, as the adaptation of cannon to ships of war became more complete, this means of annoyance grew more prominent, and was made the arbiter of almost every battle. Ships of war, too, had increased so greatly in size, that it became dangerous to both parties to come in contact, lest the weight and mass of each, moving independently, should cause an exchange of shocks which might send both to the bottom. Moreover, the fashion of causing ships to *tumble in*, made the distance so great between the upper sides, at the moment when their bodies were in contact below, as greatly to increase the difficulty of boarding. From all these reasons the contact of ships and hand-to-hand fighting, which made the ancient sea-fights so fatal to life, were exchanged for battering at a distance, until one ship should be made leaky and ready to sink, or have her guns dismounted, or else be so crippled in her spars as to remain at the mercy of her antagonist. Thus the destructive efforts of the ancient mode of naval warfare were chiefly directed against the lives of the combatants, whilst in modern times they are chiefly exerted to destroy or disable the ship. Cannon having become the great destructive agent of ships of war, their relative powers were thenceforth determined by the number and calibre of their respective batteries. These de-

pending in turn upon the size and capacity of the ships, led to their progressive enlargement, until we find the sea groaning under the weight of huge wooden masses, carrying their two, three, and even four tiers of cannon. The oar, moved by the muscular energies of man, was of course powerless to propel the vast machine which had thus taken the place of the galley, and it therefore only remained, by the adaptation of sails, to render available the agent furnished by nature, in a restless and ever-moving element.

When two adverse ships meet in modern times, each manœuvres to obtain the weather-gage, if chance should not already have decided it before coming in sight. The advantage in being to windward is manifold ; in the first place, it enables the weaker ship, if not to escape immediately by superior sailing, at least to keep out of action until favored by the intervention of night, or by the many chances of the ocean ; in the second, it enables the stronger ship to direct its course at once upon the weaker, with the best possible chance of capture ; and lastly, in the case of equal ships, the one having the weather-gage goes into action with a decided advantage. The ship to windward can at pleasure bear down to board, or cross the bow or stern of her adversary to rake her decks ; moreover, being careened towards her adversary, she receives her shot far above the ordinary water-line. On the other hand, the leeward ship, presenting her broadside far below the ordinary water-line, should she receive a shot there, the wound would be brought below the surface in the event of the tack being changed, or the ship, by a diminution of wind or of sail, being brought on an even keel ; moreover, the leeward ship is not only incommoded with its own smoke, but with that of its adversary.

Having determined to fight, a very few minutes serve to clear a ship for action. So soon as drum and fife have pealed forth the well-known alarm, all repair to quarters ; the guns are loosed, the magazines opened, the decks wet and sanded, and fire-tubs filled with water ; additional shot and wads are brought from below, the yards hung in chains, and the sheets stoppered, lest they should be shot away ; the pumps are rigged, and shot-plugs and fishes for strengthening wounded spars are made ready ; loaded muskets and pistols, swords, pikes, and tomahawks are placed in readiness to board or repel boarders. All being at their stations, and everything prepared, the ships approach

under easy sail, and the battle begins. Round shot are fired low so as to pierce the hull near the water-line, or at the body of the ship, to disable the guns and kill the men who manœuvre there; grape and double-headed shot are directed at the gangways and body of the ship to destroy life, and at the spars and rigging to bring them down and cripple the evolutions of an antagonist. Thus the fight continues until one party being ready to sink from shot-holes between wind and water, or being incapable of further resistance from the disabling of guns, or slaughter of crew, and from loss of spars equally incapable of escape, is compelled to yield. Sometimes, indeed, when thus situated, boarding and a sudden effort of desperate valor may retrieve the worst situation, and render the vanquished victorious. But in order to effect this, the party having the worst must be to windward, so as to bear down and grapple. At this critical moment the boarders are called up, by sound of trumpet or the clatter of rattles, and, seizing their weapons, leap upon the deck of the enemy, where, as in storming a fortress, or as in the ancient sea-fights, individual courage and prowess may decide the victory.

In the encounter of fleets, as of single ships, the weather-gage is esteemed an advantage. Drawn up in columns, they engage ship to ship, conquering by superiority of numbers, of evolutions, or of fire. Instead of engaging line to line, sometimes the enemy's array is broken, and his ships cut off and overpowered in sections, while some are too distant to take part in the conflict. It was by this manœuvre, skilfully devised and boldly executed, that Nelson and Collingwood decided the battle of Trafalgar.

Among the naval powers of the present day, Britain claims the preëminence; a preëminence founded on vast national resources, from which the government supplies itself at the call of vanity or ambition; and upon an extended commerce, covering every ocean and every sea, and furnishing employment to thousands of hardy seamen, who are forced at pleasure into the public service. The next marine in point of force and numbers is that of France. The great population and resources of that nation, and the extent of coast by which she is nearly surrounded, naturally adapt her to make a brilliant display of naval power. But her mercantile marine, the only true foundation of a military one, has been so crippled and kept under by the superior force and grasping character

of her neighbor, that the large navy which she now possesses rather results from the determination of government to create one, than from the character and immediate interests of the nation. Spain, though even more adapted than Britain, by the happy union of great internal and external resources and means of developement, to excel as a maritime power, and though but half a century since she was second only to the mistress of the seas, may now, thanks to the withering extension of priestcraft and despotism, eating like a cancer at the core of her greatness, be said to possess no marine whatever. Russia, with little commerce, is yet not without a formidable fleet, which, called into existence by the ambition of her emperors, may increase in power and rest on a more natural foundation, should she, while developement is going on within, gain an extent of coast on the Mediterranean, and add the Greek seamen to the number of her subjects. Holland is still prominent among naval powers, excelling as formerly in the number and excellence of her ships, and in the skill, experience, and courage of her seamen. She owes her present comparative insignificance more to the developement of her neighbors than to her own deterioration.

This brief view would have included, a few years since, all the maritime nations of the earth. But in the mean time a nation has sprung up in another hemisphere, destined ere long to become the chief of naval powers; we speak of this western world, and our own happy Union. Already is our commercial marine second only to that of Britain; already do her statesmen calculate the time that must elapse before we can equal her; already do they point to the period when the sceptre of the seas shall depart from the hand that has so long wielded it in the spirit of tyranny and exclusion. It is true that not only Britain, but several minor powers, exceed us in number and force of ships; but as in every nation the commercial marine is the true and only foundation of the military marine, so the extent of the one is the only true measure of the other. The sinews and muscles of naval war are not the less our own that we do not exercise them; when it shall be necessary to strike the blow, their force will assert itself. But it is not enough that the pugilist should have strength of body, nor does it suffice that we possess the elements of naval power. They must be developed, concentrated, organized. Our merchant ships visit every corner of the world where there is

water to float them, and our ships of war must follow to lend them protection, and enable them to pursue their occupations in peace. A dozen ships of the line, displaying the American ensign in the British Channel, would have protected our trade from belligerent spoliation, and saved us from the check which our national progress received, and the heavy debt which we contracted in the late war. We are, however, indebted to that event for calling into existence the navy which we now possess. The few ships which we sent to sea at its commencement accomplished, indeed, more than could have been expected from so inconsiderable a force, and fairly fought their way into the public favor. Their astonishing speed, and the active energy of their commanders, enabled them to harrass the enemy in every sea; and, aided by a discipline never before equalled in any naval service, when they met an enemy of equal, or even slightly superior force, they were able to thunder forth their fire with a precision and rapidity that rendered a naval battle the affair of minutes instead of hours. Since the war, we have added gradually to the number of our ships, until now we could put to sea at short notice with a dozen ships of the line, the largest, noblest, and most efficient that ever went into battle. This is not merely an American conceit, but the acknowledgment of the whole world. We have preserved the exterior proportions of the most beautiful class of vessels in our ships of the line, which, while they present the level side, uniform outline, and perfect symmetry of frigates, for which they are often mistaken at sea, yet threaten an enemy with batteries of one hundred guns of a calibre hitherto unknown upon the ocean. We see no room for improvement in this important class of our ships, should there not soon occur another era in naval war, by the introduction of a new agent more destructive than any now in use. We have not been so successful in the frigates and sloops which we have constructed since the war, as in our ships of the line. New models have been introduced with a view to improvement, and the result is, that while the best of the new frigates and corvettes are in no particular superior to the old ones, many of them are decidedly inferior in speed and beauty. We speak of beauty as an advantage, and we consider it so without doubt; for, independently of the fact that good looks and good qualities are almost invariably found together in ships, that at-

tachment of officers to the vessel they sail in, which is so desirable, depends in no slight degree upon her beauty.

The era to which we allude, as capable of changing the system of naval war, and setting aside our ships of the line, is the introduction of bomb-cannon, or the practice of projecting bombs horizontally. It has been discovered that shells, or hollow shot charged with combustible matter, may with perfect ease be projected in a right line from ordinary cannon, and that consequently they may not only be successfully used from the land against ships, which the difficulty of striking when projected in a curve before prevented, but also in the ordinary naval battle between ship and ship. The frail character of these floating castles, too, renders them peculiarly assailable by this means of destruction. Experiments have been tried in various countries, and especially in France, to prove the practicability of this new mode, and the results, so far as we are acquainted with them, threaten the overthrow of the present method of naval warfare. Hollow shot, charged with combustibles, were fired from ordinary cannon into masses of timber bound more securely together than the most solid ship, and they were rent to pieces. Hulks prepared for the purpose were attacked in the same manner; when the shell failed to explode, it produced the same injury as an ordinary shot; if it entered a mast and there exploded, it shattered and overturned it with its whole system of yards and rigging; if it came through the side and lodged upon deck, its explosion scattered smoke, fire, and destruction on every side; if it lodged in the side and there exploded, the rent opened, if near the water, was such as to cause inevitable sinking. These facts, thus determined, have led naturally enough to various speculations as to the means of meeting the danger. There are two sides to a question of fighting, as to every other question; and when efficacious means of destruction have been invented, it next becomes necessary to devise preventive means to obviate them. In this spirit we remember to have seen, several years ago, an article in a French Review, in which the practicability was gravely discussed of defending ships from shells and shot of every kind, by means of bands of iron nailed upon the whole exterior surface. Should this idea be realized, ships of war would become so many cuirassiers afloat. We would suggest to the attention of the speculative, that since shot are harmless when they strike even a wooden surface at

a certain angle, ships of war, instead of being wall-sided, might be made to *tumble out*, and continue increasing in beam from the surface of the water upwards, so as to give to their sides the angle that would deflect a cannon-ball. This would be the more feasible, if, as has been suggested by the speculators on the subject, the introduction of bomb-cannon should cause the abandonment of large ships, and the substitution of smaller ones; for, whilst a ship of the line offers many times the surface for attack that a sloop or a schooner does, her increased means of annoyance are not proportionate; ten bombs lodged in the side of a ship being as efficacious for her destruction as a hundred, a ship carrying ten guns becomes as formidable as one mounting ten times ten.

What we give here is only the result of experiments upon the other side of the ocean. We should like much to know if anything has been done upon this side. If the same experiments have produced the same results here, and proved conclusive as to an approaching change in naval war, would it not be the part of wisdom, instead of multiplying expensive constructions connected with an exploded or obsolescent system, to be beforehand, not only in introducing the new engine, but in preparing to meet and resist it? The advantage will attach to the first nation that adopts it, in the event of war; but cannot long remain peculiar. If the plea of humanity be in the way of its adoption, we answer, with the history of all ages to support us, that naval war has become less fatal to life as the means of destruction have become more effective and formidable. The slain at Salamis were more than those of Lepanto, and this last battle counted alone many times the added victims of the Nile, of Trafalgar, and Navarino. Besides, what has humanity to do with warfare? Is it from humanity that we mount guns of the heaviest possible calibre, from which we are prepared to shower round shot, grape, and canister,—that we wield muskets, pistols, pikes, cutlasses, and tomahawks? Why did we so strive, during the last war, to excel in rapidity of fire? And what, in fact, is any and every naval battle but a trial of powers of destruction? With us, indeed, the cause of resistance is the cause of humanity. Whatever may be the character of other governments, the genius of ours forbids any but a defensive war; and self-defence, among nations as among individuals, is equally legitimate and praiseworthy.

But to return to our ships ; admitting their organization to be perfect, that of the officers and crews who sail them admits of great melioration. To begin aft, as in duty bound, the first and most glaring defect that our system offers, is the want of the higher ranks found necessary in other countries in every warlike force, whether naval or military. It does not require any familiarity with discipline either ashore or afloat, to conceive how different may be the tardy and reluctant compliance conceded by one captain to another; temporarily placed over him, but hereafter to become his equal, from his unhesitating and earnest obedience yielded to a General or Admiral. In every military corps, indeed, we find a respect, an awe, an unqualified submission, shown to rank, which is not always accorded to age, talents, and experience. This element of subordination is carefully cherished in the constitution of our army, where there are ranks suited to every degree of responsibility, and where, moreover, although the Secretary of War be usually himself a military man of more or less experience, his deliberations are shared by a Major General, who, after ascending the various gradations of his profession, at length finds himself at its head ; from that eminence he can look down and survey the whole, with an eye familiar with the wants, capacities, and feelings of his charge. If this variety of ranks, and this supervision of a commander-in-chief be found necessary to the well-being of a land force, we do not see how the like can be dispensed with in a naval force, whose system can scarce be appreciated by a landsman, necessarily ignorant of the *matériel* and *personnel* of his charge, and of all its complicated relations. We consider this question simply in its connexion with the efficiency of the navy, and with the public welfare of which this is the barrier. We lay no stress on the embarrassment and humiliation our commanders sustain on foreign stations, where they often come in contact with men of superior rank in command of inferior forces ; nor of the crying injustice of allowing the faithful officer, after attaining the modest rank of captain in the prime of life, there to come to anchor and grow gray, until those who commenced their career under him as school-boy midshipmen, shall have reached the same station and become his equals. Yet we do find some difficulty in accounting for this defect of our naval system, when we remember that the proper policy is not only understood, but adopted even in the organization of our militia,

where our worthy legislators, making the case their own, evince no reluctance to receive much higher rank, and wear habitually and with complacence far more sonorous titles, than those which they so jealously withhold from the navy.

In descending to the subordinate officers, we think that we can still discover a want of proper gradations. To prove this we will simply instance the fact, that the first lieutenant of a large ship, who has been fifteen or twenty years in service, is nowise superior in rank, emoluments, and consideration to the youngest lieutenant of a schooner, whose term of service may be but half as long. It can scarce be necessary to prove, that the situation of the first requires greater qualifications, and involves higher responsibilities, or that his age and wants merit a higher rank and increased salary. We are aware, indeed, that the naval officer, devoting himself,—mind, character, health, and life, to serve his country, must abandon all hope of hereafter forming those tender ties to which nature prompts, and which are the only preservative for virtue; or, if betrayed into the imprudence of matrimony, be content to descend to a humiliating parsimony, which is yet no protection from poverty and discomfort. But we do contend, that, if a young man enters the navy, high in hope, without any view to sordid considerations, and with the future alternative not fairly before him, it is neither worthy nor becoming a great nation, when it finds its noblest youths thus entrapped into its service, and unfitted for other employment, to profit by the advantage, and withhold from them even a younger brother's portion of that competence which their talents and industry would have secured to them in any other walk of life. Deficiency of salary, though common to most of the ranks in the navy, bears harder, however, upon the superior officers, especially the masters commandant, than upon the older lieutenants. We think, however, it is sufficiently obvious among these last to require two gradations of lieutenants; those of the inferior one being called sub-lieutenants or ensigns. These could do the duties of lieutenant in the smaller vessels, and of sailing-masters in all. The rank of masters should be allowed to extinguish itself. Few of our commanders receive willingly on board their ships any other masters than *passed* midshipmen, temporarily appointed to the station; well aware, as they are, that men taken from the command of merchant ships are, through age, habits, and education, ill calculated to harmonize with the

regular officers. One important advantage of having the duties of master filled by officers in the line of promotion, is, that they are very improving, and calculated to cherish science among those who perform them. The establishment of the intermediate gradation of ensigns, too, by multiplying promotions, would diminish the present tedious probations of midshipmen, and tend to keep hope and ambition alive in the pursuit of a toilsome career. We can, however, give no reason so potent for the creation of this rank, as the fact that it already exists in the present practice of giving increased pay and additional buttons to *passed* midshipmen, whereby they are invested with a sort of mongrel promotion. Much as we think this intermediate rank required, we do not see that positive necessity for it which exists for the creation of the higher ranks.

Of the various classes of officers into which our navy divides itself, there is none, however, that so urgently recommends itself to the solicitude of the country as that of midshipmen. It may be further said, that none can, by future results, so well reward the solicitude that may be bestowed upon it. The habits and characters of the older officers are already formed, and will admit only of slight modification; but midshipmen may be modified at pleasure. According to the existing system, their only education beyond the mere reading and writing they have learned of the school-madam, is picked up on board, so that if they acquire anything in addition to the mere practice of the profession, it is owing, in the first place, to their own zeal and desire of improvement, and, as they grow older and draw nigh the term of their probation, to the terrors of an approaching examination. Some may say that the practice of the profession is enough, and instance sundry hard fighters, who have known no more, to prove it. But our most meritorious officers, of every rank, are not of this opinion; and accordingly we find them acquainting themselves with the laws of nations, mastering the languages of those countries which they most frequently visit, and cultivating a taste for the sciences, and the study of that nature which presents herself to them in so many various and imposing forms. But all these acquisitions are made in the face of every disadvantage. Study is prosecuted without system; the best works are either unknown or are procured with difficulty; and the habit of application and fixed attention, the most valuable of

all habits, the very root of all excellence, cannot well be formed except in youth, when mind and character are alike flexible. This youth is now spent on ship-board, and its best days, the days of aptness and docility, usually consecrated to education, are idly wasted, or, at best, employed in acquiring that practical knowledge, which would be of infinitely easier attainment were a foundation laid, and the mind matured by years and study. Often those generous impulses, which, if directed aright, might lead to the most brilliant results, left to themselves, or at best unwholesomely restrained, run riot until mind and character are perverted, and the hopes of affection and patriotism drowned in debauchery. We see but one measure adapted to remove the evil and attain the good, a measure, which, though longed for by the navy, desired by the nation to which it is so justly dear, and again and again urged upon Congress by executive recommendation, yet from the intricacies of parliamentary proceedings, the clashing of party interests, or some other sufficient cause, is still unhappily a *desideratum*.

We speak of a preparatory school for the navy, such as the army possesses in the Academy at West Point. The motives for establishing the one are not inferior to those which long since called the other into existence. Naval affairs are not less distinct from the ordinary pursuits of life than military affairs, and therefore we cannot discover why those, who are to make them a profession, should less need a specially adapted education. And if it be admitted that a preparatory education is as necessary to qualify a youth to become a distinguished naval officer, as to excel as a soldier, it will not be denied that high qualifications in the former are not less essential to the safety, honor, and reputation of our country. In time of war the navy is to fight our battles, to meet the danger at a distance upon the deep, and preserve our shores from the foot of the invader; surely the navy should not merely be brave, but skilled in all the arts and resources that decide the fate of battles; versed not only in whatever theory may suggest, but acquainted with all the expedients that have ever been resorted to in extremity of peril by the naval heroes of ancient and modern times. In seasons of peace, our friendly relations with the greatest powers of the earth are in no slight degree entrusted to the keeping of our naval commanders; for it is only on the common highway that we come in contact with

each other, and it is there that our interests and honor are most often brought into collision. No one, then, can deny that the happiness of our country is as much entrusted to the safeguard of the navy as to the officers of the army, whose most important functions go no farther than to keep the peace with the wandering tribes, whom we continue driving before us into the wilderness. At all times our ships of war are the representatives of our country in every quarter of the globe; it is chiefly by the worth, by the intelligence, and by the courtesy of their officers, that an estimate can in those distant regions be formed of the nation that sends them forth. Surely, then, our national honor, and the consideration in which we are held by other countries, that consideration concerning which we are so sensitive, and which, however condemned by some, proves a strong motive to excellence, are not less entrusted to the keeping of our naval officers, who visit every region, than to our soldiers, who are only seen by those who, coming among us, have the whole nation before them. It is not our object to draw invidious comparisons, with a view to undervalue the Military Academy; we desire not to depreciate the army, but to vindicate the navy. Instead of restricting the efforts of that noble institution, we would willingly see the most practical and perfect education in America extended to a double number of our youths, who should convey the seeds of science to every corner of the republic.

Our ideas of a Naval Academy are, that it should be established in some healthy, isolated situation, with the sea in sight, and constant opportunities of witnessing the manœuvres of arriving and departing ships. The age of admission might be twelve years, and the term of service four years, making the youths sixteen at the time of graduation; at this age, with their previous training, they would be able to serve some better purpose on ship-board than that of play-things for the older officers. The system of discipline should be rigid, yet paternal, under the superintendence of a most carefully selected officer. Mathematics would of course form the groundwork of their education; but we would not urge its pursuit beyond the point necessary to render intelligible the various problems of nautical astronomy; upon this would afterwards be raised the superstructure of physics, astronomy, navigation, surveying, naval architecture, and the theory of working ships. In connexion with these more solid studies, a knowledge of his-

tory, of the laws of nations, and of the rules of composition, should be acquired. The French and Spanish languages should be thoroughly taught by natives, and the more advanced classes should be able to understand lectures in both languages. An infusion of young men of French and Spanish parentage, from Louisiana and the Floridas, would greatly facilitate this most necessary acquisition. Drawing would be a highly useful accomplishment to naval officers. As for general literature, we would leave them to acquaint themselves with it hereafter, during the abundant leisure of their future profession, doing no more to cherish a taste for it than to provide a well-selected library, in which travels, naval chronicles, and whatever relates to the sea should not be forgotten, and from which all idle books of a sickly and demoralizing character, such as form the chief mental nutriment of modern readers, should be most carefully excluded.

Nor would we be satisfied, as in most seminaries, with merely training the mind; we would bestow equal care upon the unfolding of the bodily powers, and strive to send each aspirer forth a perfect Lacedemonian. No young man should wear a sword until he could wield it to some purpose in defence of life or honor. The chief of our exercises, however, would be found in the manœuvres of a small ship; not moored in the mountains, as at Angoulême, nor planted upon dry land, or rather on the tops of trees, as at Amsterdam; but a real, moving, live little ship, that could lift her anchor and sail away at will. In such a ship, reefing, furling, steering, and all the manipulation should be performed by the lads themselves. Each class should have its proper station; the junior class should do the hauling and deck-work; the next would know enough to become topmen; those who should have served a year longer would fill the stations of fore-castle-men, petty officers, and helmsmen; the senior class, having learned a lesson of obedience and subordination in each succeeding gradation, would now in turn exact equal deference in the character of officers, and be stationed in various parts of the ship, each directing the efforts of his more youthful and less experienced gang; while one of this number would in rotation be invested with the command of the whole, under the ever-watchful eye of the superintendent. An allotted portion of every fine day might be employed in stripping or rigging ship, or in reefing and furling; one day in

each week should be exclusively appropriated to a cruise round the harbor.

During at least one entire month of every year, we would set the whole school free from study, and keep the lads constantly embarked, organized, and stationed for evolutions and for battle, like the crew of a regular cruiser. In this interval we would not merely have them reconnoitre the coast, and become pilots, but brave the ocean, visit various ports, and penetrate our noble rivers. We would not deny them the cordial attentions, which their proud and admiring countrymen would hasten to tender to them, wherever they appeared; and we can conceive no vacation so delightfully spent as would be this of our young aspirants after naval glory. Seamanship, taught in the way that we thus suggest, would be taught most thoroughly; nothing would be left to accident, or individual ambition and desire of excellence, but every youth would be forced to become a seaman and an officer. We can see no reason for withholding the institution, which justice, not less to the navy than to the nation, claims from our legislators, but the plea of economy. To remove this, we would suggest that the lads should be clothed and rationed upon a regular system, at the public expense; parents would be happy enough to procure their children such an education on any terms, and as for the boys, they are quite as well without money. We might find another source of economy in abolishing the expensive examinations, which now furnish a poor substitute for preparatory education.

It has been suggested that, in the event of our having a naval academy, an observatory, for which we already possess the necessary instruments, should be connected with it, and the professors be constituted a board of longitude. The suggestion is an admirable one, and we would improve it by the additional idea, that the institution should contain a hydrographical *dépôt*, for the collection and collation of charts, and for procuring, by correspondence with navigators, naval and mercantile, whatever information might conduce to perfect a knowledge of the coasts and waters of the navigable world. Science gains by concentration, and the neighborhood of such pursuits would greatly tend to raise the standard of scientific excellence among the students of the academy. The nation which holds the second rank for extent of commerce and navigation, should not depend entirely for the most necessary calculations upon one that

is already her rival, and may again become her enemy ; nor be the only one to do nothing to improve nautical science, and diminish the dangers of the deep. Pride and policy alike forbid it.

When our navy shall be supplied with officers from an institution such as has been suggested, we may confidently look for some new accessions to the honorable reputation which it has already obtained for itself. One of the greatest benefits it would confer, would be found in the probation of mind and character which would take place at the academy, whereby those who are disqualified would be purged from the profession, and, instead of going on disgracing themselves as midshipmen, lieutenants, and superior officers, be arrested at the very threshold. The seeds of good being thus sown, and our young men thus prepared to run an honorable career, much might still be done after they entered upon the active exercise of the profession, by the care and solicitude of the commanders. We think there might be more sympathy between the commander and his officers. Especially do we think there should be, as we know there often is, something paternal in the government over the midshipmen. We think that every opportunity of improvement should be thrown in their way, by not only allowing them to visit the ports where their ship may be anchored, but encouraging them to make excursions into the interior, and bring away more definite ideas of national manners and customs than can be gathered in a visit of a few hours to the shore, the chief of which time is usually spent in the billiard-room. It is in the power of every commander to introduce his officers, everywhere, to the best society, and we can conceive no way so effectual of diverting them from destructive dissipation. The author of the 'Naval Sketches' speaks very sensibly on this subject, in describing the occupations of our officers during their yearly wintering at Minorca.

Before we take leave of that part of our naval system which applies to the officers, we will avail ourselves of the occasion to express a few opinions upon the subject of their uniform. In all military corps, one of the most efficacious means for the support of discipline and concerted action, is a uniformity of dress. Harmonious appearance and the mere gratification of the eye are not its only advantages. It furnishes the means of distinguishing a peculiar class of men from all others, and, by preventing them from withdrawing themselves from the observation of their superiors, greatly increases their sense of amena-

bleness. It abets the authority of those who order, and rivets the subservience of those who obey. The great essentials of a uniform dress we take to be perfect and decided uniformity, in connexion with plainness, cheapness, neatness, and durability. These essentials are in no particular attained by the present system. Our officers have now a dress so expensive and gaudy, and in such bad taste, that they are ashamed to wear it; and an undress, that is no dress at all. Both being lawful to be worn, some choose the one, and some the other, according to individual fancy; whilst others compromise matters by adopting a mean between both. Thus, a laced hat may sometimes be seen in connexion with a rolling-collared coat, nowise different from those worn by our citizens, except in a profusion of buttons. In fact, the undress naval uniform is a uniform exclusively of buttons; and nothing is more common than to see a coat, which has already done its owner good service in his peaceful character of citizen, during the interval of his cruises, by the aid of a few pounds of brass, transformed suddenly, upon the arrival of an order from Washington, into as pugnacious a campaigner as ever paraded a quarter-deck. The fashion of such an old servant, its velvet collar, or fan-tail skirt, can no more than its faithful service save it from conscription.

We think that there should be one only uniform; which, whilst it should be characteristic and decided, should be at once neat, plain, cheap, and durable, entirely free from all lace and tinsel, to glitter for a week, and then look dim and tarnished during the rest of the cruise. With this view, we suggest the substitution of a single-breasted coat of green or blue, to be worn buttoned in front, and free from cuffs, pocket-flaps, and other excrescences; a pantaloon of the same for winter, and of white for summer. The coat might be lined with buff or scarlet, and a rib of the same be carried down the outside seam of the pantaloon.* To these should be added half-boots, a plain cocked-hat, and a stout sword, for use as well as show, made

* The two colors being equal in other respects, we should prefer the green, because it is not worn by the navy of any other nation, and would, therefore, be more characteristic. We may perhaps owe our readers an apology for thus marring the dignity of the critic page with a dissertation upon buttons and broadcloth; but stateliness, grandiloquism, and generalization would be alike thrown away upon such a subject, and we had only to choose between not speaking at all, and speaking specifically.

on a uniform pattern at the government armories ; it should be worn securely upon the hip, suspended from a concealed shoulder-strap. As for the trifling swords of every possible pattern, which now dangle at the heels of our officers, they are, in connexion with the general ignorance of their use, rather a danger than a protection. The only variation we would allow from this single uniform, should be that of round-jackets, of similar cloth and fashion to the coat, and cloth foraging-caps.

A large double-breasted fatigue surtout, of the same color, should relieve the whole family of plaid cloaks, upper benjamins, pea-jackets, and monkeys. This or some similar general system of uniform once established by order, we would compel all the officers, on all occasions, to dress in uniform or fatigues, in conformity to the temporary regulation of the commander. This authority is already exercised to produce uniformity in the appearance of the seamen, though no regulation of the service specifies their uniform ; much more, then, may it be applied to the dress of the officers, whose dress is regulated, and with whom subordination should ever begin. We would have a uniform system running through the dress of the various ranks of officers, and reaching, to a certain extent, to the sailors, whose dress should also be regulated ; the superior officers should be distinguished from their inferiors, less by superior glitter, than by the quality of their epaulettes, or some minute ornament, obvious rather to their own corps than to a stranger or an enemy. Nelson lost his life at Trafalgar by the conspicuousness of his uniform. We think this subject worthy of attention, not merely because it has much to do with the appearance and display of our navy ; but because it might always affect its efficiency ; and because a neat uniform would, among the younger officers, do much to cherish in them a love and pride of profession.

Let us now consider what room there may be for improvement in the organization of the most numerous class of our navy, the class of inferiors. In the first place, then, we consider the abolition of the marine-corps absolutely necessary to the efficiency and harmony of our ships. The marine-corps was adopted in our navy with the rest of the system which we copied from Britain, although the reason of its institution did not apply to us ; it having been originally instituted in order that the officers might avail themselves of the aversion existing between the seamen and soldiers, to make themselves a bul-

wark of bayonets in the event of mutiny, so likely to result from the vexatious irksomeness of a compelled and hopeless servitude. The voluntary enrolment and regular discharge of our seamen entirely remove this danger from among us; so that we do not derive from the marine-corps the advantages which led to its institution, whilst we are fully exposed to all its inconveniences. These are manifold. In the first place, soldiers, when embarked, whilst they are more in the way than an equal number of seamen, are either of no use for the ordinary duties of the ship, or else, in becoming useful, they lose entirely their distinctive character, and cease to be more of soldiers than the seamen among whom they become mingled. Between the marine and sea officers, too, there is a perpetual discord, arising from their unnatural association. The marines carry on a continual contest of conflicting privileges, as to the command of their guard, and sometimes even endeavor to set themselves free from that law of universal subjection to the commander, which is the sole bond that keeps a naval community together. We would say, then, to avoid the great injustice of disbanding the marine-corps, and depriving its members of their profession and support, either make it an exclusive appendage of our naval stations, or else incorporate it with the army.

The marine-corps abolished, or, at least, its unnatural connexion with our ships severed, it would be easy to introduce a more perfect and harmonious organization among the crew. Nothing would be easier, if necessary, than to have all the men trained to the use of the musket, and qualified to act on shore in defence of the coast, without the danger of dispersing. But the great object of rendering them effective at sea would be perfectly attained by enlisting them for a particular ship, with the right of transfer, and in all cases for the duration of the cruise. This arrangement would save our commanders the infinite embarrassment which often results from the expiration of the term for which their crews have entered. No men are greater sticklers for the letter of the law than seamen; and when thus illegally detained beyond their time, they often become discontented, and the commander must either yield a portion of his authority, or resort to a harshness of discipline, which the circumstances render as unpleasant as it is unjust. To obviate the dread of an unlimited term of service, which might deter seamen from entering for the cruise, care should

be taken that no cruise exceed three years; a term already sufficiently prolonged. In entering a crew, we would not allow them to enter for any particular rank or wages; but would classify them according to their merits when embarked, awarding the stations of petty-officers to those who should possess recommendations for having faithfully filled those stations in other ships, and retaining the power to promote, through all the various gradations of boys, ordinary seamen, seamen, and petty-officers, according to individual merit and good behavior. We do not think that the boatswain, gunner, carpenter, and sail-maker, should be warrant officers, but entered like the rest of the crew, and equally subject to promotion and degradation. These offices are best filled by individuals temporarily appointed, and liable to removal at the pleasure of the commander; while those who have warrants, having no hope of going higher, and no immediate fear of descending lower, lose all ambition. Moreover, they would furnish to the whole crew, when within their reach, a powerful motive to emulation and excellence. Finally, we would not receive a single individual into our ships who was not a native-born American. But under the present system of discipline, and whilst there is danger of being for ever degraded by the stroke of the lash, American seamen, or, at all events, the better class of them, will not enter the service of their country. That system which deters Americans from serving their country, and forces us to receive a large proportion of foreigners as the only alternative, must be false, cannot be permanent, and, therefore, demands of legislative wisdom (we do not appeal to humanity) an immediate reformation.

Our naval system, as we have already seen, was received from Britain. Her sailors, forced into her navy like slaves, and forming at least one excepted class from the boasted spirit of universal emancipation, could of course only be controlled by the same bodily compulsion by which they were kidnapped and deprived of their liberty. Though voluntary enrolment was at once substituted among us for compulsion, the lash, which was its counterpart, was most inconsistently retained. Hence the more worthy of our seamen were excluded from the public service, except when out of employment in time of war or embargo; and of course it was compelled to supply itself from among the less scrupulous; out of whom and the foreigners, who entered extensively, a class was formed and per-

petuated of degraded individuals, who have rendered the name of man-of-war's men a stigma, and who, accustomed to obey no law but that of brute compulsion, are still kept in order only by the means of their degradation.

The navy, in point of ease of labor, quality of food, and the chance which long voyages offer for accumulation (to which sailors, however quickly they may spend their money, are not indifferent, as may be seen by their making long voyages in the merchant service, at reduced wages); the pleasures to be derived in it from a numerous society and stated leisure; its festivities, music, dancing, *esprit de corps*, pride of ship, and all its multiplied means of enjoyment, holds out strong inducements to seamen; all, however, counteracted among the less corrupt by the terrors of the lash. Take away these terrors, and our best seamen will enter in abundance. Associate with them a large number of youths, alike unimpaired in character and constitution; and these, cherished by their officers, and ambitious to excel, will soon become skilful seamen. Seaman-ship is incomparably more perfect in the navy, and it will, therefore, be easy to send these young men forth more perfect, than if they had been reared in the merchant service. Hence, then, instead of being indebted to the merchant service for seamen, whom we send back corrupted, and only susceptible of being kept in order by naval discipline, to mutiny, and cause the miscarriage of voyages, we should furnish it with seamen equally distinguished for skill and habits of subordination.

We agree with the author of the 'Naval Sketches,' in condemning the daily issue of ardent spirits as part of the naval ration. A whole crew, without reference to previous habits or individual constitution, learns to swallow the poisonous dose. We can indeed conceive no idea more shocking, than that grave legislators should have thus set their names to a law, whose sole effect is the promotion of intemperance. There is no truth in the idea that grog is a bounty for enlistment; it is only a bounty to those whom it would be desirable to exclude from the service. In merchant ships, where our best seamen are found, the issue of grog is unusual. Grog, in a man-of-war, is a sufficient source of all discord and of every crime; while grog continues to be drunk there, the sound of the lash and a shriek of the tortured and degraded victims will continue to reverberate through our ships. We agree farther with him in believing that much advantage might be derived from the cul-

tivation of the moral character of seamen; and one can, indeed, see no sufficient reason why a ship of war, instead of being a school of ignorance and vice, might not offer a spectacle of intelligence, good order, and morality. We are aware, that in every system of government there will be crimes, and, consequently, that there must be punishments; but what prevents those punishments which are found efficacious ashore, from being equally efficacious afloat? and why might not the hope of reward furnish as strong an excitement to good conduct as the fear of punishment? Be it as it may, substitute whatever punishments you please, even death itself, but let corporal punishments cease henceforth and for ever from among us. With our seamen, as with our children, let us leave them to that nation in which everything is complicated, factitious, unnatural; let it not be said that, while Frenchmen, bowing to the nod of their Emperor, were able to conquer the world by the aid of moral incitements, Americans cannot defend their country but by the impulse of the lash!

ART. VI.—*Elements of Geometry, with Practical Applications for the Use of Schools.* By T. WALKER. Second Edition. Boston. Richardson, Lord, & Holbrook. 1830. 12mo. pp. 104.

THE progress of Geometry, from its rude beginnings in Egypt, to its present state of advancement, exhibits one of the most perfect and beautiful developements of human intellect. Starting from a few simple truths, the application of which the necessities of common life first taught that primitive people, it passed, step by step, along its forward path through the Grecian and Alexandrian schools, and from them through the middle ages to modern times, until it has at last entered a region of unerring truth, no less wonderful to the uninitiated eye, than would be the fabled glories of oriental Fairyland. As the science advanced from truth to truth, each more surprising than the last, it is no wonder that the imaginations of its devotees were enkindled to the most dazzling anticipations of the grandeur of future discoveries. The delight, which the mind

naturally experiences from the vivid perception of some hitherto unknown result, must have acted as a continual stimulant to the early cultivators of geometry, prompting them to unwearied efforts in the prosecution of their beautiful studies. Accordingly we learn from history, that the investigations of this science, particularly among the geometers of Greece, aroused an enthusiasm nowise inferior to the divinest inspiration of poetry. The absolute certainty of the truths which it demonstrates, the clear and elegant methods which intellectual ingenuity has devised of arriving at those truths, the regular progress from one portion of the science to another, the beautiful harmony and unerring symmetry of each part with all the others, make it, now that the successive labors of ages have by degrees unfolded the majestic system, one of the most curious and interesting objects of human contemplation ; and explain and justify the lofty, and perhaps, at first sight, extravagant admiration with which the ancient mathematicians regarded it.

The study of geometry, to say nothing of other cognate sciences, is not, according to the popular impression, a dry and uninteresting pursuit. There is that in it, which calls out and absorbs the powers of the mightiest intellect, and which, as with the spell of an enchanter, concentrates upon itself the varied energies of the imagination, the reason, and the judgment. No men have obtained a place in the intellectual history of antiquity, who aspired more loftily to eternal fame, who were animated with the impulses of more throbbing anticipations, than the geometers. Their names are not upon our lips, like those of Homer, and Æschylus, and Virgil, because we are less familiar with the prodigious efforts of their minds ; they speak not, like the poets, in the seducing tones of passion and sentiment, but in the sterner accents of truth ; and he who would hold communion with them, must attune himself, not to the strains of the graceful but Epicurean muse of Horace, but to the severe teachings of unadorned and majestic truth. But though their names are rarely mentioned, except to point a sentence, to give force to an antithesis, or to surround a common thought with the charm of classical allusion, yet among the initiated, who know how to appreciate them, they are revered with an intenseness proportioned to their sterling worth ; and the more deep and enduring, perhaps, by reason of the narrow limits within which this reverence is confined.

We know but little of Egyptian geometry. Judging from the well-known problem of measuring the height of the pyramids by their shadows, said to have been solved for them by Thales, we should conclude that their theoretical knowledge must have been extremely limited ; judging from those stupendous monuments themselves, which thousands of years have not shaken down or perceptibly affected, we cannot resist the conclusion, that, in practical mechanics, they possessed an almost unrivalled skill. We know of nothing more interesting and curious in ancient historical writings, than the minute and apparently accurate sketches of the Egyptians, their national character, their internal economy, their priesthoods and superstitions, their learning, and, most especially, their public works, the pyramids, the labyrinths, and the excavated lakes, given at length in the second book of Herodotus. The same author ascribes the origin of practical geometry to the operation of an 'Agrarian law,' carried into execution by Sesostris, by which each of his subjects was put in possession of an equal portion of land ; but the proximity of some to the Nile, and the exposure of their lands to annual inundation, rendered necessary a remeasurement, and thus gave birth to geometry, or the art of measuring land. But, as we have intimated above, there is no reason to believe the Egyptians ever extended their geometrical discoveries very far, or that any ancient nation, previous to the Greeks, understood geometry as a symmetrical and progressive science. The celebrated and most important theorem, that 'the square of the hypotenuse of a rectangled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides,' though now understood by every tyro, required for its demonstration the genius of a Pythagoras ; and the joy he experienced on discovering and establishing its truth, is, to us, one of the most electrifying passages in the history of the human mind. We can hardly conceive a more befitting occasion of offering a hecatomb to the gods, than when the intellect has just entered triumphantly the citadel of knowledge, and made captive a master-truth, which is destined to bring beneath its sceptre so many subject-domains of science. Of Pythagoras the same thing may be said as of nearly all the Greek geometers, that he was gifted to an extraordinary degree with the power of imagination. In proof of this we have only to adduce his belief and defence of that fanciful doctrine, called *metempsychosis*, which he had per-

suaded himself that he had experienced in his own person, a fact alluded to by Horace (Lib. I. Ode 28.)

‘Habentque
Tartara Panthoiden, iterum Orco
Demissum, quamvis clypeo Trojana refixo
Tempora testatus, nihil ultra
Nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atræ.’

We have referred to this characteristic trait of Pythagoras by way of illustrating the compatibility of exact studies with the exercise even of the wildest imagination. We can barely allude to a series of authors, all of whom were distinguished in their times, and some of whom left behind them memorials of their genius, which have lived to our day,—Ænopides, who lived nearly five centuries before Christ,—Zenodorus, a contemporary of his, who showed, that figures with equal circumferences have not therefore necessarily equal areas,—Hippocrates, who made the first discovery of certain curvilinear spaces being equal to certain rectilinear, and distinguished himself by his attempts to solve the problem of the duplication of the cube, one of the most celebrated propositions in ancient geometry, said to have originated in a response of the Delian oracle, directing the Athenians to appease the wrath of Apollo, by *doubling the altar* in his temple, which happened to be a perfect cube. Passing over these names and others without further comment, we come to Plato, who, for forty years, presided over the Academy with unrivalled genius and eloquence. The characters of such men as Plato, we contemplate with mingled pride and reverence; with pride, for they show the high powers with which our nature is gifted, and the universality of true genius; and with reverence, for they have raised themselves, by the assiduous cultivation of their immortal intellects, to a dignity of character which we view as one of almost inaccessible glory. This wonderful man possessed by nature a spirit keenly alive to lofty and ennobling sentiments; he possessed by education a taste which realized the excellence of the beautiful and the sublime. Poetry and music were the elegant amusements by which he not only unbent but refined his mind. In his earlier days he is said to have written many metrical pieces, which, when he gave himself to the pursuit of philosophy, under the instruction of Socrates, he destroyed; but in his extant works we yet discover a sufficient vein of that noble enthusiasm, to convince us of the inexhaustible riches of the original mine. Gifted with these lofty

powers and ennobling sentiments, which, according to the popular impression, do not chime well with a love of mathematics, Plato not only was a perfect master of geometry himself, as far as the science had been cultivated, and made many additions by his own discoveries, but insisted that it should be made a leading object of study by his disciples. Every school-boy knows the inscription over his door, 'Let no one enter here who is ignorant of geometry.' It is not wonderful that the influence of Plato should have given an impulse to the science, which lasted long and contributed much to its advancement. An illustrious school of geometricians formed under his auspices, embracing the names of Aristæus, Eudoxus, Menæchmus, and many others, gave themselves to the pursuit with an enthusiasm worthy of the cause, and wrought improvements corresponding to their talents and zeal. One of the first writers, who collected the scattered elements of geometry into a regular system, was Euclid, an author of the Alexandrian school. The fame which his treatise has ever enjoyed, is one of the most striking instances of lasting literary glory, that the history of man has to offer. Down to the present day it has been used, almost exclusively, in the mathematical schools of the civilized world, while Aristotle, who, for many centuries, exerted a most despotic power over the reason of men, has been gradually banished from the halls of learning.

Archimedes of Syracuse flourished about half a century later than Euclid. His name, from its having been recorded in Roman history, is more familiar to general readers than that of any other ancient mathematician. As a geometer, he undoubtedly has a claim to be placed first in the first rank. The enthusiasm with which he regarded the cultivation of his favorite science, and his disinterested and almost passionate devotion to the cause of truth, without reference to its application to purposes of utility, may be regarded as a striking instance of the moral sublime. His method of approximating the ratios of incommensurables, has served as a guide to all succeeding geometers. We know of no fairer title to be placed among the great lights of mankind, than is given by such numerous and important discoveries as were made by Archimedes; and the noble consciousness of his greatness, and his faith in the just appreciation of posterity, place him on the same roll with Galileo and Bacon. Few things, recorded in ancient history, are oftener alluded to, than the destructive effects

which he was enabled to produce at the siege of Syracuse, by means of his knowledge of geometry and mechanics. Science then achieved one of her sublimest triumphs over brute force and the ordinary apparatus of warfare.

‘Against these naval forces,’ says Livy, ‘Archimedes distributed along the walls engines of various magnitudes. The ships which lay at a distance, he assailed with rocks of great weight; those which were nearer the city, he attacked with lighter and more numerous weapons; and at last, that his countrymen might be protected against the enemy, while discharging upon him their weapons, he made in the wall, from top to bottom, numerous apertures, a cubit in diameter, through which, under cover of the wall, part of them harassed the enemy with arrows, and part with darts shot from crossbows. Those ships which approached nearer, in order that the engines might overshoot them, were annoyed by a long lever (*tolleno*), one arm of which projected from the wall. An iron grapple was secured to its extremity by a strong chain, and this grapple fastening upon the prow of the ship, raised it upon the stern by means of a counterpoise of lead, which brought to the ground the other arm of the lever; then being suddenly disengaged, the ship fell from the wall, and was dashed into the water, to the terror of the sailors, with such violence, that, even if it had fallen in an upright position, it would have dipped much water. In this way the attack by sea was completely frustrated; and all the forces of the enemy were concentrated in preparation for an attack by land. But on this side also, the city was defended by a similar apparatus of engines, prepared at the expense of Hiero, during a course of many years, by the unrivalled ingenuity of Archimedes.’*

We have quoted this passage at length, not only because it refers to one of the most remarkable military operations of the Romans, but because it is the *most* remarkable instance of a military defence being protracted by the aids of science, that we find in the war annals of antiquity. Archimedes considered himself as descending from the dignity of the pursuit of abstract truth, to turn the powers of knowledge even against the enemies of his country. He wished that his glory should rest upon the permanent basis of the discovery of geometrical truth;

* Lib. xxiv. c. 34.

and in this his anticipations and hopes have been realized. That his name might be perpetually connected with the memory of his discoveries, he directed that a sphere, inscribed in a cylinder, should be engraved on his tomb, thus making his most brilliant intellectual exploit his only, and, we may add, his most glorious epitaph. It is impossible to contemplate the character of this great man, without feeling that he experienced the same poetical and lofty aspirations after fame, which have always been, we believe, the accompaniments of greatness. The prophetic foresight of Horace, the passionate visions of Cicero, the glowing but solemn confidence of Bacon, justify the spirit of a French philosopher's remark, that, in loftiness of intellectual character, Homer and Archimedes stand upon the same level. But we must break away from these reflections, and enter upon the examination of the work, whose title we have placed at the head of the present article.

Mr Walker is well known as a successful teacher of mathematics, in the celebrated school of Messrs Cogswell and Bancroft, in Northampton. Experience is the only safe test of the merit of an elementary work, in any department of knowledge, designed for the instruction of beginners; and the book before us contains the elements of geometry, moulded to that form, which some years of practical acquaintance with the art of teaching, suggested as the best. The best modern treatise on geometry, compiled from ancient and modern authors, and uniting the excellences of all to an extraordinary degree, is undoubtedly that of Legendre. But on many accounts this is unfit for the use of schools. As an analysis of the science we hold it above all praise. But Legendre, though he departed, in some respects, from the rigid methods of the ancients, did not depart enough from them to avoid a degree of prolixity, which renders his treatise too cumbrous and expensive for a manual in common schools. Without in the least disparaging the merit of that eminent and judicious mathematician, we may assert, and we believe our assertion will be borne out by universal experience, that his work has not supplied the want of an elementary treatise of geometry, for the ordinary and general purposes of instruction; which want, Mr Walker has attempted to supply.

Legendre's work is divided into eight sections, four of which treat of plane geometry, and four of solid geometry. This

division is well enough, but appears a little arbitrary. A somewhat different, and, as we think, a more perspicuous arrangement for beginners, has been adopted by Mr Walker. On this point, let the author speak for himself.

‘The division of the work into three sections is founded in the nature of the subject. Extension, or the space which matter occupies, has three dimensions, length, breadth, and thickness. These may be considered separately or in connexion. When we consider *length alone*, its representative is a *line*. Hence *the first section treats of lines and their relations*. When we consider *length and breadth* together, or *length in two ways*, their representative is a *surface*. Hence *the second section treats of surfaces*. Lastly, when we consider *length, breadth, and thickness* together, or *length in three ways*, their representative is a *solid*. Hence *the third section treats of solids*.’

This arrangement is clear, and the reasons for it are strong. In the first edition, a desire to render every thing perfectly intelligible led the author to omit the use of technical terms as far as possible. We have no partiality ourselves for scientific treatises, overloaded with these ornamental appendages; yet it is very obvious, that as long as facts exist, those facts must have a name; as long as propositions of different forms are to be treated of, it will be very convenient, at least, to have distinguishing terms, which, when their meaning is once settled accurately by definitions, may ever after be employed, in a manner analogous to algebraic signs, instead of the definitions; and if these terms are etymologically significant of their scientific import, so much the better. This defect of the first edition has been corrected in the second, which is, in several other points, a decided improvement upon its predecessor.

It is of great importance, in an elementary work, to bring the subject treated of within as narrow limits as accuracy and perspicuity will admit. This condition has been fulfilled by Mr Walker. As to the scientific strictness of some of his means, we will not now decide, but reserve our remarks for particular instances. We have said that his arrangement differs from M. Legendre's. It differs in several particulars besides what we have already mentioned. For instance, the properties of the circle, of the triangle, of the polygon, &c. are treated of in connexion. The definitions, instead of being given in a body, occur as the nature of the subject demands them. The definitions themselves are given, in some in-

stances, in a different form, from the introduction of another element, *motion*, which we have never before seen thus applied. Legendre defines a line thus. 'A line is length without breadth.' Introducing *motion*, the definition becomes, 'A line is the path described by the motion of a point'; and the definition of a straight line, 'the shortest way from one point to another,' becomes an axiom to the definition, 'A straight line is the path described by a point moving only in one direction.' This is a simple example, but illustrates the thought. An important use is made of motion, in explaining the meaning of the term *angle*. After defining it, and illustrating the definition on the plate, we have the following clear summary; the angle may be considered as denoting 'the quantity, by which a straight line, turning about one of its points, has departed from coincidence with another straight line,'—a perfectly intelligible account of a matter, which, as it is ordinarily explained, is a puzzling mystery to school-boys. Among the original and ingenious demonstrations which we have noticed in this volume, we would instance, particularly, those of Theorems 31 and 32, on perpendicular and oblique lines; and 34, that 'when two parallels are crossed by a straight line, the alternate internal angles are equal to each other, and the internal-external angles are equal to each other.' The principal demonstration in article 70, in regard to the proportion of lines, is partly original, and partly from Bézout. The approximation to the quadrature of the circle, in article 113, is simple, elegant, and entirely original.

A curved line is defined as 'the path described by a point which changes its direction at intervals so small that they cannot be perceived;' and by corollary, 'a curved line may be considered as made up of infinitely small straight lines.' This, taken in connexion with Theorem 94, 'The circle is a regular polygon of an infinite number of sides,' leads to important and curious results. The cylinder becomes a prism of an infinite number of faces, the cone becomes a pyramid of an infinite number of faces, and the sphere becomes a polyedron of an infinite number of faces. By admitting thus much, we have the Fourth Section of Legendre's Second Part reduced something more than one half, and the whole treatise of the '*Elements*,' nearly one fourth. We are aware, that the strictness of ancient geometry would reject an aid like this; but for the purposes of practical instruction, we see not the slightest reason for a pertinacious adherence to the rigor of Euclid. Modern

geometers have universally found themselves compelled to depart, more or less, from this ideal severity of demonstration ; and we see no objection against wider departures still, if the science may be explained by this means more briefly, and with equal or greater clearness. In such circumstances, nothing short of a blind and bigoted adherence to ancient methods, utterly at war with the spirit of improvement, can persist in following the beaten track.

We have thus cursorily examined Mr Walker's book. His plan is simple and natural ; his explanations are clear ; his original demonstrations are ingenious ; and his illustrations easy and familiar. He has condensed into 102 duodecimo pages more geometrical truth than we had supposed it possible to bring within so narrow limits, and all that is essential to be taught in ordinary mathematical instruction. We recommend this treatise as well adapted to the purpose for which it was designed, and calculated to supply a *desideratum* in our schools. In parting, we have only one word more to say, which is, that the study of geometry, in our opinion, should precede that of algebra. This latter science is more abstract in its symbols, and requires a greater effort of purely intellectual labor to comprehend it. But geometry starts from notions as simple as the first ideas of arithmetic, and proceeds, step by step, clearly, irresistibly, by a process that cannot, with an ordinary effort of attention, be mistaken, to the most important and striking truths. The imagination is aided by the use of diagrams, and thus a remarkable and happy union of abstract reasoning and sensible perception renders this science an admirable exercise for the yet unfolding intellect. Take that mystery in arithmetic, the doctrine of the square and square root ; trace it to algebra, and a faint glimmering of light dawns upon the hitherto impenetrable darkness that enveloped it ; but when the pupil advances to geometry, all difficulty vanishes, and the mystery is made as clear as day. And so of others. In geometry there is no such darkness. Let its principles and practice be first understood, therefore, and they will serve as a light to guide the inquirer in the symbolical regions of numbers.

ART. VII.—1. *Du Système Permanent de l'Europe à l'égard de la Russie, et des Affaires de l'Orient*, par M. DE PRADT, ancien Archevêque de Malines. Paris. 1828.

2. *Statistique des Libertés de l'Europe en 1829*, par le Même. Paris. 1829.

IN a former article, which appeared in our number for July, 1828, we ventured to offer a few hasty and imperfect suggestions on the political situation of Europe, at the commencement of the late war between Russia and Turkey. We then intimated, that, although the result of the struggle was in a great measure uncertain, the not unfounded jealousy, entertained by Great Britain and the other western powers, of the constantly progressive influence of Russia, would combine with the moderation, for which we were disposed to give credit to the latter government, to limit as much as possible the duration and geographical theatre of the war, and might be expected to bring it pretty early to a close, which would be conformable, in its results, to the policy of Russia, and the wishes of the friends of civilization and humanity throughout the world. These anticipations have been, in the main, confirmed by the progress of events. Although the first campaign in Europe was hardly distinguished by so brilliant a course of triumphs on the part of Russia, as the rivals and the well-wishers of that power had alike foretold; yet, taking the two campaigns in Europe together and including the two in Asia, the exhibition of military power has, upon the whole, quite equalled the most exalted expectations, that either fear or hope could have suggested beforehand. On the other side, the influence of the policy of the western nations, especially Great Britain, in restraining the advances of Russia, and limiting the duration and theatre of the contest, has been distinctly visible at every step; while the facility and good grace with which the Emperor accommodated his proceedings to the successive and not always perfectly reasonable or consistent demands of his anxious allies, and the moderate conditions on which he has granted another term of national existence to an enemy completely at his mercy, evince a spirit of generosity, good faith, and, we may add, good policy, as commendable as it is uncommon in the councils of governments, especially of the form and character of that of Russia. The resistance of the Turks, although at the

first moment somewhat obstinate, turned out, on the whole, to be as feeble and as badly directed as there was every reason to suppose that it would be, from the well-known decrepitude of that ruined and tottering empire. The terms of the peace, were dictated, as we have just remarked, in a spirit of moderation towards Turkey, and good faith towards the other powers; but are yet decidedly favorable to the future advancement of Russia;—a great deal more so, probably, than if they had evinced, and for the moment gratified, the most inordinate and grasping ambition. The general result places in strong relief the relative strength of the two belligerents, and completely settles the question, already free from doubt in the minds of most judicious men, of the military preponderance of Russia in the southeast of Europe, and indirectly, by a necessary consequence, over the whole continent.

This result, while it involves consequences of the deepest interest to the western nations of the old world, is by no means a matter of indifference to us. The state of the international relations among the great powers of Europe, constitutes regularly one of the principal elements to be taken into view in making up an opinion on our own foreign policy; and it is of high moment that our statesmen, and the public at large, should possess correct information respecting the changes that successively occur in the nature of these relations. We therefore venture to hope, that we shall not be considered as deviating too far from the line of observation, which seems to be naturally marked out for an American Journal, by offering a few hints on this subject. We shall first briefly notice, chiefly under a political point of view, some of the events of the war, and shall then indulge in a few conjectures on its probable effects upon the political situation of Europe and the world. The general object of our remarks will be to develope and substantiate the suggestions contained in the preceding paragraph.

We must here premise, that, in our opinion, as we have already in fact intimated, the result of the war, while it has been highly agreeable to the policy of Russia, is also conformable to the wishes of the friends of civilization and humanity throughout the world. We have seen at times, with surprise, the idea thrown out in some of our most respectable journals, that the sympathies of the people of this country were on the side of the Turks in this struggle, because the Russians had

carried the war, so wantonly provoked by the former, back into their territory. With all our respect for the writers alluded to, we cannot but think that they have mistaken the feelings of the people on the point in question. If indeed they merely mean by *sympathy* the sentiment of commiseration which naturally springs up in the mind, at the view of a fellow-being in a state of suffering, however obviously the result of his own fault or crime, there can of course be no objection to the use of the term in this connexion. But if, as seems more probable, it be intended to convey the impression, that there was anything wrong on the part of Russia, in invading the territory of the Ottoman empire for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction for the manifold injuries and insults which she had received from that power during the series of years that has elapsed since the last treaty, or that there has been any exhibition of an overbearing spirit in her deportment during the course of the war, or of the negotiations that preceded and terminated it, we must, for our part at least, dissent entirely from the opinion. So far indeed are we from taking this view of the subject, that we consider the Russian government as having shown a reluctance to enter on the war, and an anxiety to employ every possible method for escaping from it, which, in a weaker power, would have been looked upon as actually dishonorable, which unquestionably contributed to raise the pretensions and increase the insolence of the Turks, and which nothing but the extreme delicacy of the relations between Russia and the other great powers of Europe would have at all justified. There cannot be a doubt, that the reckless levity with which the Turks broke the treaty of Akerman, before the ink with which they had signed it was fairly dry, and the contemptuous frankness with which they avowed, in their official manifesto, that they signed it merely to gain time and overreach the Russians, were the effect of the long delay and unexampled patience exhibited by the latter during the negotiations, and which the Turks, whose vocabulary contains no expression for such ideas as those of good faith and good policy, could only attribute to bodily fear. The people of the United States know how to commiserate the distress, which the comparatively innocent population of Turkey must have suffered in consequence of the invasion of their territory, however rightful in itself, and however moderately and judiciously conducted; as they would commiserate the innocent and suffering

connexions of a pirate, who was sentenced by the laws of his country to expiate a life of cruelty and horror on the gibbet. It is the lot of humanity, that the innocent must suffer, to a certain extent, for the crimes of the guilty ; but as respects the present case it must be recollected, that the body of the people are not, in any country, entirely innocent of the faults of their rulers, since the character of the government is, after all, only an expression of that of the community. Ferocious and unprincipled rulers are the natural product, as they are the appropriate punishment of a vicious and savage state of society, like that which exists in Turkey. For ourselves we must own, that our sympathy is not particularly lively with the distress of a population, which could tolerate in its government such proceedings as the execution of the Greek patriarchs and bishops at the commencement of the revolution, the massacre of the Janissaries, and the expulsion of the Armenians ; and which took a part itself in the diabolical scenes that disgraced the marketplace at Constantinople, when the women of the first Greek families were publicly exposed to violation on the murdered bodies of their husbands and fathers, at the rate of two piastres a head. Whatever natural regret we may feel at the sufferings of a population, savage enough to concur in such horrors as these, or brutal and degraded enough to acquiesce in the perpetration of them by their rulers, the wishes of the friends of humanity and civilization must surely be in favor of the success of a power, which undertakes to teach such a people by the application of mere force, the only argument they can or do understand, some respect for the rights and feelings of others. The President of the United States takes a more correct view of the subject in his late message to Congress, where, while he expresses rather more sympathy with the sufferings of the Turks, than he would perhaps be warranted in doing by the actual feelings of the people, he nevertheless anticipates that the result of the war will be favorable to the cause of civilization and the progress of human happiness. It would show a very puerile sort of weakness to suppose, that a powerful government, like that of Russia, is to pocket every species of injury and outrage from a feeble, semi-barbarous state, and not seek redress in the only practicable way, for fear of inflicting on the individuals composing that state the evils inseparable from invasion. The respectable editors, who represent the Russians as hostile aggressors, express, on our view of the case,

not the sentiments of the American people, but those of the British politicians, which they have unconsciously imbibed from reading the accounts of the war, and the negotiations which preceded and terminated it, chiefly in the British newspapers, accompanied with commentaries dictated by a natural jealousy of Russia. The truth is (at least as we apprehend the subject), that the friends of humanity feel no other regret on the occasion of this war and its close, excepting that the complicated character of the relations between the great powers of Europe prevented them from improving the present opportunity for effecting, in concert, the entire destruction of the Turkish empire, and expelling for ever, from civilized Europe, the horde of ruthless barbarians who have so long brooded like a night-mare over one of the fairest portions of her territory. When we recollect that another week's march, which there was nothing to impede, would have brought the Russian army to Constantinople, and that the mere fact of their presence there would have driven back the Ottomans into their native Scythian deserts, and restored to the influence of civilization and Christianity the delightful regions that embosom the Mediterranean, the ancient seats of all our art, science, and religion, and which would become again, under these circumstances, as they were of old, the garden of the world, instead of being, as they are under their present masters, given up to desolation, and, substantially, no better than the pestilential haunts of a sort of privileged pirates;—when we recollect this, we certainly do feel some regret that the immediate results of the war had not been of a more complete and decisive character.

Such, we repeat, is the point to which the only regret we have on this occasion is almost exclusively directed. But while we could have wished, for these reasons, that the results of the war had been different, we are not disposed to impute blame to any one because they have not been so. We are fully aware that the considerations, which operated in giving them their present form, are on all sides just and weighty. The apprehensions entertained by the western nations of the prodigious and constantly progressive power of Russia, are perfectly well-founded, nor do they necessarily imply any injurious suspicions of the intentions of the present Emperor, but simply a correct notion of the ordinary course and motives of human action. It was natural and proper for these nations to endeavor to restrict as much as possible the further advancement of

Russian influence, which must, at all events, result from the late struggle; while, on the other hand, the readiness with which the Emperor, out of compliment to their apprehensions, arrested his progress in the full tide of victory over an enemy who had no right, on his own account, to claim or expect the least consideration, was a strong proof, not only of moderation and good policy, but of really noble and generous feelings. It was impossible in the nature of things that the great European powers should terminate, in an amicable way, the territorial arrangements which would have been rendered necessary by a concerted and, of course, successful attack by them all on the Porte; and it was better for all parties, probably in the end for the aggrandisement of Russia, the one which has exhibited the highest degree of magnanimity on the occasion, that the Turkish empire should be left to crumble to pieces by an internal process of decay, and that its territory should distribute itself to future occupants, in such a way as the force of circumstances may determine.

Without, however, dwelling any further on these preliminary considerations, we shall proceed to offer a few suggestions on the events of the war, and on the negotiations that terminated and preceded it. As respects the latter, it would be difficult to find a stronger example of the utter inefficacy of mere diplomacy, however ably conducted, and, indeed, as such, successful, for the purpose of controlling the force of circumstances, and accomplishing important political objects. The negotiation which immediately preceded the war was planned and conducted, on the part of Great Britain, by the ablest minister who has appeared in that kingdom for half a century past; and he succeeded in completing his arrangements probably to his own entire satisfaction. He obtained the signature or approbation of all the principal powers to the celebrated treaty of London, by the effect of which he intended, under the appearance of coöperating with Russia for the emancipation of Greece, to hold the former in leading-strings, sustain Turkey, compel the Greeks to be content with a qualified independence, and especially remove all danger of war. Such were the objects of these diplomatic conventions; but so far were they from answering the expectations of their authors, that they may fairly be regarded as the direct and immediate moving cause of the whole series of *untoward* events that followed them—the battle of Navarino—the war between Turkey and

Russia—the virtual destruction of the former empire, and the complete independence of Greece. The false and unnatural position in which the naval commanders of the allies in the Mediterranean were placed by the treaty of London, produced the encounter of the two hostile fleets; and thus, by a kind of inexplicable fatality, led Great Britain herself to inflict upon her ‘ancient ally’ a blow, second only in severity to that which has since been given by the Russian invasion. The battle of Navarino again, which could only have appeared to the Turks, unskilled as they are in the refinements of European casuistry, an act of open, unprovoked, and even treacherous hostility, was the immediate cause of the war itself, and all its political results. The very measures which were intended to avert the danger of collision, not only determined or, at least, precipitated this occurrence, but created at the same time, by the destruction of the Turkish fleet, a most powerful diversion in favor of the party which their authors were anxious to bind down and cripple in every possible way. Thus terminated this unharmless concert, which was destined, so much against the wishes and intentions of its composers, to serve as an overture to the great work which has since been executed with such decisive success; and thus commenced the war.

This war had long been looked to, by the western powers of Europe, with a sort of breathless anxiety, which has been fully justified by the event, but which was mingled at the time with many grains of encouraging uncertainty, and even flattering hope. The extraordinary display of military power which had been made by Russia, at the close of the war with Napoleon, had left a deep impression on the public mind, which had been recently refreshed and enlivened by the rapid and brilliant success of the invasion of Persia. These positive results, taken in connexion with the vast materials of power which are obviously at the disposal of Russia, had already, in the minds of many judicious statesmen, settled the question of the military preponderance of that empire throughout Europe. Others, whose interest was engaged on the other side, were still willing to be skeptical. The victory over Bonaparte had been achieved in concurrence with powerful allies, under the direction, in part, of a British general, and throughout with the aid of British gold. Persia was but the shadow of a name, too feeble and decrepit to test the power or increase the glory of any conqueror. The Turks, on the other hand, were known to

fight with obstinacy, especially behind entrenchments. The Sultan was an energetic and remorseless tyrant, much superior to the common run of his predecessors, and well-fitted to give a tone to the spirit of his barbarous soldiery. It was not improbable that the war might turn out a tedious and fatiguing one, while the Russian finances, on the other hand, however improved by the indemnity they had just received from Persia, were supposed to be decidedly unequal to the expenses of such a struggle. Such were the views which were entertained by many politicians whose interest was opposed to that of Russia, and which served as a basis for the proceedings of the allies after the opening of the war. Disappointed in their efforts to avert it, and unwilling, at the same time, to encounter the hazard attending a more decisive course, they resolved to temporize and leave something to the chapter of accidents. An expensive and doubtful campaign would be a stronger argument with Russia for the conclusion of peace on easy terms, than any which they could urge in the form of diplomatic address. The Danube and the Balkan were not to be carried by a *coup-de-main*; and supposing the highest expectations of the efficiency of the army to be realized, the allies would still be as well situated for a decisive intervention in favor of Turkey at the opening of the second campaign, as they were at that of the first. It was concluded, therefore, to allow the Emperor to try his fortune. If he failed at the first onset, the Gordian knot of policy would naturally be untied by the mere progress of events; if he succeeded so as to become too dangerous, they were always in season to cut it with the sword.

The only positive check which they attempted to impose upon the progress of the Russian arms, was, that of engaging the Emperor to consent that he would observe a neutrality in the Mediterranean while he was actively at war upon the Danube. The arrangement on this head was announced by the King of Great Britain, in his speech at the opening of Parliament, as a matter of high importance, and wears upon its face the apparent stamp of British origin. It is said, however, by some to have been adopted at the particular request of the French cabinet, and rather against the inclination of England as well as Russia. However this may be, as respects the fact, we incline to doubt whether the two governments or their apologists will hereafter contend very earnestly for the authorship of the measure, which really seems to have done but little

honor to the diplomacy of either. It was, in the first place, absurd in itself; secondly, of too feeble a character to affect, in any great degree, the results of the campaign; and thirdly, by openly evincing a continued jealousy of Russia, it tended, on the whole, to embitter the general relations of the parties to the treaty. The Emperor probably gave his assent, in the first instance, under the idea that the concession was of little or no consequence; and when he found the war proceed rather more heavily than had been anticipated, and thought that the blockade of the Dardanelles would serve a useful purpose, he made no scruple of withdrawing a promise which he doubtless looked upon as given *without consideration*, and, therefore, substantially null. The good grace with which the governments of France and England deemed it convenient to acquiesce in this unexpected change of purpose, formed a pleasant commentary on the air of satisfaction with which the original concession had been announced. The Russian Admiral accordingly declared the Dardanelles to be in a state of blockade, and forgetting, at the moment, the liberal principles which have always been maintained at St. Petersburg on the subject of neutral rights at sea, extended the restriction a little farther than a fair construction of the law of nations would perhaps justify. It was edifying and satisfactory to see with what zeal Great Britain, now one of the neutral powers, espoused the cause of that respectable but generally very ill-used fraternity. No longer ambitious of the sort of glory which, according to some of our law authorities, she reaped during the preceding war, by interpreting the law of nations wholly in favor of the belligerent, and against the neutral, she now, to use a French idiom, *abounded in the other sense*, and with perfect *sang froid*, claimed of Russia the same privileges which she had, for a series of years, so resolutely refused to us. The defence of neutral rights, which Lord Stowell is understood to have written on this occasion, in the favor of a diplomatic despatch, would doubtless compare very well, in point of style and argument, with the plea for belligerent pretensions, which Sir William Scott drew up in the year 1812, in answer to our declaration of war; and the publication of the former is anxiously expected by those who take an interest in such discussions. In the mean time, it appears to have had its effect with the Emperor Nicholas, who, finding himself thus driven back by Great Britain herself to the old ground of the Armed Neutrali-

ty, yielded, in his turn, with much apparent complacency to the very consistent and modest request of that power, disavowed his Admiral, and limited the blockade to the entry of the Dardanelles.

While this diplomatic by-play was going on behind the curtain, the war opened, and brought to the test of experiment the hopes and fears of the interested parties, and the expectations of the world. The course of events, during the first campaign, viewed as it was through the medium of highly raised expectations, appeared to many to be of a doubtful if not decidedly unfavorable character, but was perhaps, on the whole, better fitted than any other to secure the ultimate success of the Russian arms. A decided failure would probably have induced the Emperor (such, at least, was the calculation of the allies) to agree to peace on very easy terms. A more triumphant progress at the outset, by confirming the worst apprehensions of the allies, might have caused them to interfere in such a way as would have brought the war to a close, and prevented the complete development of power on the part of Russia that has since been exhibited. The advantages which were actually gained, while they were substantial enough to encourage the Russians to persevere, were still sufficiently moderate to quiet, in a great measure, the alarm of the allies. The latter began once more to breathe freely, and felt themselves relieved from the terrors that had haunted their imaginations, without interruption, for fifteen years. If the Danube and Varna, trifling obstacles compared with those that remained behind, cost such sacrifices, it was of course impossible that Shumla and the Balkan should be carried without an arduous and protracted effort. They had, therefore, ample time before them in which to deliberate and act at leisure. Far from making haste to interfere and terminate the war, they rather deemed it the dictate of good policy to allow the Autocrat to waste, in fruitless attempts upon the impregnable barrier of Turkey, the resources that might be more dangerous, if they should ever be employed in a different direction. The *prestige*, that had for some time past been attached to the name of Russia, was now, in their opinion, dispelled; and even if the success of another campaign should, in some degree, redeem the failure of the first, there was no moral possibility that it could be so rapid and decisive as to prevent them from interfering, at any moment, in the character of armed mediators,

and dictating to both parties a safe peace. Little or no effort was, therefore, made by the allies, in the interval between the two campaigns to reconcile the belligerent parties. The Emperor of Russia continued to profess the same moderate intentions as before, and made, in the course of the winter, direct overtures to the Porte. But the same circumstances which had relieved the apprehensions of the allies, had, of course, increased the arrogance of the Ottomans, who began to feel as if they had already advanced half way on the road to Moscow, and rejected with contempt the idea of negotiation.

Under such auspices commenced the second campaign, which was destined to disappoint so completely all the calculations that had been formed upon the first. It does not belong to our purpose to examine minutely the events of either, under a military point of view, or to attempt to discover the causes of the great difference between their respective results. Almost the only important change in the circumstances of the parties, was that which took place in the person of the Commander-in-chief of the main Russian army; and it is not very difficult, even for unpractised eyes, to trace the successes which distinguished the opening of the second campaign, and, apparently, decided its character, to skilful combinations rather than any accidental advantage. It is highly probable, therefore, that it was the fortunate appointment of General Diebitsch, as the successor of Wittgenstein, that gave the war a new turn. We may remark, in general, that whenever there occurs a rapid and brilliant movement in business of any kind, it is owing to the accidental presence of the right man, at the right time and place,—a thing of rare and difficult occurrence; since, in the ordinary slow and encumbered march of human affairs, genius too often fails to produce effect for want of opportunity, and opportunities, on the other hand, are too often lost for want of sense to see, and talent to improve them. Be that, however, as it may, and to whatever cause we may attribute the change in the character of the war, certain it is, that it was complete and decisive. One of the circumstances that concurred in producing it, was the headstrong confidence of the Turks, who now began to despise the Russians as much as they had hitherto feared them; and, by rashly sallying from behind their entrenchments, and taking the chances of battle in open field, to which their tactics are known to be unequal, exposed themselves to almost certain destruction, and gave the

enemy a complete and easy victory. Scarcely had the account of the first success, which did not at the moment appear to be of the highest importance, circulated through the west of Europe, when fresh couriers, following hard upon each other's heels, announced, in rapid succession, the actual passage of the impassable Balkan, the taking of Adrianople without resistance, the advance of the Russian troops on Constantinople and the Dardanelles, in a word, the utter rout and ruin of the Turkish army. In the mean time the Asiatic division of the Russian power under General Paskevitch was pushing forward in a career of conquest, less decisive, perhaps, as respects the immediate objects of the war, but not less brilliant in itself, and scarcely less important in its ultimate results, than the progress of the main army. The close of the war realized or surpassed the highest expectations which had been formed of the efficiency of the Russian arms, and which the character of the preceding campaign had partly disappointed. It brought to mind some of the rapid achievements of Bonaparte, while yet in the freshness of his youthful genius. It was now too late for the allies to think of interfering, for the purpose of dictating, or even materially modifying the terms of peace. Indeed there had not even been time, since the change in the character of the war, for them to agree among themselves upon a new system of policy, and despatch the corresponding instructions to their ambassadors at Constantinople. If there had been, an attempt to interpose with violence, at the present juncture, would have rather promoted, than obstructed, the views of Russia (supposing them to be directed towards political aggrandizement and the acquisition of territory), as it would have released the Emperor from his engagements to the allies, and left him at full liberty to retain, at discretion, any or all the conquests, which it was now impossible to prevent him from making. It only remained for the ambassadors, destitute as they probably were of specific instructions, to save appearances by coming forward in the character of formal mediators, and acting as the instruments, through which Russia might dictate peace on her own terms. This part was quite a different one from that which the representatives of the same powers had generally played in the affairs of Europe down to the period of the treaty of Paris; but it was the best now left at their disposal, and they accordingly undertook and went through it in a very becoming manner.

The conditions of peace savor, pretty strongly, of the circumstances under which it was concluded. The opening of the Black Sea to the trade, not only of Russia, but of all other nations, was a demand, which, though conceived in a high and generous spirit, could not have been even proposed, excepting to a completely prostrate enemy. The privileges secured to the Russian residents in Turkey, again, are hardly consistent with the formal independence of the latter power. The emancipation of Greece, according to the treaty of July, 1826, was a matter ostensibly foreign to the causes of war, and which, in form at least, could not regularly be included among the conditions of peace. But although in this, and perhaps some other points, the treaty evidently bore the marks of a law dictated by an acknowledged superior, its terms were, nevertheless, in our opinion, not inconsistent with the supposition of a really moderate spirit on the part of Russia. It should be recollected, that this was a contest between a civilized and a semi-barbarous government, and that, after the repeated breaches of faith, and, finally, open and official avowals of falsehood by that government, it would have argued imbecility, rather than honesty, to put the least confidence in its assurances or engagements. The only way to protect the subjects and property of Russia from aggression was to place the Turks under an absolute physical incapacity of injuring them; and it seems to have been the intention of the Russian general, in drawing up the conditions of peace, to approach as nearly as possible to this point. If we compare them, not with those which are commonly agreed upon at the close of the wars between the civilized nations of Europe, but with those which Russia had it in her power to dictate, or with those which the Sultan would unquestionably have dictated, had he found himself with a victorious army at the gates of Moscow or St Petersburg, we shall not be disposed to consider them as excessively severe. The probability in fact is, that, instead of being too severe, they will prove, on experiment, to have been too lenient; that the Turks will abuse the little latitude that is left to them in such a way, as to show, that, little as it is, it is yet too much; and that future difficulties will arise on this account, which will render it necessary for Russia, before the relation of the two powers as independent states shall finally cease, to bring it still more nearly, on the part of Turkey, to that of actual subjection, than it is now.

Such, however, has been, on a general view, the progress of this brief, but important war, and of the negotiations which preceded and terminated it. We have no disposition to exaggerate the power of Russia, or to present the policy of her government under a too favorable point of view ; but our impression, from a review of these transactions, certainly is, that they have tended, very evidently, to augment the influence and exalt the reputation of this already colossal state. The display of military power and talent has been, upon the whole, taking into view at once the two campaigns and the two divisions of the army, as brilliant and decisive as could have been expected, or as the nature of the case would perhaps have rendered possible that it should be. Unassisted by any active ally, and embarrassed to a certain extent by the policy of his passive ones, the Emperor has advanced to the accomplishment of his object with the same firmness, which his predecessor had exhibited when backed by the armies of the Continent and the treasures of England, and has come out of the war with equally triumphant success. The two leading generals, Diebitsch and Paskevitch, both native Russians, have done great credit to themselves and their country ; and, as far as a high military reputation can be established in one or two campaigns upon a rather limited theatre, have placed their names upon a level with those of the great commanders of ancient and modern times. What is of still more importance, perhaps, in estimating the character and influence of the Russian government, the political transactions connected with and growing out of the war,—although throughout exceedingly delicate and important,—have been managed with extraordinary ability. Disclaiming as before any inclination to exaggerate, we can yet say, with perfect truth, that, in our opinion, Russia has exhibited nearly as great a superiority over the allies in the cabinet, as she certainly has over the Turks in the field of battle. On the Russian side, the tone of discussion, while it has evinced at least an equal degree of sagacity and skill in the negotiators, has been throughout more firm, manly, and consistent, than on the other. The treaty of the sixth of July, which formed the basis of all the negotiations on the part of the allies, though doubtless arranged by Mr Canning with patriotic intentions, wore on the face of it the appearance, if not of actual insincerity, at least of a tortuous policy, which attempts to overreach under the mask of friendship, stabs a rival in the

side, with an *Art thou well, my brother?* It will be said, perhaps, that cunning, approaching to fraud, on the one hand, and manly frankness, bordering at times on arrogance, on the other, are the qualities which naturally belong to the respective positions of a weaker and a stronger power, when they come into relation with each other; and this we partly believe. But at all events the facts appear to be as we have stated them. If we come down to the lower consideration of the mere clerical skill with which the papers are drawn, the superiority is still on the same side. The important documents which were published by the Russian cabinet, at the commencement of the war, are written with great ability and discretion. They are attributed to Count Matusévitch, a young Polish nobleman, educated at the Polytechnic school at Paris, who was attached to the department of foreign affairs at St Petersburg previously to the war, and has since been employed as a special diplomatic agent at London. They certainly do great honor to their author, whoever he may have been; and although emanating from a government which places the essence of administrative talent in *action*, rather than *talking*, would by no means discredit the more experienced diplomacy of western Europe or the *logocracy* of our own dear country.

We proceed, in pursuance of the plan proposed at the beginning of this article, to offer a few suggestions respecting the influence of the events upon which we have thus briefly commented, on the situation and prospects of the political world. This influence is obviously of high and lasting importance. The direct and immediate results of the war appear to be,

1. The virtual subjection of the Turkish empire to the dominion of Russia.

2. The acquisition, by the same power, of great additional means and facilities for encouraging commerce and building up a navy.

It is quite clear, in the first place, that the conditions of the treaty, and the circumstances under which it was concluded, extend the influence of Russia over the Turkish empire as far as it could possibly be carried without an actual incorporation of the territory of the latter with her own; that they are equivalent, in their political results, to such an incorporation; and that this will be, at no very distant period, according to

the ordinary course of events, their natural and almost necessary consequence.

The Ottoman empire is of no importance in the political system of Europe, excepting as a barrier to the progress of Russia. Now its efficiency for this purpose is destroyed by the present arrangement, as completely as if its very name had been blotted from the map. In the latter case, indeed, the desired effect might have been produced, to a much greater extent, by placing the whole territory under an independent Christian government, which, with the guarantee of the allies, and the influence of a highly favorable position, would have grown up rapidly into a very powerful state, and been a much more effectual check on the Russian power, than Turkey ever has been or could possibly be rendered. By the present arrangement, the territory of the latter is divided into two unequal parts, the smaller of which is to be placed under a formally independent Christian government, while the larger is left to drag out a little longer a nominal existence in the character of the Ottoman empire. It is obvious, that, in this way, the inefficiency of the whole, for political purposes, is rendered complete. Crippled and humiliated as she now is, Turkey will of course be incapable hereafter of making any vigorous efforts in her own defence, and still more so of giving effectual aid to any alliance that may be formed in the west of Europe. While, on the other hand, the new Greek state, from the limited extent of its territory, population, and resources, will naturally take its place in the class of second or third rate powers, can have neither voice in the debates nor influence in the struggles of those of the first, and from community of religion, and of political interest as an inferior maritime power, will fall of course under the protectorate of Russia. Even this state of things, unfavorable as it is to the preservation of a balance of power in Europe, is not likely to be permanent; and when it changes it can hardly fail to change for the worse. Humiliation, like that which Turkey has now sustained, is but a prelude to complete subjugation. The pride of the Ottomans, which has only been rendered more sensitive by the entire decay of their power, will revolt at the degradation to which they are reduced, while their ignorance and fanaticism will prevent them from realizing the full extent of their weakness and the impossibility of recovery. Under these circumstances, they will naturally, we may almost say neces-

sarily, violate the obligations imposed by the treaty, and thus afford to Russia the occasion of requiring of them new indemnities and additional guarantees, until their resources are entirely exhausted, and the very name of independence finally disappears. This is the regular progress and result of such relations as those which now exist between the two countries. It was thus that Rome successively swallowed up every independent state with which she came in contact, and that Napoleon undermined the power, and finally destroyed the national existence, of all his weaker neighbors. It was in the same way, that Russia herself has gradually enlarged her possessions in every direction, until, from the somewhat limited inland territory that formed her original seat, she has extended her dominion to the borders of every ocean, and spread it over a quarter of the habitable portion of the globe. Her relations with Turkey have, in fact, been constantly tending towards this catastrophe, ever since her first appearance under Peter the Great as a European power; and it is a curious evidence of the force of circumstances in controlling the influence of the positive combinations dependent on the human will, that, although the probability of such a result has been for a century past proclaimed by political writers, and distinctly perceived by all the cabinets of Europe,—although the policy of preventing it has been felt, acknowledged, and, as far as was practicable, acted on, during the whole of that period,—it has, nevertheless, been steadily approaching, until the occurrence of it has at length become almost a matter of certainty. The most critical moment in the history of these relations was undoubtedly that through which they have just passed. Up to this period, the essential weakness of the Turkish empire had not been fully manifested, and it appeared possible, perhaps may have been so, to sustain it as a barrier against Russia. On this head it is no longer practicable to indulge in any illusion. It is obvious to all, that Turkey, far from serving as the champion or ally of others, is no longer capable of defending herself. It would have still been practicable, as we have already intimated, by a vigorous and well directed concert among the great powers, to substitute a new creation, a young Christian state, instinct with a living principle of health, vigor, and activity, instead of the putrid corpse that now pollutes the soil and infects the air of the fairest portion of Christendom. The most judicious of the speculative writers on politics have accordingly,

for many years past, counselled the great powers to adopt this course ; but the hazard of disturbing so materially the existing state of things was probably thought too great to be encountered without an immediate and absolute necessity. The opportunity has now passed away, never probably to return ; and nothing remains for Europe, but to look on patiently and see the purposes of the Great Catharine successively accomplished, until the Russian standard is finally planted on the towers of the Seraglio, and the present or some future Constantine is actually enthroned at Constantinople.

But without anticipating on the future, it is sufficient for our present purpose to remark, that the circumstances and terms of the late pacification produced all the effect, in extending the influence of Russia and removing the only barrier to her progress in the South of Europe, which would follow from the actual conquest and complete occupation of Turkey. The other principal result of the war is, as we have stated above, the acquisition by Russia of great additional means and facilities for encouraging commerce and building up a navy. The perfect freedom and security, with which the trade to the Black Sea will now be carried on indiscriminately under all foreign flags, must give it at once a great extension, and impart a proportional impulse to the industry of the South of Russia. Her naval stations will now be placed in full and easy communication with the Mediterranean. The strait, that has hitherto in a great measure cut them off from it, will become a convenient entrance, and the government by closing or defending it when occasion shall require, may convert the Black Sea into a magnificent inland basin, where their navies may ride, repair, and exercise, without the fear of attack from any quarter. The inhabitants of the new Greek state, now comparatively at leisure to devote themselves to the peaceful pursuits for which they are best fitted, will be naturally attracted into the Russian service, and will supply the seamen and the nautical skill necessary to sustain this extended navigation. It can hardly be doubted, that Russia, under this combination of favorable circumstances, will soon become the leading maritime power in the Mediterranean, as she is already in the Baltic. By a judicious, industrious, and persevering improvement of the advantages she has thus acquired, and of those which she possessed before,—and there appears to be in the government no want of attention to this department of the pub-

lic service,—she may gradually build up a navy which may enable her to cope with the mistress of the ocean on her own domain, or, at least, to figure as an important member of any future *armed neutrality*, which the course of events may render it necessary to establish.

It would be unjust to the Russian government, and ungrateful in us, as citizens of the United States, not to notice here with particular commendation the liberal spirit, which dictated the measure of opening the Black Sea to every foreign flag, without distinction, and by the effect of which we obtain for the first time a participation in this branch of trade. It forms an agreeable contrast with the jealous and monopolizing character of the proceedings of another European cabinet, which has constantly exerted its influence with the Ottoman Porte to exclude all foreign flags, except its own, and especially that of the United States, from the trade in question. It is known that our government has been, for some years past, negotiating with the Porte on this subject, and that these negotiations have been, hitherto, defeated by the secret agency of England. The interest of Russia, now the leading maritime power in this quarter, in monopolizing the commerce of the Black Sea, appears to be at least as strong and direct as that of Great Britain; and however incredible it may appear to some persons, that nations or individuals can be actuated by any but the basest and most sordid motives, it seems hardly possible to ascribe the difference in the conduct of the two governments to any cause other than a really large and generous policy in the Russian cabinet. But whatever may have been the motive, the powers that have hitherto been excluded from the Black Sea, and in particular the United States, have certainly, for some years past, had the benefit of her coöperation in their negotiations on the subject, and are now indebted entirely to her for their success. By the treaty of Bucharest, Turkey had agreed to accept the good offices of Russia in favor of the admission of such *European* flags as had hitherto been excluded from it. At the conclusion of the treaty of Ackerman, in 1826, the phraseology of the article on this subject, which was, in other respects, copied from the former, was altered, by the substitution of the word *foreign* for *European*; and notice was given to the government of the United States, that the intention of Russia, in proposing this alteration, was, to obtain the opportunity of exercising her influence in our behalf. The early rupture of this

treaty, and the immediate occurrence of hostilities, prevented any proceedings under the article alluded to until the arrangement of the conditions of peace, among which the concession we had been seeking for was included in the ample form already mentioned, but, as we may venture to suppose, with particular reference to the case of the United States. We cannot but hope, that the noble example which has been set on this occasion may find imitators, and may tend to inspire a better spirit into the councils of the great maritime power with whom, it would be still more important for us, if the thing were possible, to maintain a cordial understanding in our commercial and political relations than it even is with Russia. In the mean time, it is the dictate of justice as well as correct feeling to render our acknowledgments where they are due, and to evince by our language, and, if necessary, our actions, that, if we are somewhat sensitive to injuries and insults, we are proportionally prompt in appreciating and requiting in kind the advances of those who are disposed to cultivate our friendship.

Such, however, are the principal direct results of the war,—the extension of the influence of Russia over the Turkish Empire,—the complete annihilation of the only immediate barrier to her farther progress in the South of Europe,—and a great augmentation of her maritime resources. The general effect is of course an important accession of political influence, and a remarkable increase of the decided preponderance which she already exercises in the great commonwealth of the Christian nations of the old world.

It is easy to imagine, that results of such consequence have been anticipated with more or less distinctness by the European politicians and statesmen, and that much time and attention have been devoted to inquiries into the means of averting the dangers that appear to impend over the independence of the Western states. The anxious deliberations of the principal cabinets have no doubt been long and often directed to this subject, but thus far, apparently, without tending to any very decisive practical conclusions. Of the purely speculative writers who have employed their pens in enlightening the world on this matter, the Abbé de Pradt is by far the most copious, and, on the whole, the most powerful and remarkable. We have placed at the head of the present article the titles of the two last of his numerous publications, mostly on contemporary general politics, which are, *The Standing Policy of Europe in regard to*

Russia, and *A Statistical Survey of Europe in reference to the Securities of her Political Liberty, for the year 1829*. The style of these, as of all his other works, is careless, abrupt, unmethodical, and has all the marks of a too rapid and hasty manner of composition ; but they also exhibit, like the rest, a large, clear, and consequently, in the main, just observation of the movements of the political world, stated in lively and not unfrequently vigorous and elegant language. His writings, of which he commonly publishes two or three every year, may be regarded, in fact, as a sort of irregular gazette, or, in the modern phrase, *periodical*, and possess the merits and defects which are naturally incident to that department of literature. His name is not unknown in this country, and the best and most elaborate of his productions, entitled *The Congress of Vienna*, has been published in a good translation by our countryman, Mr G. W. Otis. But this and his other works are less familiar to us than they otherwise would be, because they have not been much noticed or valued in Great Britain, the almost exclusive source of our information and opinions on every subject not coming within the sphere of our domestic concerns. The neglect they have met with in England is owing partly to the supercilious indifference with which the British public regard all foreign literature, and partly to the nature of the opinions of Mr de Pradt, which are not precisely of the kind best suited to the market of London. But the circumstance which prevents his works from obtaining in England the currency and attention to which they are fairly entitled, we mean their continental origin, is precisely the one which ought to recommend them particularly to us. Without intending to intimate that the continental politicians are always in the right, and those of England always in the wrong, it is quite obvious that the reverse is also not true, and that if we mean to have a correct notion of the state of Europe, we must hear both sides. The community of language and extent of intercourse between this country and England, render it impossible for us not to become familiar with the arguments that are current in that country on every subject of any importance. The case is not the same with regard to the Continent ; and it is much to be wished that editors of journals and other persons among us, who make it their business to convey political information to the public, would draw much more frequently than they do from continental sources, which are or ought to be open to them, al-

though they are inaccessible to the mass of the people. Mr Jefferson, on his return from Europe, was so much struck with the deficiency of our information in this particular, that he assisted in the establishment of a newspaper, of which it was the direct and principal object to furnish us with the views and statements of continental writers, particularly as set forth in the *Leyden Journal*, then under the conduct of Professor Luzac, and generally considered the best in Europe. Notwithstanding the rapid progress of improvement among us since that time, the deficiency still exists to as great an extent, proportionally, as it did then; and is now so generally felt, that a newspaper, instituted for a similar purpose, and ably conducted, would be received, in our opinion, with extraordinary favor. We cannot but hope that some of our intelligent editors will be induced to give their labor this particular direction.

Independently of the intrinsic value of the writings of Mr de Pradt, and that which they possess for us as indications of the opinion of the continent of Europe, they are also particularly recommended to us by the strong interest which their author has always taken in the politics of our continent, and by his frequent notice and avowed approbation of the institutions of this country. Mr de Pradt is, indeed, almost the only European writer who has undertaken to treat, in a large and comprehensive way, the vast subject of American politics, and their connexion with those of Europe. The British writers, who ought to be familiar with it, habitually avoid it, or treat it only with reference to this country, and under the influence of the narrowest prejudices, and an almost complete ignorance of facts. The continental politicians can hardly be expected to feel so much interest in it as those of England, and are necessarily still more deficient in the information required for discussing it to any useful purpose. Mr de Pradt forms, in this respect, a remarkable exception to the general characteristics of the class. He had been, as our readers are probably aware, a member of the first National Assembly, in which he voted with the Royalists; and he emigrated with the other considerable members of that party at a very early period in the progress of the revolution. His first writings were published anonymously during the interval between his emigration and the establishment of the consular government, and of course at a period when American politics attracted very little attention in Europe; but even at this time he had employed his mind upon

them, and published the result of his reflections in the work, entitled *The Three Periods in the Progress of Colonies*, in which he assigns the general causes of our revolution, and predicts that of Spanish America. Soon after the change just alluded to in the French government, he was taken into the public service by Napoleon, who appointed him his almoner or chaplain, and gave him the archiepiscopal see of Mechlin. At the close of the Russian campaign, he was acting as ambassador at Warsaw, and his account of this embassy was the first of his second series of publications. He had the good sense to adhere to the king during the ephemeral revolution of the 'hundred days,' and, on the second arrival of the allied armies at Paris, took a very important part in bringing about the return of the Bourbons. The utter neglect with which they treated him is a pleasant commentary on the boasted *gratitude* of monarchies. Finding that his services were not required in any public capacity, he resumed his pen, which he had laid aside during the period of his connexion with the government, and has wielded it ever since with so much assiduity, ability, and effect, that he has probably exercised much more influence, and obtained a much higher place in public estimation than he could possibly have done by the discharge of any official duties. He was elected a member of the House of Deputies in 1827, but was so much dissatisfied with what he considered the indecision and excessive moderation of his liberal friends, that he soon resigned his seat, and returned to his estate; on which he is now living, at a pretty advanced age, much occupied with agriculture, which forms the subject of one of his works, but finding leisure from this healthy and honorable pursuit to write almost every year two or three books upon the political affairs of the world, which are regularly received with great attention by the reading public. A fair proportion of these are devoted to the concerns of this continent and country, and have been of material service in forming the public opinion of Europe respecting them, and giving it a direction in accordance with our interest. He has been, from the beginning, uniform and steady in his anticipations of the success of the effort for emancipation which was making by the Spanish colonies, and, thus far, his apparently sanguine views have been realized by the event. In other respects, particularly the rapid growth of the prosperity and political importance of the new-born American nations, there has been some disappoint-

ment; but we cannot permit ourselves to doubt, that even in regard to these, the large and brilliant promises of the opening of the revolution, although the payment of them has been adjourned for a time, will be ultimately satisfied. The estimate made by Mr de Pradt of the merit of individual characters is occasionally questionable, and particularly in the case of Bolivar, whom he places without ceremony quite above Washington. Indeed, his opinion of the Liberator President has been, throughout, so decidedly 'golden,' as to rouse in some minds the suspicion that it had, in fact, been 'bought' by a pension; but we have reason to believe that this report is groundless. His occasional errors in this and other points, and his faults, such as they are, of composition and substance, are probably the natural results of the same warm imagination and impetuous character which have given his writings their value and success. We regard them, on the whole, as the best series of contemporary commentaries on the politics of the last fifteen years, that have appeared in any quarter during that period.

We have introduced these remarks on the writings of Mr de Pradt for the purpose of inviting the attention of our readers to an author, who is not, we think, sufficiently known or appreciated in this country. As to his opinions on the politics of Europe, which form the immediate subject of this article, he was among the first who distinctly perceived and announced the vast accession of power which accrued to Russia at the close of the last general war. His *Congress of Vienna* may be justly regarded as a sort of text-book for inquiries into the present political system. The leading notions have been repeated with large developments and illustrations in his various subsequent publications, and particularly the two now before us. The following passage contains a rapid and lively sketch of the history of Russia for the last two or three centuries.

'The history of Russia consists of three principal periods.

'During the first, she was a purely Asiatic power, wholly occupied by her wars with the Tartars and the Poles, and a stranger to the commonwealth of Europe, where the rank of her rulers was not yet fixed, and her name even was hardly known. It was not till the war of 1756, that the imperial title, which had been assumed by Peter the Great, was acknowledged in the person of Elizabeth by France and Austria; and this acknowledgment was the price they paid for her assistance against Frederic. During this pe-

riod, the capital of Russia, which was formerly Kief, and afterwards Moscow, was, essentially, an Asiatic city.

‘During the second period, Russia advanced from Asia, under the direction of Peter the Great, and began to take part in the affairs of Europe. This monarch felt the value of his empire, and did not choose to waste his strength in obscure quarrels with his Asiatic neighbors. The scope of his ambition was higher, and the extent of his genius enabled him to attain it. Sweden was then a prominent power. She occupied the whole coast of the Baltic, and completely blocked up the passage of Russia towards the west. It was necessary to remove Sweden from the continent, and take her place. Peter succeeded in this undertaking. He was beaten at Narva, but recovered the advantage at Pultowa, which he never afterwards lost, and having banished the Swedes to their own peninsula, he took possession himself of Ingria and Livonia. Sweden fell from the elevation she had occupied under Gustavus Adolphus and Charles the Twelfth, to a third-rate power. For the purpose of securing these acquisitions, and maintaining his ascendancy in the Baltic, the conqueror of Pultowa now laid the foundation of Petersburg. Thus, in both these periods, the position of the capital has accommodated itself to the condition of the empire, and, by a singular coincidence of circumstances, it appears probable that the changes in the political condition of Russia, which belong to the third period of her history, will occasion another transfer of the seat of government, by bringing it down from the north to the south.

‘These changes are the result of the important acquisitions which Russia has made within the last century in the south of Europe. Immense regions, extending along the whole northern coast of the Black Sea, and enjoying every advantage of soil and climate, have been incorporated into her territory. Such an extension necessarily brings with it new wants, interests, and relations. Such is the fertility of these regions, that their products, if not carefully excluded by other countries, would undersell those of native growth, and condemn the whole west of Europe to barrenness. The commerce in these products is carried on upon the great rivers, the Don, the Borysthenes, and the Nies-ter, which, rising in the centre of the empire, take their courses towards the south, and, with the aid of canals, form a water communication between the Black and the Baltic Seas. While the economical affairs of Russia are tending to the south, it is difficult to suppose that the seat of government can remain very long in its present position; and the time is doubtless not far distant when it will be transferred to the neighborhood of the Black Sea. These regions have twice been the seat of opulence and civilization. They were covered, in ancient times, with flourishing cities,

which, as Montesquieu justly remarks, supplied Mithridates with the means of resisting so obstinately the attack of Rome. In modern days the merchants of Genoa and Pisa carried on an extensive trade in this quarter, and found it still teeming with abundant stores of wealth. The same regions are probably destined to attain a still higher degree of prosperity, in consequence of their union with Russia, which brings into this direction the trade of the whole interior of that empire.'

The following extract gives a striking picture of the vast extent and resources of the Russian dominions.

'Where does the territory of Russia commence? At the great wall of China. Where does it terminate? At the distance of only fifty leagues from Berlin and Vienna. Her right flank rests on the North Pole, and her left is protected by the Black and Caspian Seas. Is there a weak point, a dangerous neighbor, any element whatever of disunion in any part of this immense domain? None whatever. The territory is all compact and contiguous; the population of common origin, manners, language, and religion. Nor ought we to underrate the importance of the Asiatic dominions of Russia. They cost her nothing, and they furnish her with men and money. They are beginning to be civilized and to yield very valuable products. The population now amounts to fifty millions, and may be expected to increase with great rapidity. Population seems indeed to be rapidly increasing in almost all parts of Christendom, in consequence, probably, of the improvements in medicine and in the general condition of the poorer classes of the people. But the immense extent of unoccupied territory in Russia affords opportunity for a greater augmentation in the number of her inhabitants, than can easily take place in most other countries. In this respect her situation resembles that of the United States of America. It has been calculated, that, before the close of the present century, the population of the United States will exceed a hundred millions, and their progress thus far has surpassed the rate required for this purpose. There is no reason why Russia should not advance, in this respect with nearly the same rapidity; and the probability is, that her future emperors will extend their sway over a greater number of subjects than were ever before united under one sovereign. If we compare the elements of power, belonging respectively to the Russian empire and to that of Rome, we find that the former is vastly superior, in extent and compactness of territory, and in the uniformity of laws, manners, and language among its inhabitants. The subjects of Rome were bound to her by no tie but that of force, and had no principle of union among themselves. The Russians, on the other hand, are children of

the soil they inhabit, attached to it by nature, and to each other and the government by all the sympathies and associations that prevail among the members of the same community. The union of all these advantages gives to Russia the command of an almost unlimited power, which she can turn, when it suits her, against the rest of Europe. The power is already in existence. The use that may be made of it depends, in part, on the character of those who have the direction of it, and in part on the progress of events. Men, we know, are prone to abuse their advantages, and existing principles of evil are generally aggravated by the lapse of time. If the continent possessed any other state of equal force we should know where Russia was to stop; but this is not the case. And there is nothing to oppose her progress but artificial combinations, which must always contain as such the seeds of weakness, and are really no match for the same resources united under one head.'

The view here given, though pretty highly colored, is, we think, in the main, correct. We do not, however, agree with Mr de Pradt, in anticipating so rapid an increase of population in Russia, as that which we have witnessed, and which is still going on in this country. Mr de Pradt reasons on the supposition, that no condition is required for a rapid progress in this respect, other than a vast extent of unoccupied territory; but if this were the case, there is no reason why the Indian tribes who inhabit our continent, instead of dwindling into nothing, and disappearing from the face of the earth, should not advance as rapidly as the whites. The condition really necessary to a rapid increase of population is a good political and moral constitution of society. We believe that Russia will advance in this respect, because we notice a gradual improvement in the internal administration of the empire, and a tendency toward a better political and moral constitution, than that which now exists; but it will be necessary that great meliorations of this description should be actually realized and carried into practice, before her progress can ever begin to keep pace with ours.

There is more correctness in the suggestions of our author respecting the manner in which the colossal power of Russia will probably be wielded by the present and future emperors. Much no doubt depends, at any given moment, upon the disposition of the reigning sovereign; and the confidence with which the statesmen of the west of Europe appear to calculate on the moderation of the cabinet of St Petersburg, as a suf-

ficient guarantee for their independence and security, is doubtless, if we look only at the passing moment, not without foundation. But generally speaking, it is the law of nature that states should exercise power to the full extent of their internal capacities and resources, excepting so far as they are restrained from abroad; and even the temporary differences resulting, in this respect, from differences in the moral character of the reigning sovereigns or existing administrations, is, perhaps, less than we should at first thought expect it to be. If the sovereign be of an active and energetic character, he is urged forward by his own ambition; if he be quiet and scrupulous, he is forced to advance by the folly of his neighbors. The only condition upon which the state of things, existing at any given time, could be preserved, would be a perfectly correct and intelligent administration of the public affairs in all quarters. But this we know is impossible in the nature of things. Passion and error will have their influence; temporary interests come into conflict; collisions ensue; and when there is collision between stronger and weaker powers, whatever be the cause, the effect is necessarily in favor of the former. The history of Russia itself affords a remarkable illustration of the truth of these principles. Peter the Great and Catharine *le Grand*, as she was called by Voltaire, were rulers of splendid talents, boundless ambition, and little or no respect for moral principle. On the other hand, the present Emperor and his predecessor have exhibited qualities of an entirely different cast, moderate though respectable talents, amiable, unambitious dispositions, and, in general, a due regard for the rights of other nations. Yet the two latter have been carried forward, by the progress of events, into acquisitions of power and territory hardly less important than those which were made by the former. The emperor Nicholas, whose character, public and private, is thus far unclouded by a shadow of suspicion, has already, in his short reign of three years, been forced into a more important augmentation of his political influence, than was perhaps acquired by his grandmother, during her long and busy reign, with all her daring enterprise and deep, unprincipled policy. The general result is therefore determined by general causes, rather than the influence of individual character. We may remark, however, that the best course, which a really powerful state can possibly adopt for ultimately reaching the highest point of aggrandizement to which her essen-

tial resources authorize her to aspire, would be to adhere, with undeviating strictness and unfeigned sincerity, to a really just and moderate system. By this means she would avoid awakening those desperate moral reactions, on the part of weak powers, which are sometimes found to counterbalance almost any superiority of physical force; and if her march were at times a little less rapid than it would otherwise be, she would nevertheless proceed, in the main, with far more steadiness and certainty to the object in view. A policy of this description has, for some years past, distinguished the proceedings of the Russian government. Mr de Pradt himself, notwithstanding his anxious solicitude about the influence of that power on the destiny of his own country, is in general disposed to render justice to the intentions and feelings of the late and present sovereigns and their principal ministers. The prevailing tone of his writings, in this as in every other point, is highly decorous and perfectly respectful to the powers that be. We notice, however, in particular passages, an occasional deviation from this tone, the result, probably, of a momentary movement of ill humor, not corrected by subsequent reflection, but which assumes at times a rather amusing shape, as in the following extract, where the worthy Archbishop retracts most of the eulogies which he habitually bestows upon the correct principles and excellent feelings of the Emperor Alexander.

‘Moderation is, after all, a relative quality. It does not consist in not exercising power, but often in not abusing it to the utmost point which circumstances would admit. The moderation of the Emperor Alexander was proverbial; but it did not prevent him from acquiring Swedish Finland by the treaty of Friedericshamn, the Prussian palatinates in Poland at the peace of Tilsit, and several Austrian possessions in the same country at that of Schoenbrunn. Moderate as he was, he could yet conquer Bessarabia from Turkey; nor did he refuse himself the kingdom of Poland, which carried forward his dominions into the very centre of western Europe. By one act of moderation after another he succeeded in obtaining everything that suited his convenience, and finally made himself master of the continent; for such is the real state of the case, and the last result of all this moderation. Moderation, properly defined, does not consist in not keeping every foot of territory that may have been conquered, or in not killing on the spot every enemy that may have been taken prisoner. Practices like these belong only to communities in a state of barbarism. In the intercourse of civilized nations,

moderation lies in resigning such advantages as are dangerous to the safety of others ; and the moderation of the Emperor Alexander did not go this length. Two or three more examples of a moderation like his would leave but little scope in Europe for the future exercise of the same kind of virtue.'

It is no part of our plan to write the apology of the Emperor Alexander, who had doubtless, like other men, his weaknesses and faults ; but we may remark, as respects the kingdom of Poland, the most important acquisition made by that sovereign, that he had been forced into a war with France, very much against his will, by the wanton and reckless attack of Bonaparte, that he had been subjected to incalculable losses in the course of it, and that it really does not appear so unnatural, as Mr de Pradt is inclined to represent it, that he should receive, by way of indemnity, a portion of the territory which was found to be disposable at the conclusion of peace. All the other parties to the alliance obtained indemnities of the same kind in one quarter or another ; and was Russia alone, the power that had done and suffered most in the common cause, to refuse herself any advantage of this kind, merely because an acquisition of territory would render her still more dangerous to the other powers than she was before ? Such is the opinion of Mr de Pradt, who would probably, for the same reason, condemn the Emperor Nicholas for accepting large pecuniary indemnities from Persia and Turkey, at the close of his late wars with these powers, and the United States, for taking advantage of the disturbed state of Europe, and of the aggressions of foreign governments upon their commerce, to round off their territory by the addition of Louisiana and Florida. We confess that we do not carry our ideas of moderation quite to this point. On our view of the subject, the moderation of a state consists, not in abstaining from any acquisition lest in augmenting her absolute, she should also augment her relative greatness, but in making no acquisitions at the expense of the rights of others. While we keep within the limits of justice, we are not only at liberty, but bound in duty to augment, as rapidly as possible, our resources of every kind, or, in other words, to exercise and improve all the talents committed to us. The acquisition of Swedish Finland, at the expense of a weaker sovereign and a brother-in-law, was undoubtedly the most questionable of the political acts of Alexander ; but even this was the result of a war, which commenced by a wholly unprovoked

attack on the part of that brother-in-law, who has since been deposed as a maniac, and was probably such at the period when he undertook this disastrous enterprise.

But however individuals may differ respecting the credit due to Russia on the score of moderation, there seems to be but one opinion in regard to the extent of her power, its probable future increase, and the dangers with which it threatens the independence of the western nations of Europe. This being the case, the interesting question presents itself, whether nothing can be done to avert the danger. Our author seems disposed, on the whole, to consider the case as a desperate one. He repeatedly expresses the idea, announced in the above extract, that Russia is already mistress of the continent, and apparently indulges but little hope, that the sceptre can ever be wrested from her hand, either by skilful combinations or actual force. He is, however, not for giving up the point in despair, and waiting tamely for the poor satisfaction of being the last victim. On the contrary, he recommends, in the work now before us, as in all his others, a prompt and vigorous resistance to any farther progress on the part of Russia. For the easier accomplishment of this purpose, he advises the forming of a great anti-Russian confederacy, to be composed of all the other powers of Europe, and organized into a sort of standing and perpetual defensive crusade against the overpowering greatness of the common enemy. Austria and Prussia are to guard the van of this imposing alliance. France is to occupy the centre. Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, and the Italian states would constitute a strong right wing. Sweden and Denmark, on the other hand, are by no means a contemptible left; while the fleets and treasures of Great Britain would infuse a living principle of union and vigorous activity into this otherwise somewhat heterogenous body. It was also a part of the Archbishop's plan, that the allies, acting in concert, should have swept off the Turkish empire from the map, and substituted in its stead a new and powerful Christian state, occupying nearly the same extent of territory. A measure of this kind would have singularly fortified the right wing of the confederacy, and have served in a manner to turn the Russian left, and weaken considerably at this point her almost impregnable line of battle. Here, however, the Russian tactics, as often happens between a single great power and a confederacy of weaker ones, have been too rapid for the allies, or rather the Archbishop.

Instead of waiting to have their own left turned by a new Greek empire, the Russians, by their late brilliant successes over the Turks, and by pushing forward into the heart of the Mediterranean the advanced post of a small Christian state, may be said to have turned the right of the allies, and completely out-generalled them in this quarter. This omission is now past remedy, nor would the case be very much improved by the appointment of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg to the sovereignty of Greece, which, according to the last accounts, was contemplated in the councils of the alliance. It only remains to be considered, whether the other materials, out of which the confederacy is to be organized, are sufficient to render it effective. Mr de Pradt, as we have already remarked, evidently thinks they are not, and while he counsels the most vigorous efforts, considers them all, in a great measure, hopeless. We must own, that we are very much disposed to agree with him in this view of the subject, although he has not, as we conceive, stated with perfect distinctness and precision the real ground there is for entertaining this opinion, which we shall now very briefly attempt to develop.

It is obvious, in the first place, that the only solid basis of an anti-Russian confederacy, among the western powers of Europe, is to be found in the wealth, population, and military resources of the great states of the centre of the continent, France, Austria, and Prussia. The minor powers of the north and south would serve very well, as we have intimated above, to concur in and strengthen an alliance, but could not even think of acting, excepting in aid of the abovementioned principals. Even England, notwithstanding her prodigious navy, her array of colonial appendages, and her boundless financial resources (supposing them to be still unimpaired, which is perhaps very doubtful), can make no impression on the Continent, except by enlisting one or more of the great territorial powers in her cause. She can place, from time to time, a small corps of effective troops at any point on the coast where they may be wanted, but she is essentially not a military state, and can only figure as an auxiliary in the quarrels of those that are so. The real substance of the confederacy must be, therefore, if any where, in a union of the resources of France, Austria, and Prussia. These, if they could be in fact cordially combined and brought to bear upon the object in view, would furnish an aggregate force considerably superior to that of Rus-

sia in its present condition, and quite sufficient to counterbalance it, notwithstanding the essential advantage that belongs to any single state when contending with others allied against her. If the indecision and want of concert, naturally incident to all confederacies, were the only difficulty to be got over, we should consider the cause of the allies as comparatively prosperous, or, at least, by no means desperate. But there is another defect in the condition and relations of the three great central powers, not indicated, or, at least, not much insisted on by Mr de Pradt, but which we look upon as fatal, not merely to the efficiency, but to the existence of any real confederacy among them, and not of a nature to be remedied either by the exercise of prudence and political skill, the occurrence of favorable accidents, or even the lapse of time.

The defect to which we allude has its origin in the internal dissensions which, to a greater or less extent, distract all parts of western Europe. The central seat of these divisions, and the point from which they spread themselves in all directions, through the medium of literature and personal intercourse, is undoubtedly France. The tremendous revolution which has passed over that kingdom, and which has not yet spent all its fury, has left the nation separated by divisions of opinion and interest into factions, whose quarrels are apparently irreconcilable, and are, at all events, not likely to be very soon settled. A noble zeal for liberty and improvement on the one hand, on the other a not less commendable attachment to social order and the venerable traditions of antiquity, have become, by the force of circumstances, the respective watchwords of two embittered parties, under one or the other of which is rallied almost every active member of the community. An impartial and philosophic observer can see in the opinions, feelings, and conduct of both much to approve and admire, as well as much, at times, to condemn; but, under the influence of the passions and prejudices by which they are agitated, each can see nothing in the other but deadly and inveterate enemies, engaged, from selfish views, in enterprises, which, if they succeeded, would be fatal to the prosperity of the country. These dissensions pervade, in greater or less degrees, the whole civilized world of the present day. The shadowy outline of them may be traced even in our own favored country. It is marked with more distinctness in England, and becomes important in the Netherlands and many parts of Germany; but France is

the théâtre on which the struggle is really carried on in earnest, and tasks to their full extent the whole strength and spirit of the combatants. It fills all the newspapers, forms the subject of all the debates in the Chambers that are listened to with the least interest, and takes the *placé* formerly occupied by gaming and gallantry in the brilliant saloons of the fashionable world. The contending armies are always in presence of each other, always in action, and, to judge from the duration and obstinacy of the conflict, and the frequent changes of fortune, are pretty equally balanced in point of numbers and all the elements of power. It is probable, however, that the *liberal*, or, as it is called by its enemies, *revolutionary* party, is, on the whole, very considerably superior to the other in most of the domestic materials of strength, and that it is principally by the aid of foreign influence and the terror of foreign bayonets that the *legitimate* interest maintains itself so well, and is even able, at times, to gain the ascendancy. There is no appearance of any termination, whether peaceful or violent, to the contest, and we may safely predict, that it will, at least, last out the lives of the existing generation. The present state of it at any particular moment is, however, one of the principal elements to be taken into view, in making up an opinion on the political relations of Europe ; and, as the subject is not much studied in detail in this country, it may not be wholly foreign to our purpose to notice some of the recent events that are connected with it.

In the article alluded to at the commencement of this, we took a rapid survey of the history of parties in France from the close of the war up to the change of ministry in 1827. We then mentioned that the liberal interest had, in the main, predominated during the earlier part of the reign of Louis the Eighteenth ; that partly by the great exertions of the Royalist writers, particularly Mr de Châteaubriand, and partly in consequence of the shock given to public opinion by the assassination of the Duke of Berry, the legitimate party afterwards obtained the advantage, and to such an extent, that, at the time of the accession of the present king, the number of liberal representatives in the House of Deputies was reduced to about fifteen. We added that the breach which took place between the two great Royalist leaders, Messrs de Villèle and Châteaubriand, assisted, in some degree, by the imprudence of the administration, produced, in 1827, another revolution, which brought into

the Chamber of Deputies a decided majority of members opposed to the ministry, and made it necessary for the latter to resign their places. At the time we wrote, the new administration was not completely formed, and it was generally supposed that Mr de Châteaubriand would take the place of Mr de Villèle, as President of the Council. Had this arrangement, in fact, been made, the new administration would have probably been much stronger and more durable than it has proved to be. Mr de Châteaubriand was by far the most prominent person in the opposition. His high literary reputation and great exertions in the cause of religion and royalty, together with his known attachment to the liberal principles of the Charter, had given him a great popularity; and as the immediate cause of the change in public opinion was the quarrel between him and Mr de Villèle, and his own removal from office, which was consequent upon it, it appeared but natural that, when his party recovered the ascendancy, he should himself take the place of his now ejected rival. The appointment of Mr de Châteaubriand to the Presidency of the Council, or to the Department of Foreign Affairs, would have satisfied the public, and given a character of strength and decision to the administration. But such was the aversion entertained against him by the leading Royalists and the members of the royal family, on account of what they considered his *apostacy* from the cause, that it was found impossible to persuade the king to receive him again into the Cabinet. In lieu of any other acknowledgment of his services, he was sent ambassador to Rome. The person who had been most active in bringing about the change of ministers, and who might fairly be regarded as the soul of the now dominant party, being thus virtually left out in the new arrangements, it was of course difficult to form them in a satisfactory manner, or upon any other principle than the false and pernicious one of trimming between opposite opinions. To this treatment of Mr de Châteaubriand, and to the system of organization which was the natural consequence of it, we attribute, as we remarked above, the weakness of the administration and its early dissolution. At the first meeting of the Chambers after the retreat of Mr de Villèle, there was a decided expression of feeling against him; and his administration was qualified, in the address to the king which was made by the House of Deputies in answer to his Majesty's speech at the opening of the session, with the more significant than decorous epithet of *dé-*

plorable. The appointment of the distinguished philosopher and statesman, Royer-Collard, to the Presidency of the House of Deputies, was a favorable indication of the spirit of the new ministers. These were, in general, persons of remarkable talent and much individual respectability, but, for the reason we have mentioned, were not well qualified to give complete satisfaction to either opinion, or to conduct the public affairs with energy and success. Mr Hyde de Neuville, well known in this country by his long residence among us, both in a private and public capacity, and generally esteemed, wherever he is known, as a nobleman of high intelligence and the most honorable and benevolent character, was placed in the Department of the Navy. This appointment, if anything could, would have reconciled the Royalist part of the late opposition to the omission of Mr de Châteaubriand, with whom Mr de Neuville was on terms of particular and confidential intercourse. But, as if to make this omission even more remarkable than it otherwise would have been, the place of Minister of Foreign Affairs, which, on the continent of Europe, generally carries with it the direction of the government, which was particularly important at this moment on account of the delicate and interesting aspect of the general politics of Europe, and for which Mr de Châteaubriand was especially fitted by his previous career, was given to Mr de Portalis, a legal character of distinction, who had, in early life, filled some inferior stations in the diplomatic line, but who felt so little vocation for his present employment, that he reserved for himself, during the whole time that he remained in office, a vacant seat on the bench of the highest court of justice, with the intention, which he afterwards executed, of appointing himself to it as soon as he could find himself a fit successor in the ministry. A proceeding like this, which was of course generally known and commented upon in all the newspapers, looked very much like an open declaration by the minister himself, that he regarded the present arrangement as merely temporary, and was preparing in season to secure his retreat. The most effective member of this administration was the Viscount de Martignac. He had accompanied the army, on its entrance into Spain, in 1822, as the civil commissioner of the government, and was now placed at the head of the Home Department. He exhibited extraordinary talent and resources as an extemporary debater—a rare qualification in France,—and conciliated the esteem of all by the urbanity of

his deportment ; but his influence was, in the main, entirely personal, and was, in a great measure, neutralized by his unfortunate position. The most popular member of the cabinet, because the most liberal, was Mr de Vatismenil, a young magistrate of high legal reputation, who had considerably distinguished himself by his determined opposition to the fanatical portion of the Royalists.

On the whole, the ministry might be looked upon, like most of those which have preceded it since the return of the Bourbons, as a sort of middle term between the two opinions ; and this view of their character is confirmed by the history of their proceedings and fall. No sooner had they entered on the discharge of their duties, than they found themselves assailed by a double opposition, which unceasingly harassed them during their short period of official life, and defeated all their favorite projects. The most important measure of internal policy which they attempted was a reform in the municipal organization of the kingdom. Something of this kind had been loudly called for by almost all the successive majorities, whether royalist or liberal, that had appeared in the House of Deputies for several years preceding, and by almost every individual of distinction who was in the habit of expressing his opinion in public on political affairs. The Royalists had urged it because they regarded a powerful municipal organization as an aristocratic element, which would tend to strengthen the constitution at a point where they thought it most defective. The other party, contemplating a highly popular form of municipal authority, anticipated from the same cause a reinforcement of the democratic principle. For one reason or another, the measure appeared to be the object of general desire and favor. The minister, therefore, probably thought that he was meeting the views of all parties, and doing a highly acceptable thing, when he introduced his two detailed and elaborate bills, containing together a complete municipal organization of the whole kingdom, excepting the city of Paris, which was specifically reserved to be made the object of a distinct law. If such were his expectations, they were destined to meet with a most complete disappointment. It would be foreign to our purpose to examine the details of the measure in question, which doubtless contained many wise provisions, and had it been adopted, might perhaps have done much good. In its general aspect and spirit it wore, like the cabinet by which it was formed, the

appearance of an attempt to reconcile the views and interests of both the opposite parties, and, as usually happens in such cases, it satisfied neither. Although both parties wished for the adoption of some system of municipal organization, they wished it for directly opposite reasons; and the measure would have been worse than useless to each, unless the details had been digested in conformity with its own principles. When the bills of Mr de Martignac came under the consideration of the House, instead of pleasing every body, they were found in fact to please almost nobody. The Royalists thought them too popular, and the popular party thought them too aristocratic. The committee to which they were referred amended them so much that they were hardly to be recognised. When they were taken up for debate, scarcely an individual, if we recollect rightly, excepting the officers of the crown, said a word in their support; and, finally, when the preliminary question was taken, which exhibited the feeling of the House on the subject, it appeared to be almost unanimous against them. This result, so adverse to all his sanguine calculations, completely unsettled for a moment the philosophy of Mr de Martignac, and even ruffled the smooth surface of his temper. After the question to which we have alluded had been taken, and gone against him, he suddenly quitted the House while the debate was going on, and returned in about ten minutes with a royal order for withdrawing the bills. This proceeding was rather too hasty to be quite decorous, and also brought a little too directly before the public view the movement of the wires by which the king is made to act in a constitutional monarchy. Thus unsuccessfully and ingloriously terminated the only attempt at any important measure of domestic policy which was made by this short-lived administration.

Their success in managing the foreign relations of the kingdom was not much greater. They took up the general policy of Europe at the point where it was left by the battle of Navarino. But in the few months which had since elapsed, public opinion had been distinctly pronounced upon the character of that event. When the first flush of triumph which naturally swelled every Christian heart at so signal a victory over an infidel enemy had subsided, it was easily seen, that however natural it might be for a British Admiral to attack any fleet, whether friendly or hostile, with which he came into contact, and however politic in Russia to concur, in this instance, in

such a proceeding, the destruction of the Turkish navy was by no means a result that came within the scope of the policy of western Europe. The battle of Navarino had accordingly been declared by the King of Great Britain to be an *untoward* incident, and it was obviously still more unpropitious in its effects on France, since, while it increased, on the one hand, the general political preponderance of Russia, it also confirmed, on the other, the maritime ascendancy of Great Britain, and thus diminished, in both its chief elements, the relative importance of the third party to the alliance. This view of the subject had already become general; and, as the Emperor of Russia finally declared war against the Turks at about the time when the new ministry came into power, the policy of doing nothing which might diminish the influence of Turkey became still more obvious than it was before. Notwithstanding all this, the French ministers, immediately after their entrance into the cabinet, planned and carried into effect a measure of precisely the same general tendency with the attack on the Turkish fleet. We allude to the expedition of ten or fifteen thousand troops which they sent into Greece, under General Maison, for the purpose of compelling Ibrahim Pasha to evacuate the country and return to Egypt. The immediate objects of the expedition were accomplished with honor; and the measure itself, considered simply in reference to its operation on Greece, wore the aspect of a generous interference in behalf of a suffering Christian community. Politically viewed, it was simply an armed diversion in favor of Russia, and was of course directly opposed to the general policy of the western powers. It is understood to have been suggested and proposed by France, and to have been but slightly encouraged by Great Britain. It burdened the French finances with a loan of eighty million francs, for the purpose of effecting an object which that power, had she better understood her interest, should have made any reasonable sacrifice to defeat. It is not easy to account for the adoption of such a measure by the French government, except by supposing that the frequent revolutions in the cabinet, and the constant war of parties which was going on within the kingdom, had diverted the attention of the leading statesmen from the foreign relations, and prevented them from forming any distinct notions on the subject. It is pretty evident, indeed, from the tone of the leading French journals, of all colors, that public opinion, probably from the intense and absorb-

ing interest that is felt in domestic occurrences, and the consequent comparative disregard of those which concern the general politics of Europe, has not yet accommodated itself to the altered state of the balance of power. The old feeling of jealousy of Great Britain is still apparently predominant especially with the liberal politicians; and Mr de Pradt, as far as we are informed, is almost the only prominent individual of this class who has distinctly perceived and announced the expediency of a good understanding with England, for the purpose of forming a counterpoise to the preponderance of Russia. In the absence of any very decided system respecting the general politics of Europe, the French ministry were probably carried away by a chivalrous and in itself highly natural and generous sentiment of sympathy with the sufferings of the Greeks, and zeal in their behalf, into this expedition, a measure evidently not less *untoward* than the battle of Navarino.

The other principal measure, connected with the foreign policy of the kingdom, was the war with Algiers. This was probably in itself just and politic, but was carried on with so little energy and effect, that it did not greatly increase either the reputation of the French marine, or the strength of the administration.

Constructed on the essentially vicious principle of a compromise between two opinions, constantly harassed in consequence by a double opposition, and not enjoying the adventitious aid that might have been obtained from a highly energetic and successful conduct of the public affairs, it was easy to perceive, that the ministry was not destined to a very long period of official life. During the second session of the Chambers, which was held after their introduction into power, it was remarked, that the Prince de Polignac, then ambassador at London, made frequent journeys backward and forward between the place of his residence and Paris, and the conclusion was drawn by the public, although earnestly denied by the ministerial prints, that new arrangements were making in which this nobleman was to figure as a principal character. The event verified their conjecture. The recomposition of the ministry was purposely deferred till the close of the session, in order to avoid the violent reaction against it, that would certainly have been exhibited by the Chambers; but within a few weeks after they had adjourned, an entire change was made in the administration, and a new one was formed of

which the Prince of Polignac, who was placed in the department of foreign affairs, was regarded as the leader.

The elevation of this nobleman to the head of the government is supposed to have been the principal object of this revolution. He had long been a confidential friend of the king, who was particularly solicitous to have him about his person, and, provided this arrangement were made, was comparatively indifferent to the character or political coloring of the other ministers who were to be associated with him. It is accordingly understood, that Mr de Polignac, who, although from habit, principle, and family connexion, an uncompromising Royalist, was still sensible of the strength of the liberal party and the necessity of conciliating it as far as possible, addressed himself, in the first instance, to some of the prominent members of that party and proffered them places in the cabinet. These persons, conceiving that they could not with propriety serve under a leader with whom they did not agree in principle, declined the proposal. It was then, as a last resort, that Mr de Polignac turned to the extreme right, and composed the ministry out of the most decided and violent section of the Royalists. The change was announced in the newspapers of the eighth of last August ; and never, perhaps, was a similar piece of intelligence received with a louder or more universal burst of surprise and indignation. Mr de Polignac, as an individual, was not perhaps regarded as particularly objectionable, although his long residence in England and supposed preference of English manners and principles was but a slender recommendation of him to the mass of the French people. But he was looked upon rather as a courtier of the old school, than as a bigoted partisan. He was in fact regarded merely as the formal leader of the ministry. The direction of affairs was supposed to be in the hands of the Count de Labourdonnaye, a nobleman of excellent personal character, but well known and familiarly cited as precisely the most violent *ultra* in France. He had been for years the rallying point of what was called the *counter* or *royalist opposition*, and had kept himself aloof from the *deplorable* ministry of Mr de Villèle, under the idea that it was not sufficiently orthodox. He had also uniformly been a partisan of rigorous measures of administration as well as of exaggerated principles of government, and, in the earlier periods of the restoration, had gained a sinister sort of distinction by insisting on the adoption of a harsher

mode of treating the political offenders of the day. The speeches he had made at that time were now reprinted, and some unfortunate passages, in which he had called for *more blood*, were particularly pointed out to the public attention. The other ministers, though mostly Royalists of the same school, were men of little note, and of course not personally odious; but the mere name of *Labourdonnaye* gave a character to the administration, which no one at all acquainted with the political situation of France could mistake for a moment. A few persons, who agreed with him in opinion, and thought that the only means of rescuing France from the brink of an impending revolution was to adopt an entirely new course of policy, hailed his appointment with high satisfaction. The much more numerous class of moderate men were struck with alarm, and the still larger party of the professed friends of liberty were thrown into a transport of political frenzy. In fact, whatever may be thought of the characters and principles of the rival statesmen of France, it is not easy to see on what calculation the government expected to be able to sustain an arrangement so diametrically opposite to the opinion of the country. In about six months the Chambers were to assemble; it was impossible that more than a fifth or at most a quarter of the members of the House of Deputies could rally under the banner of Labourdonnaye, and, with a majority of three quarters against them, it appeared palpable that the ministry could not survive the first day of the session. It was evident that the address of the House in answer to the king's speech at the opening must sweep them at once from their places. If, on the other hand, in order to prevent this result the house should be dissolved and an appeal made to the people, it was quite certain that, in the present heated and disturbed state of the national feeling, the elections would all be carried by the liberal party, and that the new House would be still more unanimous against the government than the old one. Reasoning upon these obvious and simple combinations, and taking into view the known decision of Mr de Labourdonnaye, the public began to entertain the opinion that it was his intention to adopt some violent unconstitutional measure,—in the French phrase, some *coup d'état*,—for the purpose of maintaining and restoring the royal authority. It was expected that he would suppress the charter, levy the taxes by a royal order, abolish the liberty of the press, and, in short, revive the absolute monarchy in all its glory. Such,

or something like this, was in fact, as we incline to think, the plan of this minister ; and if he did not attempt the execution of it while he remained in power, it was probably because he was fettered by the timidity and irresolution of his colleagues. So general indeed was the expectation of some such proceeding, that the people began to concert among themselves as to the measures which it would be proper to adopt in such a contingency. An association was formed in Brittany, whose members signed a paper binding themselves to stand by each other in openly resisting the payment of any tax that might be levied without the consent of the Chambers. It was curious too to see how, at this critical moment, the friends of liberty rallied round the venerable citizen who has distinguished himself so remarkably through a long life, as her champion in the old and new worlds. Lafayette was upon a journey through the south of France when the change of ministry took place. He had been received with a cordial welcome and many demonstrations of attachment and respect in the principal cities through which he had passed, before this event was announced. Immediately after, the expression of public opinion assumed a new character. The people appeared to be electrified, and from this time forward till he reached Paris on his return, the journey of the 'Nation's Guest' became a sort of triumphal progress, not unlike that which he had made through the United States five years before. At Lyons, in particular, one of the principal second-rate cities in France, there was an extraordinary display of enthusiasm, and the addresses to and answers of the aged apostle of freedom breathed a spirit not unworthy of '76. In the mean time the two sections of the ministerial party rallied again as an opposition under their former leaders. Mr de Châteaubriand resigned his embassy, although he sacrificed, in so doing, his only means of support. The *Journal des Débats* and the other principal newspapers opened their batteries upon the ministry, and, without being discouraged by a number of prosecutions for libel and sedition that were instituted against them, kept up a most vigorous and animated fire. All things, in short, returned to the same state in which they had stood at the time when Mr de Villèle had been compelled to retire, with the difference that the administration was still more obnoxious and the opposition still more violent than in 1827.

The government did not venture, however, on this occasion,

to appeal to the people as they had done before. The result of the former experiment held out, in fact, but slender encouragement to a repetition of it, and, there being no other alternative remaining, the violent party gave way. Hardly three months had elapsed after the formation of the ministry, when the Count de Labourdonnaye resigned his place as minister of the home department, and at the same time the Prince de Polignac was raised to the presidency of the Council. This change altered very considerably the tone and character of the administration, and brought it nearly back to the intermediate and undecided state, in which it stood under M. de Martignac and his colleagues. The new ministry, like the former, will doubtless be attacked by the Royalist opposition, which has uniformly rallied under Mr de Labourdonnaye, and being nevertheless a shade deeper in its royalism than the preceding one, will be still more obnoxious to the professedly liberal party. Such was the situation of the internal politics of France at the last accounts, but it is not improbable that other changes may occur, even before this article shall have passed through the press.* The Chambers were to assemble about the first of February, and it is not easy to see how the administration, although purged of some of its most unpopular elements, will stand this ordeal, nor yet to imagine, in the midst of this struggle of contending and almost equally balanced opinions and parties, what new bias the government can take.

Such, however, has been the fluctuating and undecided situation of the French ministry, during the whole period of the late war between Russia and Turkey; a period when the general politics of Europe have been in a highly critical posture, and when it was of extreme consequence to France, that she should exercise, to its full extent, all the influence that she is, under any circumstances, capable of exerting. The mere narration of these events illustrates, far more strikingly, than any general observations which we could offer on the subject, the disastrous operation of party divisions on the political importance of the kingdom and on the balance of power. Other communities, more favorably situated than that of France, but which are yet not entirely exempt from this evil, might

* From accounts received since the above was written, it appears that the Chambers have been summoned for the tenth of March. This will of course be the time when we are to look for a new political movement, should any in fact occur.

learn wisdom from her example, if it were possible, as it is not, for men strongly agitated by party spirit, or any other violent passion, to learn wisdom from anything. The political revolution, which brought into power the Polignac ministry, nearly coincided in time with the passage of the Balkan by the Russians. The latter was an event of portentous interest to Europe. It was parallel in character and similar in its consequences to the crossing of the *Rubicon* by Cæsar; while the question, whether the orders of the king of France should be countersigned *Polignac* or *Martignac*, apart from the passions that had become connected with these names, was of no more importance than the celebrated problem which divided the statesmen of Lilliput. But, under the unnatural excitement of the moment, this party controversy occupied exclusively the whole attention of the public, flowed from every tongue, and spread itself at large over the columns of all the newspapers; while the progress of General Diebitsch was crowded into a corner, where it figured as a chance paragraph of two or three lines, and was probably overlooked by half the readers. The liberal politicians, indeed, were so much carried away by their bitterness against *Milord* Polignac, as they called him, who was suspected of entertaining British prejudices and partialities, that they actually appeared to rejoice in the progress of Russia, from an opinion that it would be disagreeable to England and her representative in the French cabinet.* It is impossible not to see, in these senseless and almost ludicrous disputes about trifles to the neglect of the deepest interests, a repetition, on a larger scale, of the madness of the Jews of old, who were slaughtering each other in the streets, in civil wars about their respective pretensions to the priesthood, while the Roman enginery was battering the walls and thundering at the gates of Jerusalem; or of that of the Greeks of Constantinople, who employed themselves in discussing the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, when the green standard of *Islam* was already planted on the shores of the Bosphorus.

If the effects of the dissensions, which we have now de-

* 'If the conflict [between Russia and Great Britain] commence, our wishes, as Frenchmen, will be for Russia; for the Colossus of the Pole menaces us less than the Colossus of the main.'—*Constitutionnel de Paris*.

See the article from which this extract is taken, translated in the 'Boston Daily Advertiser' for February 26.

scribed, on the welfare and political importance of France, are sufficiently disastrous, they are, if possible, still more fatal to the balance of power among the great states of Europe. The only solid basis, as we have already remarked, for a confederacy of the western powers for the purpose of resisting the further progress of Russia, must be looked for in a strict and cordial alliance between the three governments of France, Austria, and Prussia. But while France is thus agitated by party divisions, while the liberal, or, as it is considered and called by its enemies, the *revolutionary* interest, is the one which, on the whole, maintains the ascendancy in her councils, it is impossible that she can appear, to the governments of Austria and Prussia, in any other light than as a sort of political volcano in a state of permanent eruption, constantly threatening the safety and even existence of all the neighboring nations. Far from forming any concert or alliance with France, the great object of Austria and Prussia is to escape from her influence, and, as a means of obtaining this end, to keep as much aloof as possible from any connexion with her. The danger from this quarter is immediate and pressing; and, in looking round for aid in repelling it, they naturally turn their eyes to Russia, as a powerful state, which has, in this respect, a common interest and fellow-feeling with them. They know that the power of Russia, should it continue to increase as it has done, may be ultimately dangerous to their independence, but this is a remote and uncertain peril, compared with that which they apprehend from France and which is already imminent. A confederacy with Russia against France, and not with France against Russia, is therefore the necessary policy of these two great powers, and has been for many years, is now, and will doubtless long continue to be their actual one. This confederacy was regularly and publicly organized under the name of the *Holy Alliance*, which, whatever may have been the theory of its original concoction, became in practice a combination of three powerful, arbitrary governments against the inroads of the principle of *liberty*, which could only come to them, if it came at all, in the form of *revolution*. This alliance, it has sometimes been said, was virtually dissolved by the death of the Emperor Alexander, and has not since been revived; but the truth is, that nothing can dissolve it while the causes which gave it existence continue to operate. As long as the principle of liberty is active in

the west of Europe, so long will the Holy Alliance flourish in the east; and as there is a great probability from present appearances, that the cause of free government is gaining strength in the west, it follows of course, that the cabinets of Austria and Prussia will be rather disposed, for many years to come, to strengthen and consolidate their connexion with Russia, than to combine with France against her.

There is not, therefore, nor can there ever be, in the nature of things, any real confederacy of the great western states against the power of Russia. The only contingency upon which this could happen, would be the triumph of liberal principles of government in Austria and Prussia, and it was with this understanding of the subject, that Napoleon, as we are told by Mr de Pradt, was accustomed to affirm, that, in fifty years, Europe would be either Cossack or Republican. *Dans cinquante ans l'Europe sera Cosaque ou Républicaine.* The meaning was, that Russia would infallibly extend her empire over the whole west of Europe, unless the principle of liberty should exhibit itself with so much vigor in that quarter, as to afford a moral counterpoise to her immense superiority of physical force, in which case it would substitute, for the traditional monarchical establishments that now exist, the pure and simple forms of a republic. But the triumph of liberal principles of government in Austria and Prussia, though certainly within the compass of possibility, does not appear at present a very probable occurrence. Any tendency towards it, which might become alarming, would in fact be checked at once by the interference of Russia herself, who, according to the tenor of the Holy Alliance and the usage under it, would be immediately called on, and would of course be ready to lend her aid for this purpose. The only combination that could be formed in the west of Europe on liberal principles, must, therefore, be composed of France, England, and the minor northern powers; since those of the south, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, and the Italian states, would be much better disposed to join Russia in a crusade against revolution, than France and England in one against Russia. But a coalition of France and England with the minor northern powers would furnish a very insufficient counterpoise to the colossal greatness of Russia, backed by the substantial make-weights of Austria and Prussia, and the minor powers of the south. The attempt to institute such a coalition would only draw still tighter the bonds of

the Holy Alliance, provoke the jealousy of other governments, and counteract the objects it was intended to effect. There is but little probability, therefore, that a confederacy on this or any other scheme will ever be attempted; and the chance is, on the contrary, that Russia will be left for the next thirty-five as she has been for the last fifteen years, to extend her empire as circumstances may appear to render it necessary or expedient, without molestation from any quarter. By the end of that period, if the oracle of Bonaparte be true, there will be but little scope left for further extension.

‘Sistimus hic tandem ubi nobis defuit orbis.’

The form in which Russia will probably exercise her influence and extend her empire over other states, is treated by Mr de Pradt in a separate chapter. His reasoning is not remarkably precise or powerful; but as all these questions are of a novel and interesting character, the reader may perhaps be amused with an extract.

‘It may perhaps be inquired how Russia will exercise this preponderance, which we consider so alarming. Will she have her Proconsuls, like ancient Rome? Will she send out new Repnins and Kaiserlings like those she formerly despatched to Poland? Will she place another Biren here, and a second Poniatofsky there? or will she, like Napoleon, dethrone the existing dynasties and substitute princes of her own in their stead? The answer to all these questions is very easy and simple.

‘The power already exists, and it is in the nature of man to exercise, perhaps to abuse, all the power he possesses. Wars are quite as often the result of the intrigues of courtiers, as of sound policy, or even the ambition of the Prince. Moderation is not an absolute but a relative term, and only means, in many cases, that you do not push your advantages to the last extremity. To yield something that you might retain is considered real moderation. If, then, Russia, at the close of the war with Turkey, occupy only a part of the territory which may be at her disposal, she will receive the praise of exemplary moderation. But it is not the less certain that she will have obtained a great increase of her already excessive power, and that other powers will be relatively weaker in the same proportion. Apply the same principle to Austria and Prussia. Let us suppose that they, too, should fail, as they certainly would, in a contest with Russia, and that the latter were to appropriate to herself only a portion of the spoils. Here would be great moderation, but there would be also, at the same time, a great relative increase of power on the one hand, and diminution

of it on the other. Let us even go farther, and suppose that Russia, in the exercise of a sort of generosity, of which there are yet but few examples, shall absolutely renounce all increase of territory. Still her immense power remains, and necessarily carries with it a kind of virtual supremacy. Already, before anything is resolved upon by any other government, the first question is, What will be thought of this at St. Petersburg? Now this is, essentially, dependence and subjection; this is precisely the state into which Europe had fallen in the time of Napoleon, when the whole continent was constantly occupied in watching his motions and studying his countenance. Immense efforts were made by Europe for the purpose of throwing off this humiliating yoke, but another, far more difficult to break, is already fastened on her neck. It is not improbable that this new authority may be exercised, for a time, with all the forms of the most polite usage, but it will not be for that reason the less real. Russia may not perhaps, like ancient Rome, order her ambassadors to insult foreign sovereigns at their own courts—command one to make war, and another to make peace—attempt to settle the domestic concerns of royal families, or declare her allies inviolable; but a look from her will carry terror, her intimations will be regarded as orders, and her displeasure felt as a disgrace and a misfortune. Such is the mildest form in which the supremacy of Russia over Europe can possibly be exercised. The pride of the western politicians may lead them to affect to doubt the reality of this state of things; but their unwillingness to acknowledge it does not alter the case, which the lapse of a few years will make but too plain to every one.'

These remarks furnish, probably, a pretty correct description of the manner in which Russia does and will *exercise* her influence over the rest of Europe. The question of the form in which she will *extend* her empire is not touched upon, an omission owing probably to the absence, which we have already remarked, of any distinct notion, on the part of our author, of the connexion between the party divisions of the western nations, and the general political situation of Europe. Should these divisions continue to rage as they have done—and there is certainly no present prospect of any abatement of their violence,—they must, after a while, in the regular course of things, produce new convulsions, which will require and, according to their views of their rights and interests, justify the armed intervention of the eastern powers; that is, in substance, of Russia. Such an intervention, however moderately conducted, would necessarily occasion an augmentation of power, and, ultimately, of territory. This was the form in which Russia

extended her dominion over Poland; and was also, in substance, the character of the much more justifiable transactions which terminated the wars of the French revolution. Should the motives which influence human conduct continue to be the same as they always have been, the future history of Europe must necessarily offer, from time to time, a repetition of similar scenes, which will of course be attended with the same practical results. *Divide and conquer* is the well-known and acknowledged principle of all success. In this case, the division already exists, and exists on points which render it interesting, and, by possibility, dangerous to foreign governments. The latter are, consequently, authorized, and indeed required, to take it into view in determining on the course of their policy. Without attributing to any party any other intentions than such as naturally result from their respective positions, it is impossible not to foresee, that Russia must, indirectly or directly, take a part in these controversies, and that she cannot take a part in them without deriving from such interference an augmentation of influence, and ultimately of territory, exactly proportional to the extent to which it may be carried. Such appears to us to be the precise form in which Russia will probably extend her empire over the west of Europe.

In comparing the present situation of Europe with the state of things half a century ago, it is curious to see how few substantial and permanent alterations were effected by the events of the French revolution. That political tornado shook to their foundations almost all the institutions and governments that came within its influence, and unsettled everything so completely, that it seemed at the time quite impossible that the same elements could ever coalesce again in the same or any similar shapes. No sooner, however, had the tempest spent its fury, and the lapse of a few years permitted the materials of power to gravitate into their natural positions, than we find, under a good many modifications of minor parts, the great features of the structure of the commonwealth of Europe differing very little from what they were before. Austria and Prussia stationary,—France comparatively declining,—England and Russia, more especially the latter, the objects of general apprehension and interest;—such was the outline of the political system before the revolution, and such, a little more distinctly marked, is its outline now. If we look into the article on Russia in the celebrated work of Favier on the *Policy of the Cabinets of Eu-*

rope, written about the year 1775, we find him drawing at the close the following conclusions, which vary only in the form of expression from those of Mr de Pradt, and which, if we did not know their origin, would appear to be borrowed from some contemporary publication.

‘From all that we have here stated,’ says Favier, ‘it follows—

‘1. That Russia holds a victorious and menacing attitude towards all her neighbors, and is quite capable of maintaining the existing military establishment to which she owes her success.

‘2. That her alliance with the Court of Vienna and the King of Prussia places her in the very best position as respects her foreign connexions.

‘3. That of the three great powers who might have checked her advances on Turkey, she has nothing to fear from Austria and Prussia, who are in alliance with her, and very little from France, who rather seems to court her friendship.

‘4. That she will, accordingly, find herself free from any obstacles to the accomplishment of her designs on the Porte; that she will undoubtedly dictate the terms of peace, and that the influence of France, formerly so powerful in that quarter, will be quite unimportant.

‘5. That if her revenue be not proportional to her territorial extent, and her extraordinary resources be also inferior to those of some other states, she is still able to command funds ample enough, at least, for the two next campaigns, and that this length of time will be sufficient for the accomplishment of the projects in which she is now engaged.

‘6. That while she enjoys all these advantages for carrying into effect her military and political schemes, we can hardly flatter ourselves that we shall be able to divert her from them by mere persuasion.

‘7. That the method of negotiation should have been attempted in the first instance, in concert with England, for the purpose of stopping her progress towards the Mediterranean; but that if it was then not made, or made ineffectually, there is very little chance that it will succeed better at present.

‘8. That a prompt appeal to force would have been the only certain and practicable means of checking the torrent, or moderating its violence; but that such an appeal could only have had effect in proportion as it was unexpected, sudden, and vigorous, and that no demonstration whatever should have been made unless it was determined to push matters to the last extremity.’

All this applies substantially, and, in general, literally, to the present situation of Russia and of Europe. The subsequent

progress of the former in power and influence is briefly indicated in a note which Mr de Segur, in his edition of the work here cited, places at the end of the article from which the above is extracted. The note was written about the year 1825. His views coincide, in the main, with those which we have ventured to suggest, although we differ from him as to the probability of a coalition of constitutional powers against the progress of Russia.

‘Russia,’ says he, ‘has been gradually advancing ever since the period described in the text, and has now become a colossal power. Her weight in the political balance is immense; almost the whole of Poland is subject to the sceptre of her sovereigns. The vast armies of France, after being stopped in their victorious career by the conflagration of Moscow, perished amidst the snows and storms of her inhospitable climate. Her own armies, on the other hand, after overrunning, on various occasions, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, succeeded at last, by the aid of a general coalition of the other powers, in penetrating to the capital of our hitherto victorious monarchy. Russia is now at the head of a new federative system; she presides, if we may so speak, over the *Holy Alliance*, that unexpected league, in which interests, that before appeared irreconcilable, are now, for a time at least, united in the closest connexion. The apprehension of new revolutions forms the cement of this alliance. For the moment its policy is pacific. But who can foresee the future results of the concerted action of this imposing triumvirate, of which England alone has hitherto maintained an active independence? Would it be too much to predict that the force of circumstances will create another new federative system of an opposite character, and that a league of constitutional governments will be formed in the west of Europe as a counterpoise to this Eastern alliance of absolute monarchies?’

We have left ourselves but little room to treat the question of the influence of the war, and its results on the interest and policy of the United States, and must dispose of this part of the subject in a very summary way. The general outline of the foreign policy of our country is familiar to the public mind. The commercial rivalry which exists between the United States and England, and which affects, at times, to a certain extent, the character of their political relations, creates of course an indirect relation of an opposite kind between us and the great continental powers, to whom we should naturally look for aid on the occurrence of a difficulty in the other quarter. Hence, although our intercourse with England is much more

extensive and important than with the Continent, we are still accustomed to regard the nations of the Continent as our political allies, and England as a political enemy. These relations, which grow out of the nature of things, have been strengthened and confirmed by the progress of events, and may be traced through all the successive periods of our history. They formed in particular the principle of the important aid which we received from France in the war of the revolution. It may be remarked, however, that, during the stormy period which has since intervened, the French government have not unfrequently lost sight of the character of those relations, and of their true policy in regard to the United States. Even at the present moment, and in a somewhat more consolidated and tranquil state of the kingdom, their obstinate refusal to take into serious consideration our important claims upon them, of which they do not even venture to deny the justice, is not perhaps in strict conformity with the line of conduct which should naturally be adopted towards a useful political ally. The same causes, however, which establish a friendly relation between us and France, also create one of a similar kind with Russia, which may, in like manner be traced, through the whole course of our history from the period of the Armed Neutrality up to the present day. The importance of this relation is constantly increasing with the progressive increase of Russia in power and influence; and as this increase also modifies considerably the international relations of the great powers of the west of Europe, and renders France and England allies instead of rivals, it naturally affects at the same time the general character of our foreign policy, and will, ultimately, lead us to look to Russia instead of France as our principal political ally. The difference between the forms of government of the two powers is of no importance in this respect, because, having no point of contact, they cannot possibly be dangerous to each other. We consider it as a strong proof of the ability with which the statesmen of Russia have managed the affairs intrusted to them, that they have distinctly perceived the true character of their relations with us, and have acted throughout in conformity with it, although some mistakes would perhaps have been excusable in regard to a country forming so completely, as we do, the antipodes of theirs, both in geography and politics. They have certainly displayed, in this branch of their foreign relations, far more sagacity than the French, who have hitherto claimed the

superiority over all other nations in diplomatic skill. The extravagant pretensions, blundering incapacity, and wanton violence of the successive rulers of France during the last forty years, have at times completely vitiated, and throughout rendered doubtful, the nature of our position in regard to that power. Even now, as we have already remarked, she denies us what she has herself admitted to be strict justice. From Russia, on the other hand, we have received a series of good offices, uninterrupted by any act or demonstration of an opposite character, and crowned within the last few months by the spontaneous and disinterested gift of a ticket of admission to the Black Sea. It is not in the nature of men or nations to be insensible to such a course of proceeding. It has been and will doubtless continue to be reciprocated by the government of the United States on every proper occasion, and will completely establish the friendly relation which is naturally created by the respective positions of the two powers in regard to Great Britain. It may be proper to add, for the satisfaction of those persons who are sure to misunderstand whenever there is a possibility of misconstruction, that when we speak of Great Britain as a political rival or enemy, we do not mean that it is for our interest to be on bad terms with her. By a political rival or enemy is meant a power with which we are, from the force of circumstances, in greater danger of coming into collision than with any other. Such a power is of course precisely the one with which it is for that very reason most important for us to be on good terms, and which we ought to use every effort and make every reasonable sacrifice to conciliate. Such has in general been, and we trust always will be, however at times imperfectly reciprocated, the character of our proceedings towards the British government.

Such, however, being the general outline of our foreign policy, and in particular of our relations with Russia and Great Britain, it follows of course that every augmentation of the influence of the former power may be regarded by us, looking at the subject merely under a political point of view, as a favorable occurrence. As friends of the cause of freedom and civilization, we may regret that a purely military and despotic government should be gradually gaining on the constitutional monarchies of the west of Europe. But we have, after all, not much faith in the value or permanence of these *mixed modes*, which seem to be, as they have been in fact described by

some of the most distinguished European writers as a sort of mongrel system, growing up naturally in the course of the transition from one simple form to another, but not containing in themselves any principle of vitality or permanent existence. It would perhaps be as well for the western nations of Europe to be under the influence of a stable and well-administered simple monarchy, as to be disturbed by the perpetual and organized war of parties, that belongs to the essence of a compound one. At all events, since Europe, according to Bonaparte, must be either Republican or Russian, and since there is, from present appearances, no great probability that the former part of the alternative will be realized, we must make the best of the latter. If we regret on the one hand that a nation, whose political forms and constitution differ so much from our own, is rapidly increasing in influence, we may console ourselves on the other with the reflection that her power, however great it may become, is not attended with danger to this country, and can only affect us, if at all, in a favorable way.

We shall perhaps be charged on this occasion as we have been on some preceding ones of a similar kind, with exaggerating the greatness of Russia, and with entertaining 'nervous terrors' of her future progress. What is meant by 'nervous terrors' of the progress of a power which we have uniformly looked upon and represented as our principal political ally, we must leave it for those to explain who make the charge. We should as soon have expected to be accused of entertaining individually 'nervous terrors' that one of our best friends would marry an accomplished and beautiful wife with a large fortune, or draw the highest prize in the lottery. As respects the imputation of exaggerating the greatness of Russia, and its probable increase, we cannot but remark that our critics, instead of vaguely denying the correctness of our representations, would perhaps better subserve the cause of truth by indicating with precision the errors contained in them. Enjoying some advantages for a comprehensive view of the political field, we have habitually published our impressions with perfect sincerity, and, as far as we are conscious of our motives, without 'fear, affection, or hope of reward.' They have been for the most part merely statements of fact, which may be easily verified by references to the map or the statistical table. We have occasionally, though somewhat sparingly, hazarded opinions and conjectures as to the present and future political situation of the

world. In their general scope, the sentiments we have expressed coincide with those of the most enlightened politicians and statesmen of Europe for fifty years past, as is proved by the extracts given in the present article from Ségur, De Pradt, and Favier, which might be multiplied, if necessary, to any extent. In our speculations on this subject, we have little or no credit to claim on the score of originality, nor have we ever presented them as anything different from what we deem them, that is, probable speculations and not certainties. The vague charge of exaggeration can of course only be repelled by an equally vague contradiction. If any real errors can be pointed out in our statements or reasonings, we shall be ever happy to acknowledge and correct them. It is easy to see the interested motives, which may lead a certain class of politicians to represent our views as tinctured with extravagance; but we submit it to their consideration, and that of the public, whether existing facts are altered by pretending to doubt their reality, or dangers averted by denying their existence. In this, as in most other cases, it would in our opinion be a safer course for the interested parties to look the danger full in the face, ascertain its precise character, and act accordingly. The disastrous consequences of pursuing a different policy may already be seen, if we are not mistaken, in the actual situation of some of the great powers of Europe.

ART. VIII.—*Life of Arthur Lee, with his Political and Literary Correspondence, and his Papers on Diplomatic and Political Subjects.* By RICHARD HENRY LEE. Boston. Wells & Lilly. 1829. 2 vols. 8vo.

LITTLE has yet been published, which illustrates the early diplomatic history of the United States. The subject of foreign alliances engaged the attention of the Old Congress almost at the outset of its deliberations, and agents were secretly and openly sent abroad for the purpose of obtaining intelligence, in regard to the views of people and governments in Europe, some months before the declaration of independence. These were followed by Commissioners to treat with France, and by

others to the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and afterwards by Ministers Plenipotentiary to France, Spain, Holland, and Russia.

The first channel of communication between these agents in foreign countries and Congress, was a Committee appointed by that body, denominated the *Committee of Secret Correspondence*. The name was subsequently changed to the *Committee of Foreign Affairs*, but the duties powers, and objects of the Committee seem to have remained the same. This Committee had charge of the foreign correspondence till near the end of the war, when the *Department of Foreign Affairs* was instituted, and Robert R. Livingston appointed the first secretary. It was the custom, however, for all the despatches from abroad to be read before Congress, and the Committee had little to do, except to transmit to the ministers or commissioners the resolves and decisions of the House, with such intelligence as their means furnished, or their discretion dictated. Sometimes despatches were directed to the President, by whom they were handed over to the Committee, after having been read in Congress. It appertained to the Committee to write the answers. But all the letters from agents abroad were considered secret, and as the Old Congress held its sittings with closed doors, the reading of the letters to the members thus assembled was not deemed an act of publication. This course was prescribed by prudence and the nature of the topics discussed in the letters. It is true, that certain particulars would find their way out through the memory of individuals, and thence by an easy transition would appear in the newspapers, especially when they bore strongly on the interests of either of the great parties, into which Congress was divided during nearly the whole war; but for the most part the correspondence was actually kept secret, and nothing was published with the avowed approbation of Congress.

The official letters from our ministers and commissioners in Europe, during the revolution, are full of interest and historical value, abounding in facts and observations on the condition of European countries, rich in maxims of political wisdom, breathing a spirit of liberty, and showing that the authors understood, proclaimed, and defended the rights and just demands of their country, in a manner highly creditable to their talents and strength of character, as well as to their patriotism.

But the records of the Committee at home have little in them worthy of commendation ; they are meagre and jejune, carelessly written, and fertile in nothing. The fault is chiefly to be attributed, perhaps, to the organization of the Committee, which made it the duty of no particular member to answer despatches, and thus took the responsibility from them all. After Mr Livingston came into office, the foreign affairs took another and very improved shape. All despatches were directed to him personally, and he alone was charged with the answers. Nor was he required to bring any letters before Congress, although he was left at liberty to do it when he chose. The responsibility rested with himself. Cases of delicacy and difficulty he would of course submit to that body, preferring to be guided by their voice and instructions, rather than his own unaided judgment. This change in the management of foreign affairs was most salutary, and the same system continued to the end of the war.

Nothing is more rigidly guarded with the seal of secrecy, in the foreign offices of European cabinets, than the diplomatic papers, or correspondence of the ministers at other courts. This caution is necessary, where diplomacy is made a personal concern between sovereigns, and entrusted only to a few confidential ministers, whose business it is to be well practised in the tactics of their vocation, and to maintain the interests, and sometimes the caprices of their master, honestly if they can, but successfully at any rate, and into whose doings it is no part of the people's prerogative to inquire. But in a government like that of the United States, where the acts of every public man are subject to be brought out to the view of the nation, nothing can long be hidden under the veil of secrecy. The consequence is, that the despatches of our foreign ministers are written for the public, or at least with the conviction, that circumstances or events may one day place them before the eyes of the world. The writer is thus impressed with the importance of performing his task with circumspection, and to the full measure of his ability. Hence the artifices of intrigue, the gossip and scandal of courts, and frivolous details about the habits, foibles, or follies of individuals of high rank, which make so large a portion of a European ambassador's correspondence, find no place in the letters of an American diplomatist. These remarks apply with particular force to the

foreign revolutionary correspondence, because it was known that each letter would be read in Congress ; and it will be seen when these papers come before the public, that they contain a mass of the most valuable and authentic materials for a history of that period, which have yet appeared, not only in regard to the opinions and acts of our own statesmen, but to the politics of foreign nations.

Much will doubtless be gathered, also, in due time, from the memoirs and private papers of the individuals employed in the foreign negotiations. The Works of Dr Franklin have already added largely to the stock, notwithstanding the imperfect and ill digested manner in which they have been made public, and their manifest deficiency in some essential particulars. Still more widely will the field of knowledge be enlarged by the papers of Adams and Jay, who were several years absent in diplomatic stations of the highest responsibility. And in the work now before us, containing a large portion of the correspondence of Arthur Lee, we are made acquainted with facts little known before, respecting the early foreign relations of the United States, and the attempts to procure alliances and assistance. We propose in the present article to bring together a few hints on this subject, in connexion with such remarks as may be elicited by the work here mentioned.

Arthur Lee was a native of Virginia, born in the year 1740, educated first at Eton College in England, and afterwards as a student of medicine at Edinburgh. Under the eminent lecturers, who at that time filled the chairs in Edinburgh, he engaged with much ardor in various branches of study, both literary and scientific, and at length took the degree of doctor in medicine with a reputation high as a general scholar, and as a candidate for the profession in which he was about to embark. His skill in natural science was proved by a Latin essay on a botanical subject, which gained a prize over several competitors. His studies being completed, he made the tour of Germany and Holland, keeping a journal of the principal occurrences, which his biographer commends as bearing a favorable testimony to his habits of observation, judicious reflections, and happy talent at describing objects and events, that came under his notice. Designing to make his native country the theatre of his future residence and usefulness, he returned to Virginia, and settled as a physician at Williamsburg.

It required but a short experiment in this line, however, to convince Mr Lee, that in the choice of a profession he had mistaken the elements of his character, and the moving springs of his inclinations. The charms of science, pursued in its theories and facts, its beautiful systems and imposing results, had won his admiration, and kindled an enthusiasm, which for a time filled and satisfied his mind ; but the spell quickly disappeared, when he began to chain himself to the duties of a practising physician, in which fame and fortune were to be acquired by a process, as slow and uncertain as it was laborious and uncongenial. Little time was lost in deliberation ; he resolved to change at once the entire course of his pursuits, and betake himself to the study of the law. With this view he went to London, became a student in the Temple, and applied himself with all the energy and warmth of his character to his new vocation. Here his aspiring hopes had ample room for expansion ; all the motives and all the facilities for study were within his reach ; the spur of competition and rivalry was present with its quickening force ; the rewards of lofty purpose, vigorous effort, and high attainment, were before his eyes, and open to his grasp ; the society of eminent lawyers, statesmen, and scholars, contributed to enlarge his knowledge of men and things, at the same time it added a fresh impulse to his activity, and raised higher the standard of his ambition. The friendships which he formed, even while a student in the Temple, with such men as Burke, Dunning, Glynn, Dr Price, and Sir William Jones, are proof enough, that all these circumstances conspired with effect to press him onward, and bring him into a notice by no means common for a young man in that stage of his legal progress. But Mr Lee's mind was restless as well as active ; excitement was to him the *pabulum vitæ*, and he loved to ride in the storms raised by men's passions in the social and political atmosphere. The party violence, which ran so high at that time in Great Britain, gave him an opportunity of indulging this tendency of his disposition to its full extent, and in a cause to which he devoted all his powers.

The contest with the colonies had already begun to assume a serious aspect, and the friends of liberty on both sides of the water had taken a bold and determined stand against the threats of tyranny, and the encroachments of unlawful power.

Moved by a genuine and elevated patriotism, Mr Lee took the part of his native country with a zeal as untiring as it was ardent. He seemed animated by the same spirit in London, which so eminently distinguished his brother, Richard Henry Lee, in America, and before he arrived at the age of thirty he had done much, both by his writings and his personal exertions, to make the British public better acquainted with the interests of the colonies, their just claims, and their unalterable determination to maintain their rights and their liberties at any sacrifice. His *Monitor's Letters*, which were addressed to the people of the colonies, his letters signed *Junius Americanus*, and his *Appeal to the English Nation*, were circulated widely in Great Britain and America. He belonged to patriotic clubs, and wrote spirited and able Addresses, which went forth under the sanction of those bodies. These services made him known in his own country, and pointed him out as a suitable person to be entrusted with her interests. Dr Franklin had been some years in England, as agent for several colonies, and among others for Massachusetts. As early as the year 1770 the Assembly of Massachusetts appointed Mr Lee agent for the colony, to take the place of Dr Franklin whenever he should return; and although this event did not occur till the spring of 1775, yet Dr Franklin speaks with approbation of the aid he received from the assiduity and patriotic zeal of his countryman. After Franklin's departure, Mr Lee became the sole agent, and it was through him that the British Cabinet received the first authentic intelligence of the battle of Lexington.*

* All the papers relating to the transactions of that eventful day, comprising an address from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts to the inhabitants of Great Britain, a letter to their agent, and the depositions taken at Lexington relative to the commencement of hostilities, were sent to England by Captain Derby, in a quick sailing packet despatched expressly for the purpose. Captain Derby landed at Portsmouth, went speedily up to London, and put the papers into the hands of Mr Lee. Meantime the news spread rapidly throughout the kingdom, and caused much perplexity and uneasiness in the minds of the ministry. They at first considered it, or professed to consider it, a false alarm, caused Captain Derby to be strictly examined, and endeavored to allay the excitement of the people by publishing through the proper organ, that this report could not be true, as no communication to that effect had been received from General Gage. In a few days, however, the ministry and the nation were relieved from sus-

From this date there was no longer any occasion for a colonial agent in London. All intercourse had ceased. The ties of union and friendship had been severed by the sword; the charter of freedom had been stained with the blood of its defenders, and its invaded sanctuary was now to be protected by other means, than unheeded appeals to truth and justice. Thus relieved from the duties of agent, Mr Lee devoted himself to practice at the bar, till his services were solicited in another direction. Soon after the assembling of the second Continental Congress, in September, 1775, a plan was agitated for opening a communication with persons residing in foreign countries, for the purpose of advancing commercial and political objects. In November the Committee of Secret Correspondence was appointed for this end, who were authorized to correspond with such persons as they might select in Europe, to procure as much intelligence as they could, respecting the designs and movements of the English government, as well as other foreign powers, and to aid the commercial enterprises of individuals. Dr Franklin was the first chairman of this committee. A letter, in an official form, was despatched from the committee by a confidential messenger, who was instructed to deliver it into the hands of Arthur Lee, in London, and another also of the same purport to M. Dumas of Holland, a friend of Dr Franklin's. In this letter the objects of the committee

pense, by the arrival of a British packet with the official confirmation. The next letter to General Gage contained a sharp reprimand for his tardiness, and an express order, that ever after a packet should be kept in readiness for the immediate transmission of important intelligence.

The papers were directed to Dr Franklin, but as he had already left England, they were delivered to Mr Lee, as his successor. The *originals* are now in the archives of Harvard University, where, with other papers of Mr Arthur Lee, they have been deposited by his biographer. The same gentleman has also deposited the papers of Richard Henry Lee with the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. This example merits praise and imitation. Papers retained in private hands, passing as they do from one possessor to another, are soon scattered and lost, or if not, they are comparatively useless; whereas, in the repository of a public institution they are regarded as a sacred trust, carefully preserved, and accessible for all purposes of utility and historical interest. Considering the fleeting nature of manuscripts of this sort, and the power of accident over them, no person could show more respect for the memory of an ancestor, than our author has done in the disposition he has made of the papers, that had fallen under his charge.

were briefly enumerated, and papers were enclosed, which Mr Lee was desired to have printed and circulated in England. He was told, that it would be agreeable to Congress to know the disposition of foreign powers towards them, as far as such knowledge could be obtained. Impenetrable secrecy was enjoined. Two hundred pounds were remitted to defray immediate expenses, and compensation for trouble was promised. He was requested to send despatches by an express-boat, when he should deem the intelligence sufficiently important.

Immediately after receiving this letter, Mr Lee applied himself to the task of executing the commission it contained. His political connexions gave him facilities for ascertaining the views of the ministry, and the preparations for conducting the war that was now actually begun in America. The intelligence, which he communicated respecting these subjects, was of essential service to Congress, for he was observing, inquisitive, and indefatigable.* He, moreover, found means to procure interviews with the French minister in London, who manifested an interest in the proceedings of the Colonies, and a desire to gain as much knowledge as possible respecting their present condition, intentions, and prospects, which he forwarded without delay to his court.

It is here to be observed, that, from the very commencement of a decided opposition in the Colonies, the Cabinet of Versailles had seriously deliberated on the course, which they should adopt in the approaching contest. No topic perhaps was ever more patiently or elaborately discussed, than this was by the French Ministry, more than a year before any symptoms appeared, from which their ultimate purpose could be inferred. It was soon discovered, that there was a difference of opinion among themselves; for while it was unanimously agreed, that England had taken an undue advantage of the embarrassed circumstances of France in the late treaty of

* His letters were usually entrusted to a confidential person, who was to deliver them with his own hand. They were without signature, and enclosed in an envelope with a fictitious address. They were commonly directed to Lieutenant Governor Colden of New York, who was a royalist. In case any accident had happened to the messengers, therefore, the letters would have been forwarded to him, without any suspicion of their true origin.

Paris, and that justice and policy prompted them to weaken the English power by all honorable means, yet there was a party, who could not at once be reconciled to the doctrine, that it was consistent with the faith of treaties for one nation to interfere in the domestic quarrels of another, and above all to lend direct support to revolted Colonies, already in arms against their sovereign. The king himself was one of this party. But Vergennes, and the prime minister, Maurepas,* took the lead of the opposite party, and were unequivocal in their opinion, that the interest of France required her to promote a separation between England and her American Colonies, and that this step would neither be a violation of the faith of treaties, nor at variance with the strictest justice. As the king and some of the ministers were to be brought over, or at least their scruples removed, it was found necessary to discuss the subject minutely, both in regard to the principles it involved, and its political bearings and possible issues. Memoirs were written by the respective ministers, read in council, and examined in detail. The great talents and learning of the eminent jurist, Pfeffel, and of the still more eminent publicist, Favier, were called into action on this occasion, and the papers they produced unquestionably had much weight in giving a more decided and uniform tone to the sentiments of the Cabinet. They were both on the side of Vergennes. The argument of Pfeffel was a masterly display of ability, knowledge, and reasoning. He supported his positions on the ground of equity, legal precedents, historical acts, and the laws of nations, and drew from the whole the general inference, that it was lawful and right for France to espouse the cause of the Colonies, in opposition to the authority and the arms of Great Britain.

By degrees the whole Cabinet came so far into these views, that it was resolved to make them the rules of their policy, and the guide of their future measures. But it was obvious, that a system like this, openly pursued, must bring about an immediate war with England. For such a result, neither the ministry nor the nation was as yet prepared. The only mode of executing the plan for the present, therefore, was to afford secret aid to the Colonies, and wait for the development of

* The biographer of Mr Lee calls Vergennes prime minister. This is a mistake; he was Minister of Foreign Affairs.

events, and till the finances, navy, and army were in a better condition, before a more decided step should be taken. While deliberating as to the best manner of sending such aid, and at the same time securing absolute concealment, intelligence was received from the French minister in London, that a secret agent of Congress was there, through whom their object might probably be attained. A person, who afterwards proved to be M. de Beaumarchais, was despatched by the ministry to London for the purpose of further inquiry. He visited Mr Lee at his rooms in the Temple, and informed him, that the court of France proposed to send two hundred thousand pounds sterling to the aid of the Americans in specie, arms, and ammunition, and that the only difficulty in the way was to ascertain through what channel the remittance should be made. St Eustatia, Martinique, and Cape François were mentioned, and it was finally concluded, that the Cape was the best place; and Mr Lee's visitant said the goods would be ready there, and might be received by inquiring of the commandant for *Monsieur Hortalez*. He moreover requested, that a small shipment of tobacco might be sent from some of the American ports to Cape François, by which the affair might take the color of a mercantile transaction, and thus suspicions be avoided. This arrangement was made in the spring of the year 1776, and, as soon as it was settled, M. de Beaumarchais returned to Paris.

Meantime the Committee of Secret Correspondence had sought a more extensive and substantial intercourse with Europe, and appointed Silas Deane to go to France as commercial and political agent. He sailed from Philadelphia on the fifth of March, in a vessel bound to Bordeaux; but as an accident happened to the vessel, he was obliged in a few days to return to the same port. He next embarked in a sloop for Bermuda, where he chartered another sloop for France, and arrived in Bordeaux on the sixth of June following. Here he expected to meet several vessels from America, which were to be sent out by the committee of Congress, with a view of supplying him with means to effect the mercantile objects of his mission; but nothing had been heard of them. Assuming the character of a merchant from Bermuda, he waited a few days at Bordeaux, but receiving no intelligence of these vessels, he proceeded to Paris, where he arrived the first week in July.

By his instructions he was to appear in Paris as a merchant, employed in purchasing goods for the Indian trade in America. He also had a letter of credence, as an authorized agent of Congress, which he was directed to present to the Count de Vergennes, in case he should succeed in obtaining an audience of that minister ; and on such an event, moreover, he was to say to the minister, that the Congress, finding it impracticable in the usual course of commerce to furnish the American forces with arms, ammunition, clothing, and other military supplies adequate to the defence of the country, had sent him abroad with authority to make application to some European power for these aids, and that France had been applied to, because, in case of a separation between Great Britain and the Colonies, France was the power whose friendship it would be most advisable to obtain and cultivate ; that the trade of the American Colonies was rapidly increasing ; that by securing their friendship, France might derive from them great commercial advantages, as England had hitherto done ; that what they now wanted was arms and clothing for twenty-five thousand men, ammunition, and one hundred field-pieces ; that they intended to pay for them by remittances to France, or through Spain, Portugal, or the French West India Islands, as soon as their navigation could be protected ; and that, finally, if these supplies should be granted, it might be well for them to be convoyed by two or three ships of war. If Count de Vergennes should be communicative on these topics, Mr Deane was to carry the conversation further, and touch gently upon certain political queries, such as what would be the views of France, if the Colonies should be driven to declare their independence, and set up a government of their own, whether France would recognise this government, receive ambassadors, and form alliances, and on what terms.

Armed with these instructions, and with his letter of credence in his pocket, Mr Deane went out to Versailles, having previously solicited an audience of the minister, through the intervention of M. Dubourg, a friend of Dr Franklin, and an eminent physician in Paris, to whom Mr Deane had brought letters. Count de Vergennes received him politely, and kept him through a conversation of two hours, listened attentively, asked many questions, and showed by his remarks and inquiries, that the subject was one to which he had already given

much attention. After Mr Deane had gone methodically through with the thread of his instructions, which he was encouraged to do by the manner in which the minister sustained the interview, Count de Vergennes replied, that the importance of the American commerce was well known, and that a friendly intercourse was equally advantageous to the Colonies and France, and it was for this reason, that the court had ordered the French ports to be opened equally to America and England; that, considering the subsisting relations between the courts of London and Versailles, no encouragement could be openly given to a traffic in warlike stores to be shipped to America, but that no obstructions would be interposed; that Mr Deane was at liberty to carry on any commerce he chose in the kingdom, and that he might consider himself under the immediate protection of the government; that, as to independence it was a subject enveloped in the darkness of the future, of which it was improper for him to speak, till such an event had actually taken place. He advised Mr Deane to continue for the present in the character of a merchant from Bermuda, and informed him that the British Ambassador knew of his being in Paris, and that his motions would be watched. After much conversation about the state of things in America, and telling Mr Deane that he might at all times hold intercourse with M. Gerard, the principal secretary in the foreign department, and with himself when anything of importance occurred, which should seem to require it, the interview ended.

Such was the tenor of the first conversation between an agent from the assembled American States and a European minister. It was Mr Deane's next task to look around for a credit, in the name of Congress, and endeavor to procure such articles as he wanted. He soon found this impracticable. Intelligence had arrived of the defeat of Montgomery at Quebec, and the disasters in Canada. The British Ambassador and other agents in France took great pains to spread the rumor of a speedy termination of all difficulties, by a reconciliation with the Colonies, and a restoration of order and harmony. With such prospects, no merchants nor capitalists could be found, who would give a credit to Congress, without adequate security from some established house in Europe. This security the American agent could not command. No remittances had yet been received from home, and the bills which he had brought

with him, as ready money, had in great part been protested and returned upon his hands.

In this state of perplexity he became acquainted with M. de Beaumarchais, who proposed to furnish the supplies, allow a reasonable time for payment, and take the risk of the security of Congress pledged by Mr Deane. As Beaumarchais was unknown in the commercial world, devoted rather to pleasure than to business, and more distinguished as a man of letters, than for any talents or resources in the mercantile or financial line, the friends of Mr Deane considered this a mere speculating enterprise, which M. de Beaumarchais could not carry through, and which would in the end lead them both into infinite embarrassments. Mr Deane had the precaution to consult the Count de Vergennes on the subject, who told him that no concern need be felt, as to the character and means of M. de Beaumarchais, and that he would unquestionably fulfil all his contracts and promises. Such a pledge rendered any further suspicion or delay unnecessary, and the proposals of Beaumarchais were accepted.

A list of articles was made out by Mr. Deane, which embraced clothing for twenty thousand men, thirty thousand fusils, one hundred tons of powder, two hundred brass cannon, twenty four brass mortars, with shells, shot, lead, flints, and the like, in proportion. These articles M. de Beaumarchais undertook to procure, and said he could purchase the cannon and mortars, and, he thought, some of the fusils, out of the king's arsenals, and could possibly obtain a credit of eight months, and perhaps longer. In the end, however, he was not so successful in this respect as he had hoped to be; for he could obtain only a small part of the fusils from the king's arsenals, being obliged to purchase them nearly all from private individuals. There was little difficulty or delay, however, in procuring from some quarter the articles enumerated in the list. The cannon and mortars were all from the arsenals.

The next point to be settled was the mode of shipping these supplies to America. A contract for this purpose was made by Mr Deane with M. Montheu, who was to furnish ships to transport the whole at a certain freight, for the payment of which M. de Beaumarchais became responsible. But their operations were continually beset with fresh difficulties. The cannon were mostly at Strasburg, and the other articles at

magazines in the interior. All these were to be conveyed to the seaports. Such a transportation could not be effected secretly ; and the moment they began to move, there were British spies everywhere ready to give notice to Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador in Paris, and thus to excite an alarm in the Cabinet at Versailles, where the greatest possible precaution was observed, that nothing should be openly done, which could give the least color of pretence to the British Ministry to charge them with a breach of treaty. Hence orders were issued to stop these articles, on their passage through the country, and then counter orders to let them move again, thus perplexing the agents and increasing the expense. And when all these embarrassments had been overcome, and the materials had been collected into the several ports of Marseilles, Nantes, Bordeaux, Havre, and Dunkirk, and the ships for receiving them had been got ready in those places, then new orders would come from court prohibiting their embarkation. Spies were stationed in these ports, who watched every movement, and sent constant intelligence to the British Ambassador at Paris. His hints to the ministry, and sometimes open remonstrances, caused this wavering conduct on their part, which brought the affairs of Deane and Beaumarchais into almost inextricable confusion.

Such was the aspect of things at the end of November, when Beaumarchais went to Havre, with the view of despatching two of the ships from that place. He succeeded in getting one to sea, the *Amphitrite* ; but his going there became publicly known, and before he could load and send off the other, orders arrived from court to stop them both, and the same orders were sent to the other ports. Nothing more could be done at present. The *Amphitrite* went to sea, but by reason of contrary winds and disputes among the passengers she put back to L'Orient. Another effort was made by M. de Beaumarchais, and he contrived to despatch this ship a second time, ordering her to be cleared out for the West Indies. She arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the month of April following, and brought a most seasonable supply of ten or twelve thousand stand of arms, about sixty pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of clothing and blankets. They arrived very opportunely for the succeeding campaign. When the captain returned to France, he was imprisoned for violating

the tenor of his papers, by which he was cleared out for the West Indies.

It may be well to mention here a part of Mr Deane's conduct, which was much censured by Congress, and was indeed the origin of the hostility towards him, which gradually gained strength, and ended in his recall. Almost as soon as he arrived in Paris, he was beset by various persons in the military line, who wished him to recommend them to Congress for employment in the army, and he actually engaged a certain number, promising them specific rank and pay in the American service. Among this number were Lafayette and the Baron de Kalb, who were to have the rank of major general, to date from the time of their contract with Mr Deane in Paris. Such an assumption of authority was evidently as indiscreet as it was unauthorized, for it must inevitably derange the plans of Congress in regard to the army, and produce uneasiness and dissatisfaction in the American ranks. In justifying himself, Mr Deane did not pretend, that he had any direct authority for this measure, but said his own impression at the time was, that able and experienced officers from Europe would be of essential service in the American army; that, moreover, it was deemed important in France to send out such officers with the military articles; that he was solicited in strong terms from the highest sources to receive these officers; that the state of his affairs rendered the influence of friends and patrons in the elevated ranks absolutely essential, and that this was the most effectual mode of gaining it. This last cause he says was in truth the origin of his contracts with officers, which he supposed to be justifiable also on the other grounds here mentioned. The result created so much perplexity in Congress, discontent in the army, and ill feelings among the disappointed French officers, who came over, that the arrangement proved a very unlucky one, whatever may have been Mr Deane's reasons for making it; and not less unfortunate to himself than to others, for it weakened the confidence of Congress in his judgment, and excited a suspicion, that he might be induced to overleap the limits of his powers in other things with as little reluctance as in this.

The time had now arrived, when Congress, having declared the independence of the States, and established a separate government, began to think of seeking more intimate relations

with foreign countries. In the month of September, commissioners were appointed to proceed to France, as ministers from Congress, to propose a treaty of commerce with the French king, and solicit aids in carrying on the war. The first commissioners chosen were Dr Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferson. The appointment was declined by Mr Jefferson, and his place supplied by Arthur Lee. These commissioners met in Paris about the middle of December. The plan of a treaty had already been drawn up and adopted by Congress, which, together with the commissioners' instructions, was carried out by Dr Franklin. Congress enjoined secrecy on themselves in regard to this mission, and Dr Franklin's arrival in France was totally unlooked for, and excited much speculation in Europe.

The commissioners had an early interview with the Count de Vergennes, to whom they presented their commission, and the articles of the proposed treaty of commerce. Protection was promised to them, and a due consideration of their proposals. In a few days (January 5th, 1777,) they laid before the Minister a memoir, prepared at his request, and containing the substance of their instructions. By a resolution of Congress they were required to apply to France for eight ships of the line, well equipped and manned at the expense of the United States, and to be procured either by loan or purchase, as might best suit the French Court. This request was urged in the memoir, as also another for an immediate supply of twenty or thirty thousand muskets and bayonets, a large quantity of ammunition, and brass field-pieces. It was hinted, that unless some speedy assistance of this sort should be afforded, the United States might yet find themselves too weak for their enemies, and be compelled to bring the contest to a close by an accommodation. The extent and value of the American commerce, and its importance to France and Spain, were likewise set forth in their best attitudes, and proper arguments used to impress the whole in a forcible manner on the minds of the French Cabinet, and of Count d'Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, to whom all the above communications were at the same time addressed. The Commissioners seem to have looked upon the interests of the French and Spanish Courts as the same, and to have considered themselves equally authorized to treat with both. In fact they were furnished with a gen-

eral power by Congress to treat with any foreign nation, in conformity with the outlines of the treaty and instructions which they had received for France.

The language of the Minister, in reply to their representations and requests, was nearly the same as had all along been held to Mr Deane ; that the relation in which his Most Christian Majesty stood to the king of Great Britain was such, that no approaches could as yet be made towards a treaty with the United States, nor any part taken in the contest, which should betray a want of fidelity to the principles of existing compacts ; that the king was friendly to the States, and would give them all the commercial privileges in his ports, which were enjoyed by other nations ; and that the commissioners might feel themselves under the protection of the government while in France, and communicate freely with the Ministers on the subjects relative to their mission.

Such being the tone of the French policy, it was evident to the commissioners, that for the present there would be no pressing duties which would require them all to remain in Paris. From certain indications they were led to believe, that a visit of one of them to Spain would be advantageous, and this suggestion was approved by the French Cabinet and the Spanish Ambassador. It was agreed, that Mr Lee should undertake this mission, and, having obtained his passports, and a letter from Count d'Aranda to the Spanish Court, he left Paris for Madrid on the seventh of February. After a short detention at Nantes and Bordeaux he proceeded as far as Burgos, within about a hundred and twenty miles of Madrid, where he was met by an express with a letter from M. Gardoqui, an eminent merchant of Bilboa, who was then in Madrid, and who had written to Mr Lee by direction of the Ministers. It appears that this visit from Mr Lee was unexpected by the Spanish Court, and that they were probably informed of it by a quick messenger despatched either by Lord Stormont to the English Ambassador in Madrid, or by the Count d'Aranda. At all events Mr Lee was desired not to come to the capital, as it would be impossible for him to remain there in disguise, and his presence would only tend to embarrass the Spanish Court without rendering any service to the cause of his country. This was said in allusion to the umbrage that would be taken by the British Ambassador, if it were known that a public agent

from America was in open intercourse with the government of Spain, and to the representations he would make to the English Ministry. M. Gardoqui, who was selected as the channel of communication, had been long concerned in the American trade, was well acquainted with the English language, and for these and other qualifications was pitched upon as a suitable person to carry into effect the immediate designs of the Spanish government, in regard to the affairs of America.

At Burgos Mr Lee was met privately by the Marquis de Grimaldi, one of the ministers of state, and M. Gardoqui. Here the American deputy was given to understand, that in the present state of things the king deemed it unadvisable for him to go to Madrid, that sound policy forbade such a step, and that on the whole it was best for him to retire to Bayonne, and wait the further decision of the Court. Mr Lee remonstrated against these suggestions, alleging that to receive him at Madrid was no breach of neutrality on the part of the Spanish government, that the British Ambassador there had no more ground of complaint at the reception of an American agent, than Lord Stormont had in Paris, where commissioners had been residing for several months with the entire approbation of the king of France, and that, in short, as his coming to Spain could not but be known in Europe as well as America, it would be ungracious to Congress, and injurious to their interests, for him thus to be prohibited from the Spanish dominions, more especially after he had been encouraged to undertake the journey by the French Ministers and the Spanish Ambassador in Paris. This remonstrance had no other effect, than to prolong his residence for a few days in Spain, but he was not allowed to approach any nearer the capital. On the contrary, he was desired to return to Vittoria, where he was again met by the Marquis de Grimaldi and M. Gardoqui, and where their further interviews were conducted with the utmost secrecy.*

Mr Lee presented a memorial to the Marquis de Grimaldi, describing the condition and prospects of the United States, and the nature and progress of the revolutionary contest in which they were engaged, and urging the importance to France and Spain

* The Marquis de Grimaldi told Mr Lee, that 'the Count d'Aranda had been reprehended by his Court for not dissuading him from coming to Spain.' *Life, &c.* Vol. i. p. 359.

of embracing so favorable an opportunity to humble the power of England, and secure the friendship of a new nation, and the permanent benefits of its valuable and increasing commerce.* The reply of the minister was brief and explicit. 'You have considered your own situation and not ours. The war with Portugal (France being unprepared and our treasure from South America not yet arrived) makes it improper for us to declare immediately. These reasons will probably cease within a year, and then will be the moment.' It seems to have been resolved, however, before Mr Lee's arrival, to render secret assistance to the Americans, and the plan of effecting it was settled at these interviews. The result of the whole is thus expressed in Mr. Lee's own words, as recapitulated in a letter to Count de Florida Blanca. 'That for very powerful reasons his Majesty cannot at this moment enter into an alliance with the United States, nor declare in their favor; that, nevertheless, they may depend on his Majesty's sincere desire to see their rights and liberties established, and of his assisting them as far as may be consistent with his own situation; for that purpose the house of Gardoqui at Bilboa would send them supplies for their army and navy from time to time; that they would find some ammunition deposited for them at New Orleans, the communication with which would be much secured and facilitated by their taking possession of Pensacola; that their vessels should be received at the Havana upon the same terms as those of France; and that the Ambassador at Paris should have directions immediately to furnish their commissioners with credit on Holland. The Marquis added, that his Majesty would do these things out of the *graciousness of his royal disposition, without stipulating any return*, and that, if upon inquiry, any able veteran officers could be spared from his Irish brigades, the States should have them.' With this result of his negotiation, Mr Lee, in a letter to Congress, expressed himself well satisfied. 'As to an immediate declaration in your favor,' he observes, 'they say this is not the moment, and for reasons, which, if I might venture to commit them to paper, I think you would deem satisfactory. The same rea-

* Mr. Lee's biographer says that 'this memorial was composed by him in the Spanish language.' But this can hardly have been the case, since in writing to Congress Mr. Lee observes, that 'M. Gardoqui has been employed as interpreter in all our business.'

sons render an explicit acknowledgment of your independency, and a treaty of alliance with you, inadmissible at present.' The business of the meeting being thus finished, the Marquis de Grimaldi returned to Madrid, and Mr Lee, after making arrangements with M. Gardoqui to ship as soon as possible to the United States supplies of sail and tent cloths, cordage, blankets, and warlike stores, made his way speedily back to Paris, where he rejoined the other commissioners, after an absence of seven weeks.

This promise on the part of Spain was faithfully complied with, though perhaps not to so full an extent as Mr Lee was led to hope. More than one shipment was made by M. Gardoqui of articles procured by him, at the expense of the government, and secretly despatched to confidential agents in the United States for the use of Congress. In addition to these supplies, the amount of money actually remitted to Mr Lee was three hundred and seventy-five thousand livres. This money was nearly all expended in Spain for the purchase of supplies, which M. Gardoqui shipped by Mr Lee's order to the United States. The money, and the goods sent by Gardoqui exclusive of these purchases, were a gratuity from the king of Spain, for which it was understood at the beginning that no return was to be made. During Mr Lee's absence, Dr Franklin had received from Congress a commission conferring on him separate powers as a commissioner to the Spanish Court, and authorizing him to enter into a treaty with that government, or make any arrangements that should promote a friendly intercourse, and advance the great ends of the war. As Mr Lee's mission had accomplished everything that could be expected at present, Dr Franklin did not go to Spain. It has been said, that more than a year previous to Mr Lee's mission, Spain had sent a million of livres to France for the Americans, but we have seen no proof of such a fact, nor do we think it probable.

The commissioners in Paris continued to busy themselves in getting off as secretly as possible the supplies, which had been furnished by Beaumarchais before their arrival, and they gradually effected the shipment of the whole, as well as a large quantity which they contrived to purchase in other quarters. The French ministry winked at these transactions, but occasionally threw obstacles in the way as heretofore, when the

English Ambassador remonstrated or complained. Meantime the American cruisers, who hovered around the English coasts, and in the neighboring seas, began to bring their prizes into the French ports. This created fresh difficulties, as it was a manifest encroachment on the rules of neutrality. Some of these prizes were seized and sold by direction of the government, others were ordered off, and others again were detained for legal adjudication. The ministers expressed dissatisfaction at the boldness and unceremonious conduct of these cruisers, and the commissioners were infinitely perplexed with the novelty and variety of the cases, that were almost every week occurring, as they wished, on the one hand, to aid as far as possible the enterprise and activity of privateers in harassing the enemy's commerce, at the same time that every motive of policy and interest required them to study the disposition and conform to the will of the Court. Indulgences were sometimes granted in a concealed manner, and orders of release obtained, but the system of adhering in all open transactions to the letter of the treaties continued, till a war with England was understood to exist. Nevertheless, assistance of a substantial kind was afforded. Soon after the commissioners arrived in Paris, they were informed that two millions of livres would be appropriated to the use of Congress, and paid in Paris by quarterly instalments of five hundred thousand livres each. The first payment was advanced immediately. This money the commissioners resolved to reserve for the exclusive purpose of paying the interest of the loan in the United States, occasioned by the emission of paper money, and they wrote to Congress that bills might be drawn on them from time to time for this purpose, to the full amount of the money thus granted by the French king. By this prompt payment of interest they hoped to keep up the credit of the currency. A large portion of this money was, however, diverted to other objects. Their own expenses they expected to discharge by the proceeds of cargoes to be sent by Congress to France.* This

* The salaries of the commissioners were not limited to any specific sum. Congress resolved merely, that 'they should live in such a style and manner as they might find suitable and necessary to support the dignity of their public character,' and that their expenses should be reimbursed by the United States; and also, 'that besides the actual expenses of the commissioners, a handsome allowance should be made to each of them, as a compensation for their time, trouble, risk, and services.'

was the understanding when the commissioners were appointed, but owing to various obstacles at home, and the obstructions of navigation, very few such shipments were successful, or even attempted. The commissioners increased their resources, also, by a contract with the Farmers-General for Congress to send them five thousand hogsheads of tobacco, they agreeing to pay for the same one million of livres in advance, and another million as soon as the first ships with tobacco should arrive. With these funds they purchased an additional stock of military supplies, and began to build a frigate at Amsterdam, and another at Nantes. They were authorized by Congress to borrow two millions of pounds sterling in Europe, but they found no means of effecting any part of this loan.

Such were the general operations of the commissioners during the first year of their residence in Paris. They lived there in the character of individuals acting as agents in public affairs, but not recognised by the government as holding any public capacity.

It had been early intimated to the commissioners, that the king of Prussia was favorably inclined to the interests of the United States, and that, if applied to, he would probably receive an agent at Berlin, as the French Court had done at Paris. They had a correspondence on the subject with the Baron de Schulenburg, one of the ministers of state, in which they informed him, that it was the intention of Congress to send a minister to the Prussian Court to solicit its friendship and good offices; but as considerable time must elapse before this could take place, and as it was of great importance to establish quickly a free commerce between the two nations, they proposed that one of their number should proceed very soon to Berlin, who might explain personally the situation of America, and the advantages to be derived to Prussia from an amicable and commercial intercourse with that country. It was agreed that Mr Lee should go on this mission, and he wrote accordingly to the Prussian minister, that he should soon commence

The average expense of each commissioner was about £3,000 sterling (\$13,333) a year.

In October, 1779, the salary of a minister was fixed at £2,500 sterling (\$11,111), and that of a secretary of legation at £1,000 (\$4,444.)

In May, 1784, the salary of ministers was reduced to \$9,000, and that of secretaries to \$3,000 per annum.

the journey. In the minister's reply, he discouraged this step, advising that it should be deferred for some time, that he apprehended many difficulties in the way at present, and that he considered their correspondence rather as 'preliminaries to what might come to pass, than as negotiations from which any immediate advantages could be expected.' Before this letter reached Paris, Mr Lee was on his way, and, taking Munich and Vienna in his route, he arrived in Berlin unexpected by the minister, who expressed some surprise that he should come without knowing beforehand whether it would be agreeable to his Majesty. He informed him, however, that there could be no objection to his remaining there as a traveller and a private individual; that he should be pleased to learn from him whatever he had to propose, and discuss freely any topics of interest relating to his mission. The king was then absent reviewing his troops.

The immediate objects of Mr Lee's visit were these. First, to ascertain whether a minister appointed by Congress would be received at the court of Berlin; secondly, to concert measures for establishing a regular commerce between Prussia and the United States; thirdly, to endeavor to gain admission for American cruisers into the Prussian ports for the purpose of careening, supplying themselves with necessaries, and disposing of their prizes; fourthly, to obtain aids in artillery, arms, and money, on the same footing as in France and Spain; fifthly, to intercede with the king to use his interest in preventing any further accession of recruits to the German forces already in the employment of England. The minister entered into a correspondence with Mr Lee on these points, the substance of which was, that although the king had the best disposition towards the United States, the time had not yet come for any definite arrangements, implying a concert of interests or movements between the two countries. As to admitting a public agent, M. de Schulenburg observed that the king had considered it, and resolved to the contrary, having 'pledged his honor to the king of Great Britain not to interfere in this dispute.' In regard to commerce, he believed many advantages might be derived from it when once established, but there were insurmountable difficulties in the way of beginning it in the present state of affairs; the Prussian sailors were unacquainted with the navigation, the merchants had no vessels suited to such voyages, insurance could not be easily effected, and not at all,

except at a high rate. The proposition for admitting privateers could not be listened to, because such an act would tend to embroil his Majesty with the Court of London, which was repugnant to his interest and his principles; and, moreover, it would create embarrassment and confusion in his Majesty's ports, where none but merchant vessels had ever been received, and the officers were unacquainted with the usages appertaining to ships of war and privateers; it would be soon enough to consider this subject, when it was ascertained what course France and Spain would pursue, the formalities adopted by them, and their mode of explaining the admission of American privateers into their ports, consistently with the professed bonds of friendship existing between them and Great Britain. Again, as to granting aids in arms, munitions of war, or money, the objections last enumerated were equally strong against this proposition. And, finally, the contract of the German princes to hire their troops to the English was an affair, in which the king had no right to interfere directly, but he disapproved it, and should throw such discouragements in the way of its execution, as circumstances would admit. In short, the sum total of Mr Lee's negotiations was, that his Majesty the king of Prussia was very willing to see the Americans succeed, but in his present condition, having before him the threatening prospect of a war with a powerful enemy, it was absolutely necessary for him to keep on terms with England, and that there was not the least hope of his being induced to sanction any act or measure, which should bring into question his rigid adherence to the principles of his alliance with that power. The minister desired Mr Lee, however, to continue his correspondence, assuring him that it would be gratifying to the king to receive all the intelligence which could be obtained, respecting the progress of events in America.

Although Mr Lee appeared in Berlin as a private individual, yet his official character as commissioner in France was known, and of course the presumption was, that he was detained by something more than a traveller's curiosity in that capital. It was natural, that the British Ambassador should wish to penetrate the designs of so suspicious a visitant. A singular proof of this desire occurred not many days after Mr Lee's arrival. While he was at dinner, some person unknown contrived to get into his chamber, break open the desk, and carry off his papers. As soon as the discovery was made, he applied to

the police, and several depositions were taken, which fixed the theft with great probability on a servant of the British Envoy. Some degree of alarm being raised by this process, the papers were secretly brought back in half an hour after the loss was discovered, and laid down at Mr Lee's door. The matter was referred to the minister and the king, but it was not a case which required the formal notice of the government, particularly as Mr Lee was not recognised as acting in any public capacity.*

After five weeks' residence in Berlin, Mr Lee returned to Paris. In his future correspondence with Schulenburg, which continued for more than a year, he communicated constant intelligence of the military operations in America, and the doings of Congress, with which the Prussian minister assured him the king was highly pleased. No intimations were given, however, that any of the objects solicited by the American commissioner would be granted. On one occasion, it is true, the Prussian diplomatist went so far as to say, that 'his Majesty would not be the last power to acknowledge the independence of the United States,' and on another, that 'he would not hesitate to acknowledge it, whenever France, which was more interested in the event of the contest, should set the example.' These proved only to be words of form. They were not verified in time to be of any service to the United States. One privilege Mr Lee gained, or what he thought to be a privilege at the time, though it turned out a dear one in the

* Our author says, that the British Envoy was recalled at the request of the king of Prussia, in consequence of his agency in this affair of the papers. But this wants proof.

In the year 1800, Mr John Quincy Adams met this same Envoy at Dresden, of whom he speaks as follows in relation to this subject.

'After observing that it was now a circumstance, that might with full freedom be talked of as a mere historical occurrence, he solemnly declared, that the seizure of Mr Lee's papers was not made by his orders; that it was entirely the act of an officious servant, who thought to do him a service by it; that when the papers were brought to him he did look them over indeed, and found among them only two of any consequence; one the draft of an unfinished treaty with Spain, and the other a letter from Frederic the Second, or one of his ministers, promising that if any great power in Europe would set the example of acknowledging the independence of the United States, he would be the first to follow it. I am inclined to believe that this account is true, and I was pleased to see the anxiety with which Mr E. wished to remove the imputation of having premeditated that act of violence.'—*Letters on Silesia*, p. 258.

end. More than a year after he left Berlin, the Baron de Schullenburg wrote to him, that he might purchase arms and fusils of the government manufactories, and sent him prices of various articles. Mr Lee ordered the purchase of eight hundred fusils, which were shipped by way of Hamburg to Bordeaux. Upon inspection they proved to be 'of the worst and most ordinary workmanship imaginable.' Mr Lee considered himself imposed upon and defrauded by the agents in this transaction, and wrote back a letter to the minister, couched in terms of no little severity, and demanding redress from the manufactories. Whether from its tone, or from whatever cause, the letter was not received very graciously, and M. de Schullenburg replied, that the fusils were not known to be of an inferior quality, and the mistake, if there was any, had originated in the vagueness of the order. Different kinds of fusils were manufactured at the king's armories, and that kind had been sent, which the order would seem to indicate. Thus terminated Mr Lee's correspondence with the Court of Berlin, and this purchase of the fusils was the only act of effectual intercourse between the United States and the Prussian government during the revolution.

At length, on the fourth of December, arrived in Paris the news of the defeat of Burgoyne, and the taking of Philadelphia by General Howe. Hitherto the French government had carefully avoided connecting itself, either in substance or form, with the destiny of the United States. The Court, up to this moment, had pursued a cautious, hesitating policy, wavering in all its overt acts, and steady only in its desire to weaken the power of England by promoting a final separation of the Colonies. There were three strong reasons, which produced this apparent backwardness on the part of the French Cabinet to take up in earnest the cause of the United States. The first was a doubt, as to the actual state of opinion and feeling in this country, and a fear that there still existed a powerful interest in favor of England, which would ultimately show itself in an accommodation, and thus leave France in the ridiculous posture of having prematurely abetted a cause, involving her in a war with her rival, which a reasonable share of foresight and caution would have prevented. Again, it was necessary to act in concert with Spain, and this power had been cold and reserved from the beginning, utterly averse to recognising American independence, and in no way inclined

to take an active part in the dispute. And, lastly, France herself was not prepared for war, and more time was wanting to put her in a condition to meet the consequences of an avowed alliance with the revolted subjects of the king of Great Britain.

The force of these reasons is obvious; but the series of events in Europe, and the recent intelligence from America, had so much changed the aspect of affairs, and opened such prospects for the future, that the Cabinet of Versailles immediately resolved to run the hazard of uniting in a common interest with the United States, by acknowledging them as an independent power, and by guarantying this independence against the claims and force of England. The results of the last campaigns in America had afforded a proof of the spirit, determination, and physical resources of the people, and weakened, if not removed, the doubts of the French Court on this head. At this crisis they lost no time in signifying to the commissioners their readiness to commence negotiations on the principles of the treaty, which had been drafted by Congress, and which had lain quietly in the Count de Vergennes' bureau since it was first presented by the commissioners, nearly twelve months before. When the news of Burgoyne's defeat and of the battle of Germantown arrived at Passy, a messenger was immediately despatched with these glad tidings to Versailles. Two days afterwards M. Gerard, principal secretary to the minister of foreign affairs, called on the commissioners at Passy for the purpose, as he said, of congratulating them in the name of the ministers on the recent successes in America, and to acquaint them with the wish at Versailles, that they would renew their former propositions for an alliance, and add anything new, which they had to offer on the subject. The commissioners accordingly sent a memorial, merely referring to what they had done on their first arrival in Paris, and petitioning that the plan of a treaty, which they had then handed in, might be taken up and considered.

The time of a conference was fixed upon by the Count de Vergennes, and on the twelfth of the month they met this minister and M. Gerard secretly at a private house about half a mile from Versailles. After some general conversation and compliments on the state of affairs in America, Count de Vergennes remarked, 'that nothing had struck him so much as General Washington's attacking and giving battle to General

Howe's army; that to bring an army raised within a year to this, promised every thing.' The allusion here is to the battle of Germantown, which, although a discomfiture, contributed more perhaps to impress people in Europe with the true sense and tone of public opinion in America, than any other event of the revolution, and for the reason mentioned by the Count de Vergennes. The conference was opened by the minister's asking the commissioners what they had to propose; to which Dr Franklin replied, that the object in view was to enter into a treaty, and if there were any objections to the one that had been forwarded by Congress, they were now ready to consider them. Count de Vergennes then said, 'that it was the resolution of his Court to take no advantage of our situation, to desire no terms which we might afterwards repent of and endeavor to retract; but to found whatever they did so much upon the basis of mutual interest, as to make it last as long as human institutions endure; that entering into a treaty with us would be declaring our independence, and necessarily draw on a war; in this, therefore, Spain must be consulted, without whose concurrence nothing could be done.' He then proceeded to state some objections to parts of the proposed treaty, which were discussed, elucidated, and explained by the commissioners. In this way the principal articles were brought under review, and the ideas of the two parties were more clearly understood by each other. As they now had under notice only a treaty of amity and commerce, in which both parties aimed at exact reciprocity, professing to give a precise equivalent for what they received, and for the most part in similar kind, there could not be much difficulty in agreeing on the terms of this mutual exchange of benefits, particularly after the explicit, if not magnanimous declaration, with which Count de Vergennes opened the conference. In closing the interview the minister observed, that nothing could be concluded till they should hear from Spain, that a courier would be despatched to Madrid immediately, who would be back in about three weeks, when a speedy termination of the affair might be expected. This interview was the only one that the commissioners had with the minister on the subject of the treaty. It was subsequently managed on the part of France entirely by M. Gerard.

The interval between the departure and return of the courier was occupied by M. Gerard, in preparing a form of a

treaty to be offered by the French Cabinet. At length, on the eighth of January, another interview took place at Mr Deane's lodgings in Paris, where M. Gerard met the commissioners. The courier had returned ; Spain, as usual, still clung to her policy of delay and reserve ; she could not enter into a treaty ; she was not prepared for war ; her ships with treasure from South America had not come in ; and her affairs with Portugal were not yet arranged. The French Court, having thus, as the intimacy of their relations required, proposed to the Spanish king to unite with them in this work, and he having declined, were resolved to complete it on their own part without delay, securing to Spain by a separate article the right of joining the compact when she should choose, on the same conditions as France. This being determined upon, they were now ready to take up the negotiation and complete the treaty. At this interview, therefore, M. Gerard came at once to the point, and asked the commissioners some direct questions as to the terms of a treaty, which would satisfy them of the attachment of France to the cause of America, and which would convince the people of the United States so firmly of this attachment, that they would not listen to any propositions of reconciliation from England ; and as to the assistance, which it would be necessary for France to afford them. The discussion of these somewhat vague preliminaries was the only progress made at this conference.

On the eighteenth another meeting was held at Mr Deane's house, when M. Gerard produced a copy of the treaty of amity and commerce, as drawn up by himself ; and also read to the commissioners another instrument, purporting to be an eventual treaty of alliance offensive and defensive ; that is, a treaty which was to take effect in case the other should bring on a war between France and England. This treaty seems not to have been suggested nor anticipated, either by Congress or the commissioners. It contained a mutual pledge of the two parties to unite their forces, should a war with England be the consequence of the treaty of amity and commerce, a guarantee on the part of France to maintain the liberty, sovereignty, and independence of the United States, and a further pledge that neither party would make peace without the consent of the other. This treaty was to be kept secret, and to be without effect, till war should actually commence between France and England. From this it will be seen, that the

French professed still to hold out to the world, that a treaty of friendship and commerce was no just cause of war to Great Britain, but that they were not inclined to run the risk of such an event, without linking the fortunes of the United States more closely with it than could be done by a treaty of that description alone. And, indeed, this was not more politic than just; for upon the principles of reciprocity, which were the basis of all the negotiations, the United States were bound to share equally the consequences which should grow out of these arrangements, designed for the mutual advantage of the two parties. In truth, the features of the eventual treaty of alliance were clearly more favorable to the United States than to France, inasmuch as the power and influence of the latter were at that time of incalculable importance to the former. Considered prospectively, a view that an enlightened statesman will always take of so momentous a subject as a treaty between nations, the advantages doubtless approached more nearly the line of reciprocity. But we dismiss this discussion, as our object is rather to sketch a brief history, than to examine into principles or policy.

M. Gerard left a copy of both the treaties with the commissioners, for them to consider and deliberate upon at their leisure. Nine days afterwards, M. Gerard met them again, the commissioners having occupied the intervening space in examining the treaties, discussing various parts, and in preparing alterations in some of the articles. At this conference with the French secretary, a thorough revision was gone through with, some of the suggested alterations adopted and others not, and when the parties separated, the treaties were understood to be ready to be submitted to the king, and transcribed for their final signature. They had no more interviews till the sixth of February, when they met and signed the two treaties, as they were afterwards published to the world.

The French minister made two or three essential changes in the draft sent out by Congress. In one article of that draft it was stipulated that no duty should be imposed, in the French West India islands, on molasses shipped to the United States. This was objected to as a privilege without an equivalent. Another article required that no higher duties should be laid on any articles in the French islands, which were shipped to the United States, than the lowest imposed on the same articles sent to France. This was objected to as being contrary to the

colonial policy and usages of France. Again, France was prohibited from invading or attempting to possess Labrador, New Britain, Nova Scotia, Acadia, Canada, and Florida, or any of the islands on the North American coast, as these were presumed to come within the jurisdiction of the United States. France could not perceive the ground of this claim, and the article was omitted.

As the article about molasses made a good deal of noise at the time, it claims a brief notice. Molasses had already become an item of extensive commerce between different parts of the United States and the French West India Islands. As it was one of the absurd features of the European colonial policy to lay heavy impost duties on articles shipped from the colonies, and particularly on such articles as were favored with what was deemed the high privilege of being shipped to a foreign port direct, without first entering some harbor in the mother country, and there undergoing a double tax in the shape of an impost duty, Congress thought this a good opportunity to get rid, as far as they could, of a restriction which might be in some degree detrimental to our West India commerce. Hence, they put into their treaty the article against the duty on molasses. When this came under discussion, Count de Vergennes observed, that it did not accord with the reciprocal principles of the treaty; that a privilege was demanded, but nothing offered in its stead. The French suggested, that, if it was thought necessary to retain this article, the equivalent might be an exemption from duty on all the tobacco shipped from the United States to any part of the French dominions. The commissioners were at first inclined to accede to this proposition, but, upon further deliberation, it was believed to be more than an equivalent, and Dr Franklin suggested that they should substitute for it an exemption from duty on all merchandise shipped directly from the United States to the molasses islands. This seemed to come nearer the mark; and though Mr Lee still thought it too much, it was finally agreed to by all the commissioners, accepted by the French negotiator, and inserted in the treaty as a distinct article designed to balance the other.

During the discussions, M. Gerard repeatedly said, that it was a matter of perfect indifference to the king whether these two articles stood or not; but if the one proposed by Congress were retained, the other must likewise be added. Dr Franklin and Mr Deane were both in favor of them, on the principle

that the molasses trade was important to the United States, and daily increasing, and that it was desirable to secure it against any shackles that might impede its success. It was supposed, that the French might one day conceive the project of introducing the extensive use of their brandy into the United States, by laying so heavy a duty on molasses that the price of rum would be enhanced beyond that of brandy. Again, Dr Franklin's notion was, that it was quite impossible for the United States ever to be so blind to their interest as to dream of laying a duty on exportation, and, therefore, the article prohibiting duties on merchandise shipped to the French islands was a nullity, in all its practical effects on the American commerce, whereas it was a part of the French policy to burden their colonial trade with export duties. Hence, by this article, without any sacrifice on our part, we should secure a probable benefit to ourselves from the other. 'To lay duties on a commodity exported,' he said, 'which our neighbors want, is a knavish attempt to get something for nothing. Commerce among nations, as well as between private persons, should be fair and equitable, by equivalent exchanges and mutual supplies.' Moreover, should countervailing duties be laid by both sides in the present case, the equivalents would be as nearly equal as possible; since hardly anything was imported from the islands in question but molasses, and of course the whole amount of articles exported to them would be equal in value, or nearly so, to the molasses brought away. But Congress, and the people generally, saw the thing in another light, and thought it was a restriction upon the freedom of trade, or rather upon the liberty of the government to exercise a control over every branch of commerce according to the exigency of circumstances, which ought not to be admitted into a formal instrument binding the will of the nation. When the treaty was ratified, these articles were almost unanimously rejected by Congress; and as the French government had no wish to have them retained, they were expunged from the treaty by mutual consent.*

* It seems that some of the American merchants claimed an exemption from the duties on molasses in the French islands, on the strength of those clauses of the treaty, before it was known that they were not ratified. On the 15th of September, 1780, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, French Minister in Philadelphia, wrote to Congress as follows;

It was not long after the signing of the treaty before Mr Deane heard of his recall, and he returned to the United States with M. Gerard, the first French minister to this country, in Count d'Estaing's fleet, which entered the Delaware river in July, after a very long passage from Toulon of nearly three months. Mr John Adams was Mr Deane's successor, and he joined his colleagues in Paris. The principal business of the commissioners now was to send out such military supplies as they could procure, and to manage the marine affairs in the different French ports entered by American vessels, the fitting out of privateers, sales of prizes, adjudication of contested cases, and, in short, all the duties usually devolving on consuls and mercantile agents. This was less difficult than before the treaty, for there was no longer any occasion for concealment or disguise. Lord Stormont had quitted Paris, his spies had disappeared, and war between England and France actually existed in all the essentials but a formal declaration. The French government granted a loan of three millions of livres to Congress immediately after the treaty, which afforded an important temporary relief, and enabled the commissioners to meet the drafts, which came upon them rather heavily from home.

In May, 1777, Mr William Lee and Mr Izard were appointed by Congress commissioners, the former to the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and the latter to that of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. They held these appointments about two years, Mr Izard residing the whole of that time in Paris, not being encouraged to seek the Grand Duke by any prospect of being received in his public capacity. Mr William Lee resided partly in Paris and partly at Frankfort, in Germany, giving notice to the court of Berlin that he was ready to appear there, when

'I have received the declaration hereto annexed, with orders to communicate it to Congress. Some American merchants, not knowing that the eleventh and twelfth articles therein mentioned have been annulled, have demanded an exemption from the duties, which are paid in the French West India islands on the exportation of molasses. An authentic publication of the treaty will remove all doubts which may remain, touching the payment of this duty, which the subjects of his Majesty themselves are liable to pay.'

This proves what has sometimes been denied, that there was a duty existing on molasses at the time the treaty was made. Indeed, one of Mr Lee's arguments against the additional article was, 'that there appeared no necessity for restraining the impost upon an article, *which was never likely to have any duty laid on it.*' Vol. I. p. 383.

his Majesty should signify his pleasure to receive an American commissioner. As this time never came, Mr Lee was not called on to exercise the direct functions of his mission, till it was revoked by Congress. These gentlemen were both in Paris when the treaties were made, and, not well satisfied that they should not be admitted to the consultations, particularly on the molasses article, to which Mr Izard showed a remarkable hostility, Mr Arthur Lee proposed to give them a voice in the matter; to which Franklin and Deane objected, both because they had no authority in regard to the treaty, and because the pledge of secrecy, granted to M. Gerard on their parole of honor, took away from the commissioners the power of communicating their proceedings to any other person.

Dr Franklin was appointed minister plenipotentiary from the United States to the court of Versailles, on the 14th of September, 1778, and the commission was dissolved. Mr Adams returned home. Mr Arthur Lee still held the appointment of commissioner to the court of Madrid, although he did not go a second time to Spain. He continued to reside in Paris, and to hold occasional correspondence with Count d'Aranda, the Spanish Ambassador; but as Spain manifested no disposition to enter into any direct intercourse with the United States, or to receive a minister, it was not in the power of the commissioner to render much service to the public in this station. Mr. Lee's appointment ceased, when Mr Jay was chosen minister plenipotentiary to Spain in September, 1779, and he returned to America in the summer of the next year. He was soon afterwards chosen a delegate in Congress from Virginia.

We have thus traced a brief outline of the prominent incidents in the diplomatic history of the United States, during the first two or three years of the war. It has been seen, that Mr Arthur Lee took a distinguished part in these transactions, and, after what has been said, it hardly needs be added, that he was active, zealous, faithful, and persevering in the discharge of his duties, and in promoting on all occasions the noble cause of his country. He was a sincere and ardent patriot, true to his principles, fearless in avowing them, and indefatigable in his efforts to diffuse and impress their influence. Endowed with talents much above the common order, his attainments were various and extensive, not more in the sciences, to which his inclination led him, than in classical and general literature; and he possessed a remarkable facility of bringing

his mind to bear with energy and alertness on a definite subject. We could wish that the catalogue of his characteristic traits might end here, but there are others equally marked, which are too conspicuous to escape unobserved, and were too extraordinary in their tendencies and effects to be passed over without notice or animadversion. But before we proceed further, we shall stop to point out a few errors of some importance into which our author has been drawn in his *Memoir of Arthur Lee*.

In speaking of Mr Lee's early services, as agent for the Committee of Secret Correspondence, he writes as follows ;

'In the *winter* of 1776, Mr Lee repaired to Paris by the direction of the secret committee of Congress (to which committee that body had intrusted all its business with foreign agents and foreign courts), as their secret agent, to improve the favorable disposition of France towards the colonies. In this capacity he was received, and was kindly and respectfully treated by Count Vergennes. The reader can well imagine with what earnestness and ability he availed himself of the opportunity now afforded him of placing the situation, character, and concerns of his country in favorable and interesting views before the mind of Vergennes. Mr Lee did not confine his exertions to the French ministry alone, but labored to produce the same sentiments in the minds of distinguished and influential men in France who held no official stations, and to awaken a feeling of good will towards America in the French nation. To enable him to do this, he obtained the acquaintance of the class of men just alluded to, and wrote short and popular pieces in the journals of the day calculated to inform the public mind of the amount of the population of the colonies, the products of their country, and the commercial advantages they held out to France. There were at this time in France many men who had great influence on public opinion, though they held no offices under the government, and took little part in what might be termed practical politics. They obtained this influence from the fame of their learning and from their political writings. To them Mr Lee found an easy access ; and his literary and scientific acquirements proved of essential advantage (as well as a source of enjoyment in his intercourse with them) in gaining their attention to the affairs of America. Among these persons the celebrated Turgot held a conspicuous place. Mr Lee cultivated his acquaintance, and presented to his enthusiastic mind the character of his countrymen as a brave people, warmly and obstinately attached to freedom ; and, to his judgment, the policy of France in assisting them in wresting from England their political independence. Impressed by the

forcible representation of Mr Lee, the Count de Vergennes, in the spring of '76, presented to the King a memorial on American affairs, accompanied with reflections of Turgot on the subject of it. The policy advised by this memorial, and enforced by the reflections of M. Turgot, was, "to facilitate to the colonists the means of procuring in the way of commerce the articles and even the money which they needed; but without departing from neutrality, and without giving them direct succors." This aid, even thus furnished, was as much as Mr Lee could anticipate at this time.

'To carry into effect this plan of assisting the Americans, Vergennes directed the same secret agent whom he had sent to London in December, '75, to wait on Mr Lee, and inform him of the views and determination of the French court respecting America. Mr Lee transmitted this highly important intelligence to the secret committee, through the same gentleman to whom he had communicated the message of Vergennes delivered to him in London in the preceding fall.' Vol. i. pp. 55, 56.

'From the spring of the year 1776 until the fall of it, Mr Lee remained in Paris as a secret agent of Congress. He then returned to England, and resided in London until the month of December, when, having received an official notification of his appointment as a commissioner to France, he repaired again to Paris. His conduct in the capacity of a secret agent in France had given great satisfaction to that body. He did not confine himself within the exact line of his instructions as agent to the French court. He sought and improved the acquaintance of the ambassadors of the different powers then in Paris; and by turning their attention to the struggle of the British colonies in North America, and by giving them correct information concerning their affairs, he inspired them with respect and interest for his country. He particularly sought to engage the consideration of the Spanish ambassador, and through him, of his court. He had so far succeeded in gaining the serious attention of the Spanish minister before the arrival of the commissioners from America, and before the appointment of a representative to the court of Spain, that he had actually proposed to that court to join France in secretly aiding the United States with money, arms, and other warlike stores.' pp. 58, 59.

When it is known, that Mr Lee did not go at all to Paris by order of the committee, or as a secret agent, the whole of these paragraphs will of course be ranked among the gratuitous links in the chain of history. Early in August, 1776, Mr Lee, then in London, wrote to Mr Deane in Paris, that he intended shortly to visit that city upon business, which he did not define. Accordingly we find Mr Deane writing to the Count de Ver-

gennes on the 22d of August, as follows; 'I was this morning informed of the arrival of Mr Arthur Lee, and that he would be in Paris to-morrow. This was surprising to me, as I knew of no particular affair that might bring him here.' Mr Lee stayed but a very short time, for in four weeks afterwards he was again in London, where he remained till he received his appointment as one of the commissioners, about the middle of December. It does not appear that he had any intercourse with the ministers of government, or any public functionaries in Paris. He met Beaumarchais, but he did nothing in regard to the aids which were to be remitted to America, as proposed by the former at their interviews in London, not, as our author says, 'in the preceding fall,' but in the preceding April. Mr Lee wrote to Congress, in his first letter after receiving his commission, that 'this business was settled with Mr Deane, whom M. de Beaumarchais found here upon his return from London, and with whom, therefore, all the arrangements were afterwards made.' Hence, Mr Lee's residence in Paris, so far from being continued from the winter to the succeeding autumn, as intimated in the above extracts, was no more than a transient visit of a few days in the month of August, during which he neither exercised nor assumed a public agency of any sort. If he made any other visit to Paris within the time here specified, of which no evidence appears, it must have been very short and unimportant in its consequences.

The above descriptions, therefore, of Mr Lee's earnestness and ability in representing the concerns of his country to the French government, his attempts to enlighten the men of influence in France, and his remarkable success with the Spanish ambassador, are to be considered rather in the light of ornaments to the drapery of history, than as making a substantial part of the warp and woof of the material itself. It would seem, from the above narrative, that Mr Lee's 'forcible representation' was the means of drawing from the Count de Vergennes a memorial to the King, which has become known through the reply of Turgot. And what is still more strange, Vergennes and Turgot are here made to harmonize in their views of the subject, whereas Turgot was strenuously opposed to the separation of the colonies from England, a policy supported by Vergennes with all his address and strength.* Turgot was willing that

* At the beginning of his memoir, Turgot says, 'It appears to me a most desirable event for the interest of the two crowns, that England

commercial facilities should be afforded to the Americans, by which they might supply themselves with the means of defence, on the ground merely that this would enable them to keep England so occupied for the present, that she could not think of a war with France, and thereby allow this latter power time to prepare for the war, which all parties saw approaching. Indeed, if Mr Lee had been in Paris, as is supposed, his agency could have produced little effect in this business, which had been elucidated by numerous papers, fully discussed in the cabinet, and finally settled by a majority, some months before the date of this memorial of Vergennes, which, by the way, was never published, and of which nothing is known except what is learned in the fragments of Turgot's paper, that have been brought to light by M. de Ségur.

In speaking of the appointment of the commissioners to France, the author observes, 'Mr Lee was selected, with Silas Deane, as one of the joint commission to the court of France, with whom Dr Franklin was *afterwards* joined.' We presume every reader would understand by this, that Mr Lee was the first chosen, and that Franklin was added to the commission at a later date. But the truth is, that when the ballots were taken, Franklin, Deane, and Jefferson were chosen, and in the order of the names as here written. Jefferson declined the appointment, and *four weeks afterwards* Congress proceeded to fill up the vacancy, and chose Arthur Lee.

Again, the author writes in reference to Mr Lee's visit to Spain ;

'Mr Lee was at length permitted to proceed, as it has been mentioned, to Madrid. He there exerted all the efforts which skill and ingenuity could suggest to induce the Spanish court to engage in our cause. The views of its policy, however, led that court to pursue a course of great caution and secrecy. The commissioner was assured of the good will of the King and nation, and

should surmount the resistance of her colonies, and force them to submit to her yoke, because, if the colonies can be subjugated only by the ruin of all their resources, England would lose the advantages which she has hitherto derived from them, whether in peace by the increase of her commerce, or in war by the use she is enabled to make of their forces. If, on the contrary, the vanquished colonies should preserve their riches and their population, they will likewise preserve their courage and their desire of independence, and compel England to employ a part of her force in preventing them from rising anew.' *Politique des Cabinets de l'Europe*, Vol. III. p. 160.

partial and ambiguous promises were made of joining France in giving the United States aids of money and arms. He was permitted to make contracts for warlike stores with Spanish merchants.' Vol. i. pp. 84, 85.

'The residence of Mr Lee at Madrid, though it resulted in no open or definite assistance, was not, however, unattended with essential service to the United States. He gave the ministry and public men of Spain accurate information of the character, condition, and prospects of the American people, which produced respect and cordiality for them. He brought back to Paris evidences of this result, and procured such instructions from the court of Spain to its minister at Paris, as kept up a close and intimate intercourse between him and Mr Lee, and finally enabled him to succeed in obtaining a large loan from the Spanish government.' p. 85.

Now as Mr Lee *did not go to Madrid at all*, nor spend any time in the Spanish dominions, except about twenty days in a secret manner at Burgos and Vittoria, as recounted above, these paragraphs must also be ranked among the apocryphal elements of history. Nor did Mr Lee's visit result in 'no definite assistance' and 'partial and ambiguous promises' from Spain. On the contrary, he obtained a positive gift of three hundred and seventy-five thousand livres, and supplies of soldiers' clothing and other articles sent to the United States. In regard to 'a large loan from the Spanish government,' no such thing was obtained by Mr Lee or any one else.

'The kindly sentiments of the people and government [of Holland] towards the United States had induced Congress to appoint an agent at the Hague. Mr William Lee, a brother of Arthur Lee, had for some time past acted in the capacity of commercial agent of the United States at that place.' Vol. i. p. 137.

'In the spring of 1777, Mr William Lee, who was then acting as agent of Congress in Holland, was appointed commissioner to the court of Berlin. As our commercial and financial concerns with Holland were of great importance and magnitude, Mr Lee consulted the commissioners at Paris on the propriety of his remaining in Holland, and proposed that one of them should repair to Berlin in his stead. Upon consideration it was determined that the interests of the United States required Mr William Lee to remain in Holland, while it was equally apparent that they required some immediate correspondence with Prussia. Without waiting to consult Congress (for at this time many months elapsed before they could receive answers to their communications from America), and relying on its acquiescence, it was resolved that Arthur Lee

should repair to Berlin in the room of his brother, and carry with him the commission and instructions intended for him.' Vol. I. pp. 85, 86.

'He succeeded in obtaining from Frederic an assurance that he would afford no facilities to Great Britain in procuring additional German auxiliaries, and that he would prohibit the passage through any part of his dominions of any troops, which that court should hereafter engage in Germany. He obtained also permission for the citizens of the United States to carry on a direct commerce with the subjects of Prussia; and for himself to purchase, for the use of the United States, arms at the armories from which the King supplied his armies.' Vol. I. p. 98.

'The principal exertions and labors of Mr Lee during the years 1778 and 1779 were required by his office, and were devoted to his duties of sole commissioner to the court of Spain, and of the acting commissioner to that of Prussia. During this period he aided his brother, William Lee, in his negotiations with Holland.'

'After having obtained loans and warlike supplies from the courts of Spain and Holland, and permission to purchase arms from the Prussian armories, he encountered many difficulties, and suffered vast trouble in the selections of the articles, in the necessary arrangements with the merchants, and in the making of arrangements with the subordinate agents and ministers of the several governments, as to the mode of insuring and shipping them.' Vol. I. p. 150.

'He obtained in times of urgent need loans from Spain and Holland, and military supplies from Prussia, on advantageous terms.' p. 151.

We have here a string of errors from beginning to end. Mr William Lee's commission was dated July 1st, and it did not reach Paris till the last of September, *several weeks after the return of Arthur Lee from Berlin*. And yet we are told, that 'he carried with him the commission and instructions intended for his brother.' Moreover, William Lee *never acted as an agent for Congress in Holland*, but he was a merchant and alderman in London till June, 1777, when he went over to France to superintend, in connexion with Mr Morris, the mercantile affairs of the United States at Nantes. Nor did he arrive in Paris from London till nearly a month after his brother's departure for Berlin. It has already been shown, that Mr Arthur Lee did not succeed in obtaining any 'assurance' whatever from Frederic or his minister, except an empty expression of good will, and a permission rather than a request, that Mr Lee

would inform the said minister from time to time how things advanced in America. As to the liberty of purchasing arms, and the 'military supplies from Prussia,' the account of the contract for the eight hundred defective fusils embraces all that is to be said on the subject. This purchase, the only one that was made, turned out to be far from 'advantageous.' We are told of a loan from Holland. No loan from Holland was obtained by any person while Mr Lee was in Europe, nor till after Mr Adams's appointment to that country. What is meant by Mr Lee's 'duties of acting commissioner to the court of Prussia,' we do not understand, since his brother held this commission till June, 1779, when it was withdrawn by Congress, and not renewed.

'The provisions of the 11th and 12th articles of the treaty of commerce with France present the subject of most interest in the history of our early negotiations with that country. The propositions of the French court, which constituted these articles, were at one time embodied in the treaty. France at this time possessed the principal islands in the West Indies, which yielded the greatest supply of molasses. It was proposed to our commissioners, that the United States should exempt from any tax or impost all merchandise exported from the United States to the French islands yielding molasses, by French subjects, while France should exempt from all duty the molasses exported from her islands to the United States by their citizens.' Vol. i. p. 124.

'As the French ministry seemed desirous to retain these articles, and as Mr Lee's colleagues assented to them, he waived for a time his objections, and they were comprehended in the treaty.' pp. 125, 126.

From this statement it would seem as if these articles originated with the French negotiators. They are called 'the propositions of the French court,' but we have seen heretofore that the first article was sent out in the treaty prepared by Congress, and when it was *objected to* by the French minister, *our commissioners proposed* the other as an equivalent; so that they both originated on the American side of the question. Indeed, the French never liked the articles; they only insisted, that if the first were retained, the other must go with it. M. Gerard told Mr Lee, 'that there was no sort of desire in the court relative to the omission or continuance of those articles,' and 'that they were *assented to* from an opinion of its being a very desirable thing in America.' With these sentiments on

the part of the French ministry, it required but a moderate skill in diplomacy to draw from M. Gerard an expression of his belief, that they would be readily given up in France, if not approved by Congress.

Such are some of the mistakes, which have occurred to us in the perusal of the Memoir, but we should be sorry to have the whole work judged by these specimens of its defects. Some of these errors betray haste, and a want of minute research, but no one who reads the book can suspect for a moment, that the author has in any instance designed to mislead, or been influenced by any other motives, than a desire of doing justice to the character of Mr Lee, by what he considered a fair and full exposition of the important events of his life. He seems not to have perused with sufficient attention Mr Lee's official correspondence. We think his public services rated much too high by his biographer. After conceding in the fullest and most unequivocal terms Mr Lee's activity, zeal, and fidelity, his genuine love of country, and conscientious discharge of duty, we really do not discover anything in the results of his labors, which should give him extraordinary claims to the admiration or gratitude of his countrymen. He was a patriot, and deserves a patriot's praise; like his associates in the times of trial and peril, he sustained himself manfully and truly; but it was his misfortune to defeat in one way the good effects of the purposes, which he strove to execute in another. The same constitution of mind, which prompted his ardor and energy, too often hurried him into the extremes of irritability and passion. Sanguine in temperament, credulous, hasty in action, he yielded with a weakness altogether unpardonable to the corroding influences of suspicion, jealousy, and distrust. This habitude of mind, which seemed an inherent quality, drew him into endless disputes and difficulties. He describes himself very truly when he says, 'Unhappily my fate has thrown me into public life, and the impatience of my nature makes me embark in it with an impetuosity and imprudence, which increase the evils to which it is necessarily subject.' Aversions, discords, enmities grew up and thickened around him as he advanced in his public career, which, at the same time they annoyed his own peace, fed the flame of party already but too rife in our national councils, and helped to open breaches and perpetuate divisions, which operated with

a pernicious tendency to the end of the war. These effects of the infirmities of Mr Lee's temper on the public interests and transactions of the time, make it necessary to touch upon incidents, which might otherwise perhaps be passed over, without essential detriment to the claims of justice, the cause of impartial history, or the honor of human nature.

No one who examines the subject can doubt, that Mr Lee's quarrels with Deane, his hostility to Franklin, and his disputes with everybody, a select few only excepted, were the primary causes of the warm altercations and endless perplexities, which distracted the deliberations of Congress on foreign affairs during two or three years of the most anxious period of the revolution, till Congress by a large majority passed a resolve, which certainly does not adorn the brightest page of their journals, 'that suspicions and animosities have arisen, among the late and present commissioners, highly prejudicial to the honor and interest of the United States.' It would be hard to put all this to Mr Lee's account, nor do we intend it; but we do say, that he was the primary and most efficient actor in a train of events, which produced these consequences.

The warfare commenced at an early date between Lee and Deane, and the first spark of the kindling flame was a spark of jealousy. Our readers will remember the interview between Mr Lee and Beaumarchais in London, and the plan concerted between them for sending two hundred thousand pounds sterling to the aid of the colonies. When Beaumarchais left London, Mr Lee seemed to consider this plan as matured, and that it would be executed in conformity with their arrangements. He gave notice accordingly to the Committee of Secret Correspondence, and letters passed between him and Beaumarchais on the subject. While the affair was in this favorable train, as he supposed, Deane arrived in Paris; and Beaumarchais, abandoning his first project, made new arrangements with this agent, and prepared to send the supplies through channels quite different from those heretofore suggested. By this scheme, also, Mr Lee's agency was entirely dispensed with. This turn of the business was not relished by Lee, since it deprived him of the merit and honor of being the medium through which supplies so bountiful and seasonable were transmitted to his country, and of the estimation which such an event would procure for him in the eyes of

Congress. He hastened over to Paris, and from the extract of a letter to Count de Vergennes, which we have already quoted, we learn the humor in which Deane was disposed to receive him. As Deane had been led into the engagements with Beaumarchais at the solicitation of this gentleman, without knowing what had been done in London, he looked upon Lee's interference as officious, and was evidently not in a mood to receive or treat him with much cordiality. At all events, their interviews in Paris produced anything but friendship, and Mr Lee returned to London without effecting any change in the scheme, which had been agreed upon between Beaumarchais and Deane. Thus were sown the first seeds of discord, which afterwards attained so rank a growth among the agents of the United States abroad and their friends at home.

About three months afterwards Mr Lee went back to Paris, and joined Franklin and Deane as one of the three commissioners from Congress. Nothing had occurred in the interim to subdue or quell the feud, that had previously begun; and it was now increased by the circumstances of the moment. Just at this time Beaumarchais was in great embarrassment, on account of the obstacles thrown in his way by the government to prevent his shipping the articles, which he had got in readiness, and for the transportation of which vessels had been chartered, and were retained at a large expense. Mr Lee showed no sympathy with Deane on this occasion, and perhaps it was natural enough, as things had turned out, that he should be quite willing to let the responsibility and vexation of the enterprise rest on his colleague, who was to share all the honor of its success. Nor does it appear, that Deane had any unwillingness to endure the one for the sake of the other. Hence each had his consolation in his own way, but drawn from sources so widely asunder, as to afford but a discouraging prospect of a speedy union of sentiment or feeling between these two rival commissioners.

At length Mr Lee went to Spain, and Franklin and Deane remained in charge of affairs at Paris. As the mercantile transactions had been in the hands of Deane from the beginning, and as he was the only commissioner acquainted with them in detail, he was still considered as the fittest of the three to have a chief control over this department. Franklin made

no pretension to a knowledge of mercantile matters, and Mr Lee's habits had been as little in this line as his own, whereas Deane was a practical merchant. By reason of Mr Lee's visits to Spain and Prussia he was absent from Paris a large portion of the time, during the first seven months after the meeting of the commissioners. It is impossible, therefore, that he should be well versed in their proceedings, or know the reasons and motives by which his colleagues were guided in any particular act or determination; and more especially as he and Mr Deane had been on such terms from the outset, as to forbid any explanatory intercommunications of this sort between them.

Another ingredient in the cup of calamity Mr Lee found, or imagined he found, on his return from Prussia. Mr Deane's visits to Versailles were frequent, which indicated that he was well received by the ministers; his residence in Paris had procured him many acquaintances among persons of eminence, which brought him into notice, and gave him consequence; his mercantile transactions had connected him with persons of business, and opened a wide field of correspondence, which also contributed to his importance. Mr Lee was comparatively a stranger, and had none of these advantages; and what probably was keenly felt by a temper so sensitive as his, Deane made it no point of delicacy to place himself on as high a pedestal as his good fortune enabled him to mount, leaving his less favored colleague to stand in such a niche as he could find at hand. No courtesy or good will was lost on either side. Deane was by nature formal, cold, slow, and fond of parade; Lee was ardent, rapid, eager, and regardless of forms where he could come quickly to the reality and the substance. It is obvious, that there could be no commingling of such principles as these, and the more closely they were brought in contact, the greater would be the strife of the discordant elements.

It was now, that the characteristic foible of Mr Lee began to show itself. He conceived the notion, that all the friends of Deane must be his enemies. Then came over his mind strange visions of plots, and intrigues, and combinations formed to mar his peace, defame his character, and injure his reputation. He believed it was a part of the business of this knot of adversaries to write paragraphs to his discredit, and pro-

cure their insertion in the European gazettes, and to take care that they were repeated in the American papers. He conceived them to be busy, also, in writing letters of the same purport, and thus to be infusing a poison, not only into the public mind, but into the mind of individuals whose good opinion was important to his fame and his success. At the head of this formidable league, in his imagination, was placed Mr Deane, by whose arts and machinations it had been brought into being while he was absent in Prussia.

In this state of mind Mr Lee began to write, in an extraordinary manner, to his friends in America about Mr Deane. The following extracts are from a letter to his brother, Richard Henry Lee, then a member of Congress, and dated nine days after the signature of the treaty. 'My absence, and the care with which things have been concealed from me, have disqualified me to judge of the truth of the suspicions, *which are general, of Deane's having had doctours from the public contractors and others*, in order to conciliate his patronage; and that he is in a sort of partnership with Holker, Sabatier, Monthieu, and others, *in which the public money and influence are made subservient to private profit.*' Again, 'Whenever he is removed from the command of money, the truth will come out fast enough, *and the persons who, under his auspices, have been defrauding the public*, may be brought to account. Upon the whole, these are dangerous men, and capable of any wickedness to avenge themselves on those, who are suspected of counteracting their purposes.' 'The calling for an account of the money we have expended, the taking of the expenditure out of our hands for the future, *or the removal of him who has misapplied it*, would lead to discoveries and proofs before time has enabled him to prevent them.' Now we ask, if there could be anything more outrageous, or more at variance with the moral proprieties of conduct, than such an attack as this upon the character of a colleague in office, concerning whose affairs the accuser did not pretend to know anything with certainty, but against whom he utters insinuations so positive and circumstantial, as to give the worst impression, and thus secretly to fix a stigma on his reputation? If Mr Lee believed these charges to be correct, it was his duty to search for the proofs, and above all was it his duty to keep his suspicions within his own bosom, till he could send them out with

facts, that should make them as clear as the light of day. And more than this, every principle of honor and justice would require him at the same time to exhibit the charges to the accused person himself, and give him an opportunity of explanation and defence. A charge without proof is a calumny; and there certainly cannot be a more unworthy act, to say nothing of its criminality, than a secret and insidious attempt to wound the reputation of another, with whom the accuser is in habits of daily intercourse, and associated in the discharge of duties implying mutual confidence and responsibility. It was this practice, which we consider the great fault of Mr Lee's character, and to this we alluded, when we said that he was a primary cause of the divisions and contests in Congress. He was in the habit of writing to the members against several persons, and in a similar strain to that of these extracts, and frequently with a much greater latitude of censure. His letters were of course shown to the friends of his correspondents, and their tendency could not but be mischievous in the highest degree. Those, who were not convinced, would have their confidence shaken by such bold insinuations, and think it impossible that there should not be something more in them, than the workings of a fervent imagination, or the illusions of a jealous spirit. In the above extracts we see how little caution was used in the mention of individuals, for we there have the names of three eminent French merchants, linked with that of Mr Deane in a league of fraud upon the public funds.

At length Deane, being recalled, returned to the United States, made various communications to Congress, and was admitted personally at the bar of the House, where he gave a detailed narrative of his transactions in Europe. Meantime Mr Lee continued to repeat the same vague charges, and among other things wrote to Congress, that, after examining Mr Deane's accounts, he had ascertained 'that millions had been expended, and almost everything remained to be paid for,' but he preferred no specific accusation, nor forwarded any proofs. Mr Deane and his friends were highly indignant at this mode of attack, and Congress gave him copies of Lee's letters. To these he replied, and of course Mr Lee was furnished with copies of the replies; and then came his rejoinders. During these epistolary skirmishes, Congress delayed to decide on Deane's affairs, although he pressed them with much earnestness either to pass a vote of approbation or censure on his conduct, and bring the matter as soon as possible to a close.

Wearied by this delay, and apparently irritated by the part that had been taken by Mr Lee, to injure his character, he published his famous Address to the People, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of the fifth of December, 1778. This paper was in the strongest and worst spirit of retaliation upon Arthur Lee and his brothers, whom he calls 'his personal and lately his avowed enemies,' and concerning whom he speaks in a tone of subdued but pointed obloquy, as insidious as it is re-criminatory. He reiterates and endeavors to substantiate a report, that Arthur Lee had been suspected of an undue attachment to England, and of an unwarrantable correspondence with the enemies of his country. Considering the early, the unceasing, the inflexible patriotism of Arthur Lee, of which the proofs were almost as numerous as his acts or his words, it would seem hardly possible that Deane himself could have credited such a slander, notwithstanding this bold step of giving currency to its circulation by the sanction of his name. It is not surprising that from this date the warfare became open, violent, and unrelenting, and that the friends of the parties in Congress should enter into the contest with an asperity, little consistent with the dignity, moderation, and impartiality that ought to prevail in all deliberative assemblies. Deane remained nearly a year longer in Philadelphia, soliciting a formal and final resolve of Congress respecting his public conduct. This however was never made, but a vote was passed granting him ten thousand five hundred dollars, in consideration of his time and expenses in his attendance on Congress. A draft on the treasury for this amount was sent to him; but he returned it to the President of Congress, with a respectful letter, stating that it was inadequate to his actual expenses and trouble in the service of Congress, that he preferred to return it, trusting that when his accounts were settled he should make it appear, that his services in France had been of much greater importance than Congress seemed then aware, and that he would refer to that time any further discussion of the proper amount of his recompense. Nothing was ever paid to him, however, nor do we know whether his heirs have ever claimed of Congress this sum of ten thousand five hundred dollars, which would seem to have been their due after his death.

We have never seen any proof of the charge, which Mr Lee takes great pains to fix on Mr Deane, that he employed the public money for the advancement of his private interest.

On the contrary, all probability and well established facts are against it. He declared solemnly to Congress, that he had not even invested any of his own funds in any shipments, except to a small amount in two instances. One of these investments was captured by the enemy, and the other was for the use of his family, and passed through the hands of Robert Morris, at that time a member of the Committee of Secret Correspondence, by whom Deane was sent abroad. Moreover, his acceptance of this appointment was not understood at the time to deprive him of the privilege of acting in the capacity of a private merchant, and although prudence might dictate such a course, yet neither duty nor his engagements with the Committee imposed on him any such obligation. Mr Lee, in writing to Theoderic Bland, says, 'Mr Deane is generally understood to have made *sixty thousand pounds sterling* while he was employed here.' This is another of those vague and unwarrantable charges, without proof or specification, lurking under the convenient and treacherous gloss,—'*is generally understood.*' What is the truth? Deane went to France with money of his own in his pocket; how much, we cannot say, but he had something. He stayed there a year and eight months, and then returned to Philadelphia, where he remained eighteen months longer attending on Congress. During this latter period, he certainly could have disposed of money for no other purpose than his expenses, for he was engaged in no business whatever. It follows, that this great sum of sixty thousand pounds, or more than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, must have been still in Europe. Neither he nor his family were known to have it in this country. It must have been somewhere, if it ever existed; but there is absolute proof, that he returned to Paris in beggary. We have ourselves seen positive written testimony, that he subsisted there for several months on the bounty of strangers. Is it credible, that he had accumulated money, which he now hoarded, while drawing a bare support from a source, which deserved no other name than charity? He affirmed to the last, that he had just demands on Congress to the amount of more than thirty-five thousand dollars for his time and disbursements of various kinds in France, besides another large amount, which, according to the usages in mercantile transactions of this sort, he said was his due as a commission on the purchases he had made. But as his accounts went unsettled, owing apparently as much to his own fault and

negligence, as to any other cause, his claims were never recognised nor allowed.

It is not easy at the present day to form a correct estimate of the conduct and services of Silas Deane, during his public agency in France. His lamentable, or more properly disgraceful desertion of his country's cause at a later period, and the pains he took to depreciate her interests, fix on him such marks of treacherous aims, as to obscure and almost conceal the virtue of his previous acts, whatever merit they may have in reality possessed. Yet it must be conceded in his defence, that he was treated with unmeasured abuse, neglected, if not essentially wronged by Congress, and reproached with possessing vast treasures amassed by the artifices of fraud, while he was actually suffering under the severe inflictions of poverty. All this affords no apology for his deplorable, not to say criminal defection, but it is a reason why justice should be rendered to him as far as it is his due. Mr Adams, who was his successor in France, thus writes, soon after his arrival, to a friend in Congress. 'I have heard a great deal in this country concerning Mr Deane's conduct; great panegyrics and hard censures. But I believe he has neither the extravagant merit, that some persons ascribe to him, nor the gross faults to answer for, which some others impute or suspect. I believe he was a diligent servant of the public, and rendered it essential service.' This seems to us as fair a judgment as can be formed, for there is good evidence, that it was written with a competent knowledge of the subject, and without predilection or partiality.

We intended here to go at some length into the causes, progress, and effects of Mr Lee's hostility to his other colleague, Dr Franklin, but our remarks have already been drawn out to such an extent, that we can claim but little space for this topic. We must say, however, that we are not at all satisfied with the account which our author gives of the matter. He very good naturedly ascribes the whole to the easy temper, confiding disposition, indolence, age, and, we may almost say, imbecility of Franklin. According to him, Mr Lee took it specially upon himself to detect defaulters, to expose the faithlessness of public contractors, and bring their conduct openly and fearlessly to light. In this ungracious task, to which he was impelled by his deep sense of duty, he made discoveries in the transactions of some of Franklin's friends, which the philosopher's impaired vision was not acute enough to perceive, and

which he would fain look upon as 'the suspicions of a petulant and unamiable temper.' Hence he began to lose his confidence in Mr Lee's judgment, and to lend to him a doubting ear, and incline himself to those, 'whose object and policy induced them to wish to avoid the control of his energetic colleague.' He did not like to be worried with this activity and vigilance, but loved to see things go on calmly, and to seek contentment in tranquillity. 'His kind and unsuspecting disposition was imposed upon and deceived. He became cold and distant in his manners towards Mr Lee, and gave a degree of countenance to defaulting agents, which proved injurious to the public interests.' In other words, Dr Franklin, good easy man, was a dupe to the roguery and tricks of a set of sharpers, that hovered around him under the name of public contractors, and allowed himself to be cajoled and deceived, not only out of his common sense, but out of his common honesty and fidelity to his trust; while his astute, shrewd, keen-sighted, fearless, and ever active colleague penetrated all the mysteries of iniquity practised by these rapacious contractors, and drew them into the open day, much to their shame and discomfiture. Hence the enmity that sprang up between these two commissioners.

Now we are constrained to say, that we have no points of accordance with the author in this view of the question. In the first place, we have not the least faith in Mr Lee's superior ability or success in discovering frauds, over those of his colleague. Dr Franklin's age and infirmities did not disable him from conducting triumphantly for almost nine years, a series of perplexing and complicated public duties, and some of the most important negotiations, which have ever been accomplished by any minister. Whoever will read his correspondence, while in France, will not accuse him of want of vigilance or activity in all things where his duty required them, nor of a disposition to let fraudulent contractors escape with impunity. The truth of the business is simply this. As Mr Lee was absent a large portion of the time when the contracts were made, he was not accessory to them, and in most cases not acquainted with the persons. These contracts were also chiefly made by Mr Deane, in whose hands the mercantile affairs were left. From the specimens we have already given of the temperament of Mr Lee, and the terms on which he stood with Mr Deane, we believe our readers will allow, that it must in the

nature of things have been extremely difficult for Mr Lee to persuade himself, that Deane could make a fair contract or deal with an honest man. The consequence was, that when Deane returned to America, and the accounts of these contractors were left to be settled by the other commissioners, Mr Lee's suspicions were awake, and manifested in so broad a manner, as soon to give offence to the persons with whom he was attempting to adjust their concerns. To show that you suspect a man's honesty is not the readiest way to conciliate his good will, or make him accommodating to your wishes. So it was in this case. The contractors were displeased with Mr Lee's mode of treating them, and avoided him as much as they could. This shyness Mr Lee construed into an evidence of fraud, or a faithless performance of duty. They sought refuge in the good nature of Dr Franklin, but here they found little consolation, for he did not pretend to settle their accounts, and could only sympathize in their perplexities. Indeed, this only added fuel to the flame, for Mr Lee's suspicions were doubly wakeful when his colleague was in any way concerned. This is our view of his activity in detecting frauds, and of its consequences.

It seems to us, that there is another and much deeper cause of the settled enmity of Mr Lee to Dr Franklin, which he never pretended to conceal in conversation, or in writing to his friends, after he had been a few months in Paris. It is well known, that all his interest, and that of his friends in Congress, were used to procure Dr Franklin's recall from France, with the view of securing Mr Lee's appointment in his stead. His letters were filled with censures of Franklin's conduct, boldly affirming his unfitness for such a station, and at all events recommending, that, if it was impossible to effect his recall, he should be sent to an interior government, where he could do neither harm nor good. A few paragraphs from Mr Lee's letters will set this subject in a clearer light. To Samuel Adams he writes, on the fourth of October, 1777; 'I have within this year been at the several courts of Spain, Vienna, and Berlin, and I find this of France is *the great wheel that moves them all*. Here therefore the most activity is requisite, and if it should ever be a question in Congress about my destination, *I should be much obliged to you for remembering, that I should prefer being at the court of France.*' Vol. II. p. 113. Again, on the same day he writes to his brother, Richard Hen-

ry Lee, then in Congress; 'My idea of adapting characters and places is this; *Dr Franklin to Vienna, as the first, most respectable, and quiet*; Mr Deane to Holland; and the Alderman (William Lee) to Berlin, as the commercial department; Mr Izard where he is; Mr Jennings at Madrid, his reserve and circumspection being excellently adapted to that court. France remains the centre of political activity, and *here therefore I should choose to be employed.*' p. 115. Again to Richard Henry Lee; 'Things go on worse and worse every day among ourselves, and my situation is more painful. I see in every department neglect, dissipation, and private schemes. Being in trust here I am responsible for what I cannot prevent, and these very men will probably be the instruments of having me called to an account one day for their misdeeds. There is but *one way* of redressing this and remedying the public evil; that is, the plan I before sent you, of appointing the Doctor, *honoris causá*, to Vienna; Mr. Deane to Holland; Mr Jennings to Madrid; *and leaving me here.* In that case I should have it in my power to call those to an account, through whose hands I know the public money has passed, and which will either never be accounted for, or misaccounted for by connivance of those who are to share in the public plunder.' p. 127. Here truly is a most persuasive argument for Congress to make Mr Lee minister to France. What a frightful picture is here drawn of the mismanagement, disorders, and distracted condition of the American affairs at that court, and what deplorable consequences must ensue, unless that '*one way*' is resorted to, of sending Dr Franklin to the capital of Austria, and setting Mr Lee to turn the '*great wheel*' at Paris, by the magical movements of which, under his control, an infallible remedy will be applied, and a radical reform suddenly effected.

In another letter to Samuel Adams, the same alluring prospect is again held out, on the easy conditions only of the same arrangement. 'If Mr Lloyd is appointed agent, *Dr Franklin sent to Vienna*, Mr Deane to Holland, *and I am left here*, we shall all act in concert; and not only have a full inquiry made into the expenditure of the public money, but establish that order, decency, and regularity, which are lately banished from the public business at present, so as to involve us in continual confusion and expense.' p. 137. Here we have the same modesty in the proposal, and the same temptation to comply

with it. But we shall not tax our readers with remarks on these extracts. Their language and their purpose are but too plain. We need not even ask whether a man, with such designs in his head, is to be credited for immaculate disinterestedness in representing the disabilities or disqualifications of a public officer, whom he is thus covertly attempting to undermine and supersede. Nor need we ask whether the vague charges of a man under such a bias, unless accompanied with proofs bearing the marks of truth as if written with a sunbeam, ought to weigh with a considerate mind more than a feather or a straw. Mr Lee abounds with charges, but seldom with facts to support them. In the above extracts, for instance, he charges *somebody* with neglect of duty, dissipation, private schemes, misdeeds, public plunder, and other heinous misdemeanors. But *who is it?* That is a secret which he keeps to himself. Where were these acts committed, when, how, and for what end? This is all a secret, and you are left to conjecture, suspect, and wonder. The only thing of which you are made positively certain is, that, if Dr Franklin can be got off to the quiet retreat of Vienna, and Mr Lee is left to control affairs in the bustling world of Paris, all disorders will cease, and a new era will commence in the young annals of American diplomacy.

We are far from wishing to screen Dr Franklin from any just imputation, that may rest against him in regard to these differences with his colleagues. It is not pretended that he was without fault, or that he gave no provocation for occasional dissatisfaction and ill feeling. But we do maintain, that no shadow of reproach can be cast on his integrity, either in his political negotiations or his management of money concerns while in Europe. That he was always as judicious in contracts, and careful in expenditures as a practised economist or man of business might have been, we are not prepared to say; but that he acted honestly, uprightly, and for the best interests of his country to the full extent of his knowledge and judgment, we are as entirely convinced, as we are that these facts can be affirmed of any public minister, who has ever gone from the United States to Europe. His great fame and extraordinary character gained him much admiration and notice in France, and placed him in a sphere above his colleagues. As their powers in office were equal with his, it was natural that they should be annoyed by this marked distinction shown

to him, particularly when taken in connexion with his usual manners to them, which were evidently not the most conciliatory or courteous. He seemed willing to enjoy the meed of his fame, without giving himself much trouble or concern about the social rank or public estimation of his associates. This may be accounted for in some sort by his advanced age and bodily infirmities, his habits of reserve in conversation, and his cold and cautious temperament. But the cause, wherever it may be found, does not palliate the defect, and we are as little disposed to apologize for the one as to disavow the other.

One of the insinuations of Mr Lee, to the disparagement of Dr Franklin's integrity, was, that he showed a culpable indulgence to persons, who, he knew, or ought to have known, made a misuse of public money. It is implied that this was a mode to which he was not reluctant to resort for the purpose of gratifying his friends; in other words, that, in this respect, he was faithless to his public trust, and a tacit abettor of frauds and criminal extravagance. Without the least hesitation, we pronounce such an insinuation as indefensible as it is reproachful. The commissioners had appointed Mr Williams, a nephew of Dr Franklin, to be a temporary agent to transact commercial business at Nantes. Mr Lee had a sharp difference, or rather a quarrel, with Williams about his accounts. Dr Franklin did not enter into the quarrel, and hence he was accused of showing a reprehensible indulgence to his nephew in regard to the pecuniary concerns of his agency; or, in short, that he wished to keep him in a post where he could put money in his pocket at the expense of the public. But let us appeal to Dr Franklin's own words. When Mr William Lee (who was then the chief commercial agent at Nantes) was about going to Prussia, he proposed to appoint Mr Williams to be a permanent agent. Dr Franklin wrote to him in reply as follows; '*Your proposition about appointing agents in the ports shall be laid before the commissioners when they meet. In the mean time I can only say, that, as to my nephew, Mr Williams, though I have from long knowledge and experience of him a high opinion of his abilities, activity, and integrity, I will have no hand in his appointment, or in approving it, not being desirous of his being in any way concerned in that business.*' And yet we are called on to believe, that his holding the appointment was a scheme of Dr Franklin's to give him a chance to grow rich out of the public money!

Again, he repeatedly urged Congress to relieve him from the burden of the mercantile business, in the management of which nearly all the expenditures of the money that passed through his hands were made. 'The trouble and vexation,' he says, 'which these maritime affairs give me, are inconceivable. I have often expressed to Congress my wish to be relieved from them, and that some person better acquainted with them, and better situated, might be appointed to manage them. Much money as well as time would, I am sure, be saved by such an appointment.' On several occasions he reiterated earnestly the same request; that is, he desired Congress to take out of his hands the very means, which his enemies have asserted him to have been eager in retaining, for the purpose of advancing his private ends at the expense of his integrity. These facts require no comment.

A rumor went abroad soon after Dr Franklin's return from Europe, that there was a deficiency of a million of livres on his part during his residence in France, which remained unaccounted for, and his enemies took care to represent, that he was a defaulter to this amount. Indeed, it appeared on the face of the banker's accounts, that both he and Dr Franklin had given credit for receiving a million of livres more than the amount of expenditures reported by them. That is, they had acknowledged the receipt of three millions from the French government, as a free gift, at the beginning of the mission, when only the two millions, which we have heretofore mentioned as having been paid by quarterly instalments, were accounted for. This fact was communicated to Franklin by the Secretary of Congress, and he was as much puzzled with it as the Secretary himself. He wrote to Mr Grand, the American banker in Paris, who had signed the receipt with him, asking for an explanation. Mr Grand was equally puzzled, and applied to M. Dureval, an officer in the treasury department of France. The reply was, that from the books of the office it appeared, that *three millions* had been paid as a free gift, but that the payment of the first million was dated June 10th, 1776, six months before Dr Franklin arrived in France, and nearly seven before Mr Grand became the American banker. It followed that neither of these gentlemen could be in any way implicated in the payment or expenditure. Count de Vergennes declined giving a copy of the receipt of this million, or the name of the person to whom it was paid, alleging this to be a

thing of no consequence, since the money was a gratuity, and nobody was held answerable for it. When Gouverneur Morris was minister in France from the United States several years afterwards, he procured a copy of the receipt from the public office, which showed the money to have been paid to Beaumarchais, and this is the remnant of the celebrated claim of that individual and his heirs, which has been before Congress in one shape or another for more than half a century. We do not profess to give a history of this transaction, but merely to state such results as prove with what extreme injustice any injurious reflections were cast upon Dr Franklin respecting it.

Lastly, it has been often said, and is sometimes repeated at this day, that Dr Franklin never settled his public accounts. In its spirit and purport this assertion is essentially false. Some months before Dr Franklin left France, Mr Barclay, the American Consul to that country, arrived there, with full power and authority from Congress to liquidate and settle the accounts of all persons in Europe, who had been intrusted with the expenditure of the public money of the United States. Under this authority he examined methodically the entire mass of Dr Franklin's accounts. The difference between the result of his investigation and the statement of Dr Franklin was seven sols, or about six cents, which by mistake the Doctor had overcharged. Mr Barclay was ready to close and finally settle the accounts, but, *at Dr Franklin's request*, they were kept open for the inspection of Congress, because he believed there were other charges, which Congress ought rightfully to pay, but which Mr Barclay did not feel authorized to allow. Soon after his return, he sent his accounts to Congress, with a request that they might be examined, and the separate charges considered. Congress delayed the examination, and a few months before his death, Franklin wrote to Congress on the subject, as follows; 'Reports have for some time past been circulated here, and propagated in the newspapers, that I am greatly indebted to the United States for large sums that had been put into my hands, and that I avoid a settlement. This, together with the little time one of my age may expect to live, makes it necessary for me to request earnestly, which I hereby do, that the Congress would be pleased, without further delay, to examine those accounts, and if they find therein any article or articles which they do not understand or approve, that they would cause me to be acquainted with the same, that I may

have an opportunity of offering such explanations or reasons in support of them as may be in my power, and then that the accounts may be finally closed.' Nothing more needs be added, we believe, to vindicate Dr Franklin from censure or suspicion in regard to this subject.

We might pursue these inquiries through all their ramifications, and we are confident that the result would in every instance contribute to exalt the character and brighten the fame of Franklin. Prejudice has done him a wrong, which time and truth will adjust. He was an early, a true, a steady, an enlightened friend to his country, and for half a century a most able and faithful defender of her liberties. The more his political principles, designs, and acts are scrutinized, the more they will be found to demand the admiration, the respect, and the gratitude of his countrymen.

ART. IX.—*Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies, from the Papers of THOMAS JEFFERSON.* Edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph. 4 vols. 8vo. Charlottesville. F. Carr & Co. 1829.

THE publication of this work has excited an uncommon degree of interest. Mr Jefferson was an active leader of public opinion, from his first appearance as a politician until the close of his political career, a period of forty years; and he continued to influence by his advice the course of public measures, long after he had withdrawn himself within the shade of private life. He has stood before two generations. The same political doctrines which he first espoused, he advocated with persevering consistency long after most of those who were his original adherents or opponents had disappeared from the world. He survived to review the judgment which had been passed upon him by one age, and these posthumous documents will establish the rank which he is to hold in the estimation of the present age and of posterity.

There are no subjects so attractive to our curiosity or our sympathy, as the fortunes and trials, the reflections and purposes of eminent men. We love to watch their movements, as they appear conspicuously on the public stage, whether at

the head of armies, or uttering in the senate the public voice. We take an equal pleasure in following them into the retreat of the tent or the cabinet ; to overhear secret debates and resolves, which are to determine the course of great events and decide the destiny of a nation. But it is a luxury of curiosity to be able to accompany a great man in the relaxation of his private hours ; to be admitted under his roof, when he is relieved from the cares of office ; to see him in the intercourse of domestic relations ; to notice the character of his mind, when released from the restraints of public exhibition ; to hear his soliloquies when he is off his guard ; or gather from his confidence the maxims and lessons which are the result of his experience and reflection. The world is not willing to lose sight of a conspicuous man, as soon as he is retired from office. After the season of activity is past, there frequently remains the most valuable and interesting portion of life ; when passion having subsided, the mind can survey the past with unclouded view ; can connect causes with their effects ; can follow virtue through trials and obstructions to its reward ; can discover wherefore prudence has failed and folly has triumphed ; and reconcile with the natural order of providence those events which have been called caprices of fortune. Had the Emperor Napoleon won the battle of Waterloo, he might have continued to hold his power, till the last pageant had conducted him to the vaults of St Denis. The world would have lost that part of his story which now forms its moral ; the shade which now gives relief and effect to the picture. The cruel state of security, in which the fears or the vengeance of his conquerors placed him, afforded to the last years of his life a leisure for calm retrospection, which successful ambition would not have allowed. He employed it in commentaries on his various fortune ; in divulging his secret designs ; unveiling the motives of his policy ; the origin of his errors ; in a word, in explaining the wonders of his reign. By becoming his own historian, he has made the last scene, the most useful of his life. Had his seclusion been voluntary retirement, he would have acquired by his merit that interest, which the sympathy of the world has generally accorded to his misfortune.

The eminent men, who have been willing to record the events of the times in which they were actors, and ingenuously to describe the part they took in them, have seldom resorted to a most natural expedient ; one which anticipates and supersedes

the task of historical composition. It consists merely in the arrangement of a series of their own epistolary correspondence. And yet letters have a natural charm which cannot well be transfused into methodical history; for we may affirm, that while it is a most difficult task of literature to give spirit to a long narration of events foreign to the writer, there are few letters written under the excitement of the occasion, which fail of that success. Such writers seize the interest before it evaporates. Events, as soon as they have gone by and satisfied our curiosity, lose some lines of their first impression. Hopes or apprehensions, which once brought them near to us, gradually subside, and at length what first enlisted the feelings becomes, by lapse of time, a matter of speculation. So that it is a vain effort, which the historian makes, to impart to remote transactions the animation they once possessed. The colors have faded and cannot be perfectly revived. The botanist who describes flowers from the rich herbarium of Linnaeus, may accurately show their distinctive characters, but their tints and forms, and all that delighted the eye, are lost. It is this curiosity to view the thought exactly as it springs up and unfolds itself in the mind, that is the source of the pleasure peculiar to epistolary writing. The effusions of friendship, the impulses of passion, common occurrences, and domestic incidents are attractive, when related without affectation of elegance or feeling. It is on this principle, that so many of the familiar letters of Cicero, not intended to last beyond the occasions on which they were written, have been handed down to posterity, while all his historical works have been suffered to disappear and be irrecoverably lost.

The correspondence of Mr Jefferson, contained in these volumes, commenced in the year 1775, and continued almost without interruption till June, 1826. He secured the advantage of perpetuating the part which he held in it, by the uniform practice of retaining copies of his own letters. As they were written mostly on political topics which occupied the public attention at their several dates; and the writer was, during a long life, intimately conversant with two eventful revolutions, the American and French; deeply interested in the fate of our country during its subsequent difficulties and divisions; and one of the principal organs of administration under the constitution of the United States, the consummation and reward of so much effort; these letters, addressed to the most distinguished men

of the age, must furnish very important and interesting materials for history. But political subjects never excluded from the mind of Mr Jefferson those which were still more congenial to it; the researches of philosophy, the developement of the mind, the discussion of morals, and whatever he thought would contribute to the benefit of mankind. The most impressive of his letters are those dictated by the kind and paternal feelings that distinguished his character; in which, without pretension or disguise, he gives his advice on the subject of education and conduct to those who regarded him as their friend and Mentor. He makes the following remarks in a letter to one of them on the subject of travel.

‘This makes men wiser, but less happy. When men of sober age travel, they gather knowledge, which they may apply usefully for their country; but they are subject ever after to recollections mixed with regret; their affections are weakened by being extended over more objects; and they learn new habits which cannot be gratified when they return home. Young men who travel are exposed to all these inconveniences in a higher degree, to others still more serious, and do not acquire that wisdom for which a previous foundation is requisite, by repeated and just observations at home. The glare of pomp and pleasure is analogous to the motion of the blood; it absorbs all their affection and attention; they are torn from it as from the only good in this world, and return to their home as to a place of exile and condemnation. Their eyes are for ever turned back to the object they have lost, and its recollection poisons the residue of their lives. Their first and most delicate passions are hackneyed on unworthy objects here, and they carry home the dregs, insufficient to make themselves or any body else happy. Add to this, that a habit of idleness, an inability to apply themselves to business is acquired, and renders them useless to themselves and their country. These observations are founded in experience. There is no place where your pursuit of knowledge will be so little obstructed by foreign objects, as in your own country, nor any, wherein the virtues of the heart will be less exposed to be weakened. Be good, be learned, and be industrious, and you will not want the aid of travelling to render you precious to your country, dear to your friends, happy within yourself. I repeat my advice, to take a great deal of exercise, and on foot. Health is the first requisite after morality.’ Vol II. pp. 218, 219.

To expose in one view the state of the thoughts, opinions, and motives, during a whole life, would be to most men an unwilling and hazardous undertaking. Yet the faithful exhibition

of letters written in a long series of years, in every variety of fortune, in the confidence of secrecy as well as unreserved assurance, does in fact present the entire character. Most men at the approach of death are desirous that those papers which have survived the topics on which they were written, though they might be perused without discredit, should be destroyed. The memorials of former times of health, activity, and pleasure, are taken up with the melancholy reflection, that the occasions are gone, and they are consigned to the flames with the hope, that, without their aid, our friends will hold us in their minds by the recollection of all the merit they have witnessed in us, and allow our faults to pass into indulgent oblivion. But Mr Jefferson, anticipating the claim which the interest or curiosity of the public would make upon his posthumous papers, voluntarily yielded them for publication; and conscious that he had put no disguise on his opinions when living, he felt no apprehension from an exposure of them after his death.

Prefixed to Mr Jefferson's correspondence is a summary biography from his own pen, of which the principal events are now generally known. It appears, his early acquisitions as an accomplished scholar were due chiefly to his own efforts, assisted with less than the usual aid from instructors. Before he was fifteen years old, he lost his father. At the age of seventeen he was placed at the university of William and Mary, where he remained only two years. The want of parental protection, however, was more than compensated by the spirit of determination and self-dependence which the necessity of personal effort inspired, and by the friendship of a few distinguished persons, which his unfolding merit attracted. His early instructor, Dr Small, to whom he acknowledges most gratefully his obligation for the first views he had 'of the expansion of science and of philosophy,' procured him the acquaintance of George Wythe. This excellent and learned man directed his legal studies, and introduced him to the notice of the public. He became a member of the legislature of Virginia in 1769; and his progress through all the honors which his native state could bestow to the highest dignities recognised by the American republic, was as rapid as the march of the revolution. His name was associated with its great events. He was among the first to commit himself and his future destinies on the great question of resistance to the encroachments of arbitrary prerogative, and of the right of the people to gov-

ern themselves. The instructions which he submitted to the Convention of Virginia for the government of their deputies to the first Congress, and the Declaration of Independence which he penned, are the avowals of principles he first imbibed—the principles of republican government. It was not owing to disappointment in his hopes of preferment, the chagrin of having his merits neglected by the pride of an aristocracy, or oppressed by the influence of the crown, that he espoused the popular cause. Among his first intimate friends was the Governor of the state, Fauquier. ‘With him, and at his table, Dr Small and Mr Wythe, his *amici omnium horarum*, and myself,’ says Mr Jefferson, ‘formed a *partie quarrée*, and to the habitual conversations on these occasions I owed much instruction.’ Till the war actually began, his principles allowed him to advocate colonial connexion with England; and to recognise in that power the right to direct the external commerce of the country. But all control over the essential privileges of freemen, the right of making laws for the government of their persons and the protection of their property, he considered arbitrary and inadmissible. In a letter to John Randolph, Esq. then in England (1775), he says,

‘I wish no false sense of honor, no ignorance of our real intentions, no vain hope that partial concessions of right will be accepted, may induce the ministry to trifle with accommodation till it shall be out of their power ever to accommodate. If, indeed, Great Britain, disjoined from her colonies, be a match for the most potent nations of Europe, with the colonies thrown into their scale, they may go on securely. But if they are not assured of this, it would be certainly unwise, by trying the event of another campaign, to risk our accepting a foreign aid, which perhaps may not be obtainable but on condition of everlasting avulsion from Great Britain. This would be thought a hard condition to those who still wish for reunion with their parent country. I am sincerely one of those, and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation upon earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too, who, rather than submit to the rights of legislating for us, assumed by the British Parliament, and which late experience has shown they will so cruelly exercise, would lend my hand to sink the whole island in the ocean.’ Vol. i. p 151.

The belief of Mr Jefferson that all legitimate government is founded on the consent of the people, and subject to their control, was not less firm than his conviction of the duty of en-

lightening the public mind, and of removing those institutions which obstruct the liberal expansion of the intellect. In his native state, it was due to him that the first restraints were taken from religion. He advocated and partially effected the passing of laws for the systematic diffusion of knowledge by schools of useful instruction. He assisted in reducing the in-artificial mass of laws into a consistent and intelligible code, clearing a pathway through its perplexities, and breaking up the covers of chicanery. As the law of primogeniture, aided in its operation by that of entails, had, by accumulating and perpetuating property in certain branches of families, produced a species of aristocracy, he succeeded in having them both repealed. Extirpating thus the weeds which encumbered the ground, he prepared it for the growth of republican principles. In old countries, institutions acquire by age, which always inspires veneration, though it protect error, so firm a hold on the prejudices of mankind, that the reformation of an abuse is rarely effected at once. Innovation is admitted only by compromise. An unsightly ruin is retained, lest its removal weaken the support of some better edifice. Prescription becomes right, and ancient usage is an argument against further improvement. But in Virginia, the respect for the institutions and forms of society, which had been modelled on those of England, gradually yielded to the growing conviction that they were not congenial to the spirit of the age, nor compatible with the character of the people. Mr Jefferson, overcoming the obstinate resistance made by the patrons of the ancient system of laws, at length introduced one more liberal and republican. All this he accomplished, not by the force of popular eloquence, gaining a tumultuous and unreflecting vote. He was not distinguished as a public speaker. His voice did not possess the strength nor the intonations necessary to produce great popular effect. His influence was the force of an intellect exerting itself in written appeals to the understanding, or in unambitious discussions which carried persuasion by their candor and good sense. Those who excelled more in declamation, and took the lead in debate, not unfrequently received their instructions, without perhaps being aware of it, from Mr Jefferson; who could give counsel with so courteous and insinuating an address, as to control, without offending, the pride of opinion.

The principal attempt in which his philanthropic efforts were

unsuccessful, was the gradual emancipation of slaves, and the immediate inhibition of the traffic ; and it is worthy of remark, that in his draft of the Declaration of Independence, one of the grievances charged upon the abjured sovereign was the constant negative which he put upon all laws passed in the colonies for the abolition of the slave-trade. His advocacy of the cause of the slaves is a proof, if any were wanting, that his motive for reform was not the desire of popularity, and that he was not disposed to flatter public opinion in order to obtain its support. On the contrary, he dared to attack it in a point where it was the most sensitive and intractable. In espousing the cause of the slaves he excited for the most part the jealousy of their masters. He could have no motive but the honor of his country and the impulse of humanity.

Mr Jefferson laid the basis of freedom in the mind. He knew all nations were not prepared for it. When he arrived in France and saw the people so blinded by superstition and ignorance as not to perceive their wrongs, though they were loaded with burthens of church and state which prostrated them to the earth, he did not suppose them capable of enjoying the benefits of a free government. And lately, when he saw the insurgent inhabitants of South America united in the effort to break from their colonial bondage, he expressed his apprehensions that they were not sufficiently enlightened to be capable of forming and supporting a government of their choice. The only alternative, which it is the misfortune of most nations to possess after a successful revolt, is anarchy or absolute power. They acquiesce in the authority of any one who, by force or corruption, has obtained predominance, and who will employ it in protecting them from the license of each other. It is the people who give character to institutions, and the confidence which Mr Jefferson had in the intelligence and good sense of the people of these states confirmed his belief in the adaptation of a free government to them. He wrote to Mr Adams,

‘I have been amusing myself latterly with reading the voluminous letters of Cicero. They certainly breathe the purest effusions of an exalted patriot, while the parricide Cæsar is lost in odious contrast. When the enthusiasm, however, kindled by Cicero’s pen and principles subsides into cool reflection, I ask myself, what was that government which the virtues of Cicero were so zealous to restore, and the ambition of Cæsar to subvert? And if Cæsar had been as virtuous as he was daring and sagacious, what could

he, even in the plenitude of his usurped power, have done to lead his fellow-citizens into good government? I do not say to *restore it*, because they never had it, from the rape of the Sabines to the ravages of the Cæsars. If their people indeed had been, like ourselves, enlightened, peaceable, and really free, the answer would be obvious. "Restore independence to all your foreign conquests, relieve Italy from the government of the rabble of Rome, consult it as a nation entitled to self-government, and do its will." But steeped in corruption, vice, and venality, as the whole nation was (and nobody had done more than Cæsar to corrupt it), what could even Cicero, Cato, Brutus, have done, had it been referred to them to establish a good government for their country? They had no ideas of government themselves but of their degenerate Senate, nor the people of liberty, but of the factious opposition of their Tribunes. They had afterwards their Tituses, their Trajans and Antoninuses, who had the will to make them happy, and the power to mould their government into a good and permanent form. But it would seem as if they could not see their way clearly to do it. No government can continue good, but under the control of the people; and their people were so demoralized and depraved, as to be incapable of exercising a wholesome control. Their reformation, then, was to be taken up *ab incunabulis*. Their minds were to be informed by education what is right and what wrong; to be encouraged in habits of virtue, and deterred from those of vice, by the dread of punishments, proportioned, indeed, but irremissible; in all cases, to follow truth as the only safe guide, and to eschew error, which bewilders us in one false consequence after another in endless succession. These are the inculcations necessary to render the people a sure basis for the structure of order and good government. But this would have been an operation of a generation or two, at least, within which period would have succeeded many Neros and Commoduses, who would have quashed the whole process. I confess, then, I can neither see what Cicero, Cato, and Brutus, united and uncontrolled, could have devised to lead their people into good government, nor how this enigma can be solved, nor how further shown why it has been the fate of that delightful country never to have known to this day, and through a course of five and twenty hundred years, the history of which we possess, one single day of free and rational government. Your intimacy with their history, ancient, middle, and modern, your familiarity with the improvements in the science of government at this time, will enable you, if any body, to go back with our principles and opinions to the times of Cicero, Cato, and Brutus, and tell us by what process these great and virtuous men could have led so unenlightened and vitiated a people into freedom and good government, *et eris mihi*

magnus Apollo. Cura ut valeas, et tibi persuadeas carissimum te mihi esse.' Vol. iv. pp. 319, 320.

Mr Jefferson's mind partook of the character which he wished to communicate to society. His speculations all manifest a feeling of independence, which allowed no authority to restrain him in the indulgence of his thoughts. It is remarkable, that he never quotes the opinion of any other as the foundation or motive of his own. In whatever respect he held the reputation of the great or learned, he did not pay them the deference of receiving their belief or their doctrines without investigation; for there are few fancies so extravagant in morals or philosophy, as not to have received, at some period or other, the countenance of great names, and to have been allowed by their sanction to pass current in society. Men learn early to give up their understanding, and relieve themselves from doubt by reposing their confidence on superior authority. Education, too often begins by dictating to the infant intellect what is above its comprehension, and, with the best designs on the part of parents and instructors, the young are expected to express their conviction before their judgment can be informed. Thus is produced a most unhappy inversion of the operations of the mind. Assent is made to precede inquiry, and the young, instead of being wise, are made credulous. As the good Catholic repeats his Latin prayers, which he does not understand, with ignorant devotion, so many among us are taught to attach importance to professions, the meaning of which they do not know, and thus cultivate an early disposition to become either hypocrites or bigots.

Mr Jefferson recommends to a young friend and relative a habit of the mind which allows the greatest indulgence to the spirit of research, tempered at the same time by just apprehensions of error or deceit,—a habit which is called by those who practice it free inquiry, and by those who condemn it, free thinking.

Mr Jefferson has certainly expressed his belief and his doubts on religious subjects without restraint. In dissenting from the opinion of others whose piety and wisdom are entitled to veneration, he has not undertaken to advance his own with the pride or bitterness of a sectary. He has not condescended to disguise his sentiments for fear of provoking opposition, nor has he been ambitious to obtrude them on the public in the conceit of making converts.

We wish not to conceal, nor would it be worthy of our candor, in reviewing the writings of Mr Jefferson, to attempt to conceal the fact, that his sentiments upon some points of the Christian religion are hostile to our own; nor is it to be inferred, that, because we advocate the liberty of unrestrained discussion of even the most sacred subjects, that we feel any complaisance for some of the conclusions to which he arrived. It is in dissenting from him that we recommend a latitude of investigation, which will evince the confidence of the advocate, and result in the best vindication of the cause. Why should we suspend the exercise of our highest faculties upon a subject infinitely important above all others; and do religion the discredit of supposing that, lest we become skeptical by inquiry, prudence would recommend a quiescent submission of the understanding?

There is no medium; men must either form opinions for themselves or adopt those of others; and the history of the world from the earliest period shows that they have generally taken the latter alternative. In the ages of polytheism, it was the policy of the priests, in conspiracy with the civil government, to place religion, not in the heart or in the understanding, but in the imagination. The beautiful fables of mythology were interwoven with history, and made the subject of popular poetry. They were ever present to the sight as well as memory. They were painted on their walls and engraven on the festal bowl. The pomp of ceremonies, the imposing mystery of rites, all supposed that religious impressions were to enter the mind through the senses; and so far was reason from being consulted, that things mysterious and impenetrable were intentionally introduced into the religious creed for the purpose of withdrawing it from the province of the understanding. If an impartial and philosophic view be cast over the history of the Christian church previous to the reformation, what is the impression produced by the manner in which the human understanding has been treated by the pious frauds, the interpolations and perversion of Scripture, the fabulous legends, the prodigies, the miracles operated by the saints during their lives, and, after death, by their relics? Since the reformation, how many various and opposing doctrines have been added to the Christian faith, incomprehensible subtilties, and metaphysical speculations, which neither consulted the nature of man nor the attributes of the Deity. These have been the more delusive, since they have gratified that love of the marvellous,

which is the infirmity of weak minds, and even of contemplative minds of more vigor; for they love to stray on mystic ground, and to lose themselves in the pursuit of dreamy abstractions. Mr Jefferson, therefore, exhorts his young friend to begin by an impartial and rational examination of the first principles of the religion of nature as well as revelation; and cautions him not to allow his imagination to become excited till his understanding shall be consulted on a subject where error is fatal, and where, if he adopt without examination the tenets of another, he must bear all the responsibility himself. These principles of Mr Jefferson cannot be censured; for if inquiry be permitted, who shall undertake to limit the extent of lawful research? No Christian, able to give a reason for his faith, will allow he has received any portion of it from human dictation. For as we believe religion to be the noblest employment of the understanding, the basis of the best affections, and the source of our highest happiness and hopes, so we feel that any obstruction, either on the part of sects, associations, or the state, to fair and candid research into its truth and extent; is an infringement of the best human liberty, the liberty of conscience.

Mr Jefferson was opposed to what he conceived to be corruptions of Christianity, but not to the precepts of our Savior, nor his character in the light in which he viewed it. These he held in the highest admiration. In one of the conversations which, during the intervals of public cares, he was in the habit of having with his friend, Dr Rush, on moral and philosophical subjects, he promised to give him in writing his views of the Christian religion. In accomplishing this, he formed in his mind a comparison of Christianity with the ethics of the most celebrated philosophers of antiquity. The appearance some time after of Dr Priestly's treatise of 'Socrates and Jesus Compared,' which anticipated one branch of his design, reminded him of his engagement. He therefore communicated to Dr Rush, in a letter (of April, 1803), 'a syllabus of an estimate of the merit of the doctrines of Jesus compared with those of others.' This he confided to his friend, with a request that he would not allow it to be exposed to the public view, and subjected to malignant perversions of its meaning. For he complained that the spirit of party had made every sentiment of his a theme for misrepresentation; and as, on the one hand, he did not intend by such an exposure to second the designs of those who wished

to draw his religious tenets before the public, he did not incline, on the other, to recognise the right of the public to erect itself into an inquisition over religious opinions. This estimate is concluded in the four following articles ;

‘1. He corrected the Deism of the Jews, confirming them in their belief of one only God, and giving them juster notions of his attributes and government.

‘2. His moral doctrines, relating to kindred and friends, were more pure and perfect than those of the most correct of the philosophers, and greatly more so than those of the Jews ; and they went far beyond both in inculcating universal philanthropy, not only to kindred and friends, to neighbors and countrymen, but to all mankind, gathering all into one family, under the bonds of love, charity, peace, common wants, and common aids. A development of this head will evince the peculiar superiority of the system of Jesus over all others.

‘3. The precepts of philosophy and of the Hebrew code laid hold of actions only. He pushed his scrutinies into the heart of man, erected his tribunal in the region of his thoughts, and purified the waters at the fountain head.

‘4. He taught emphatically the doctrine of a future state, which was either doubted or disbelieved by the Jews, and wielded it with efficacy as an important incentive supplementary to the other motives to moral conduct.’ Vol. III. p. 509.

It was when the French people were in vain attempting to establish a new government, that Mr Jefferson received the account of the formation and adoption of the constitution of the United States. His experience in America of the inadequacy of the first confederation to promote the common welfare coincided with the opinion he found prevailing in Europe. The Congress had no authority to enforce its engagements independent of the sovereign pleasure of each state, and having no direct revenue, the public credit was reduced to a degree unworthy of the country. Mr Jefferson was mortified to see in the *compte rendu* of Mr Necker, that neither the principal nor the interest of the sum due by us to France could be relied on with any assurance ; and it will scarcely be credited that he was subjected to the importunities of the French gentlemen who had served in our armies, for trifling arrears, which he had not funds to satisfy. It may, then, be well conceived with what satisfaction he heard of the adoption of a constitution, combining in independent organization all the powers essential to good government, and presenting us to foreign nations in a

character of union respectable for its force, rich in its resources, and competent to all its engagements. Not that he looked with despondence upon his country at any time. When left by the war in a state of waste, exhausted by ourselves, and ravaged by the enemy, he yet saw imperishable riches in the quality of the soil and the enterprise of its inhabitants. When our credit was most depreciated in Europe, he insisted there were no funds in the world so secure for the investment of capital as our own; and at length when discontent in Massachusetts broke out in insurrection, he was so far from dreading its consequences, that he turned it into an ingenious argument in favor of the stability of our government.

‘Wonderful is the effect of impudent and persevering lying. The British ministry have so long hired their gazetteers to repeat and model into every form lies about our being in anarchy, that the world has at length believed them, the English nation has believed them, the ministers themselves have come to believe them, and what is more wonderful, we have believed them ourselves. Yet where does this anarchy exist? Where did it ever exist, except in the single instance of Massachusetts? And can history produce an instance of rebellion so honorably conducted? I say nothing of its motives. They were founded in ignorance, not wickedness. God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion. The people cannot be all and always well-informed. The part which is wrong will be discontented in proportion to the importance of the facts they misconceive. If they remain quiet under such misconceptions, it is a lethargy, the forerunner of death to the public liberty. We have had thirteen states independent for eleven years. There has been one rebellion. That comes to one rebellion in a century and a half for each state. What country before ever existed a century and a half without a rebellion? And what country can preserve its liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time that this people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms. The remedy is to set them right as to facts, pardon and pacify them. What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure. Our convention has been too much impressed by the insurrection of Massachusetts; and on the spur of the moment, they are setting up a kite to keep the hen-yard in order. I hope in God this article will be rectified before the new constitution is accepted.’ Vol. II. pp. 267, 268.

It was the conviction of Mr Jefferson, that government is generally more disposed to encroach on the privileges of the

people, than the people are to resist the prerogatives of government; that those who possess power are naturally inclined to increase it; and that the best men cannot be indulged with it unless circumscribed by the most jealous restraints. He never seems to have had any apprehension lest the constitution of the United States should not convey powers adequate to government. Though it was the weakness of the first confederation that caused alarm for our safety, and its feeble steps were supported only by the voluntary aid of the states, which gathered round it from a sense of common danger, but when this was removed, withdrew themselves, each to act its part in the new character of sovereignty. Still the fears of Mr Jefferson were directed against the unwarrantable extension and abuse of authority. The menacing pretensions of the British Parliament had inclined him to dwell more upon the grievances than the benefits accruing from government. His early apprehensions were turned to this source of alarm. His patriotism took this channel. His mind, operated upon by this powerful sentiment, seemed to acquire a permanent bias, as the oak, long exposed to the force of a wind prevalent in one quarter, at length becomes permanently inclined in that direction.

This jealousy of authority, however, did not prevent him from giving his approbation of all the powers which are enumerated in the constitution of the United States. There is not one which he would have withdrawn from it. Being abroad during the contests which, on this question, agitated the country, and, absorbing all other feelings and interests, divided it into two great parties, he had the advantage of standing on neutral ground, and of forming the judgment of a dispassionate observer. His friends and all whose favor he valued were arrayed on opposite sides, and his opinion was awaited with much interest. On a question so delicate, had he been capable of disguising his sentiments, he might have answered with diplomatic evasion and avoided all offence. His responses might have been so oracular and ambiguous, as to be interpreted in favor of either party, and not to commit him in any event. But it is certainly honorable to the character of Mr Jefferson, that, while the success of the constitution was yet doubtful, approving it as a whole, he nevertheless took the responsibility of stating objections; not addressed secretly to the disaffected, but openly to its friends and supporters. Before the government went into operation he wished to place around

it additional guards, lest it should pass its legitimate bounds. There were certain fearful prerogatives, which, lest government might incautiously assume them, he wished distinctly to denounce and place beyond its reach; as the prudent physician marks and labels poisons, carefully separating them from innocent medicines. He wished to see inserted into the constitution a bill of rights, recognising certain essential and inalienable privileges of the people and of the states. Most of these were afterwards, by general consent, made part of the constitution. Further reflection suggested to him other articles of precaution, giving more explicit security to the freedom of speech and of writing, exempting them from all restraint except where 'facts were alleged injurious to individuals, or the peace of the confederacy with foreign nations'; a further extension of the trial by jury to all cases of admiralty jurisdiction, except where a foreigner should be interested; additional provisions for the speedy operation of the writ of *habeas corpus*; precise limits to the extension of monopolies; a declaration that all troops of the United States should be *ipso facto* disbanded at the expiration of the term of service limited by Congress; and, finally, a prohibition that any but native citizens should serve in our armies in time of peace. But his predominant apprehension was, lest the president, being eligible from term to term, should at length contrive to retain his office during life, and ultimately to transmit it to his heirs. But the example of Washington, who retired after a second election, followed by the general sentiment that a longer continuance would be in any successor an invidious pretension, induced Mr Jefferson to wave this objection. He therefore approved the constitution, as far as it recognised the rights of the states and people, most cordially; in its other aspects, with some hesitation. He wished it success, and believed that future experience would discover and remedy any latent defects. The following extract gives the state of his opinions on this subject as early as the year 1788.

'The conduct of Massachusetts has been noble. She accepted the constitution, but voted that it should stand as a perpetual instruction to her delegates to endeavor to obtain such and such reformations; and the minority, though very strong both in numbers and abilities, declared *viritem* and *seriatim*, that, acknowledging the principle that the majority must give the law, they would now support the new constitution with their tongues,

and with their blood, if necessary. I was much pleased with many and essential parts of this instrument from the beginning. But I thought I saw in it many faults, great and small. What I have read and reflected has brought me over from several of my objections, of the first moment, and to acquiesce under some others. Two only remain, of essential consideration, to wit, the want of a bill of rights, and the expunging the principle of necessary rotation in the offices of president and senator. At first, I wished that when nine states should have accepted the constitution, so as to insure us what is good in it, the other four might hold off till the want of the bill of rights, at least, might be supplied. But I am now convinced that the plan of Massachusetts is the best, that is, to accept and to amend afterwards. If the states which were to decide after her should all do the same, it is impossible but they must obtain the essential amendments. It will be more difficult, if we lose this instrument, to recover what is good in it, than to correct what is bad, after we shall have adopted it. It has, therefore, my hearty prayers, and I wait with anxiety for news of the votes of Maryland, South Carolina, and Virginia. There is no doubt that General Washington will accept the presidency; though he is silent on the subject.' Vol. II. p. 319.

But it appears that subsequent experience discovered two germs of evil, which at first escaped the penetration of Mr Jefferson. These were the implied powers deemed necessary to the execution of those expressly given, and the independent tenure of the judiciary. The constitution, in giving Congress specific powers for certain objects of legislation, allows it 'to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the enumerated powers.' This incidental or supplementary authority, being applicable to an infinite variety of acts, could not be particularly defined. Mr Jefferson conceived, it enabled Congress merely to use such means as should be absolutely necessary to execute the powers expressly given, and without which the latter would be nugatory. The construction, however, which has prevailed, has extended the compass of these means, so as to comprehend all those which are *useful and conducive* to legitimate purposes, as well as those *absolutely necessary*. The first case in which a questionable application was made of the implied powers of Congress, was the establishment of a national bank. It was on this occasion that Mr Jefferson, and those whose political opinions he represented, made a loud remonstrance against this alarming extension of the constitution. They asserted that the construction, which

permitted this act of the national legislature, was one which would break down all the barriers erected to circumscribe the authority of the federal government and protect the rights of the states and the people ; that Congress would then enter into a boundless field of power, irresistible and without control. Such was the opinion which Mr Jefferson, while Secretary of State, delivered to General Washington. He concluded it by the candid avowal, that, unless the President should be satisfied by a comparison of the arguments for and against the bill in question, that it was unconstitutional, a just respect for the legislature should induce him to concur in its opinion.

Another unauthorized assumption of implied power was, in the opinion of Mr Jefferson, that of making roads, canals, and other internal improvements, within the jurisdiction of the several states. He regarded the inference as unfounded, that, because Congress has power 'to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare,' it has the power to do whatever it may think would promote the public good. That the meaning of the constitution was, that taxes were to be laid *in order* to pay the debts and provide for the general welfare, in other words, that the power conveyed was confined to the raising the revenue, and that the common defence and welfare were the *purposes* for which the revenue was to be raised ; and that the construction, which would give Congress the general power of providing for the common good, would supersede all the other enumerated powers, and extend the authority of government without limitation.

It is certainly creditable to the wise foresight of the framers of the constitution, that so few acts of legislation of considerable importance should have been occasions of doubt, whether they were included within the delegated powers ; and it is equally honorable to the general government, that there are not more subjects on which it can be pretended it has exceeded its limits. Yet most of these measures were offensive to Mr Jefferson, not so much because he thought them objectionable in themselves, as violations, in his opinion, of the constitution. In a protest, therefore, which he proposed to submit to the legislature of Virginia, he consented that the authority to make internal improvements should be comprised in an article to be added to the constitution by the legitimate majority of the states. The construction of Congress, however, upon these

subjects, seems to be already acceded to by the public ; if such an inference may be drawn from the acquiescence manifested in the repeated exercise of these powers. It being competent to any state to submit a proposition explanatory of the constitution, which, by obtaining a concurrence of the legitimate number, becomes a part of the constitution, a most salutary preventive is thus furnished against the permanent admission of any unconstitutional doctrine ; and that no such proposition on these subjects has been made with success, is a proof, that, in the opinion of the people, no manifest usurpation has been committed.

The second evil, which Mr Jefferson regarded as formidable in the constitution, was the great independence of the judiciary. He feared that the judges, holding their offices during good behavior, and being subject to removal only by impeachment and a vote of two thirds of the Senate, would feel that they possessed a freehold interest in the government ; that however virtuous and enlightened, they would hardly be impartial in the decision of constitutional questions ; and that, without being conscious of the influence of their political connexion, they would involuntarily incline to augment the authority of the general government, and increase their own jurisdiction. He therefore thought their appointment ought to be limited to 'four or six years, and renewable by the President and Senate.' They would thus, in his opinion, feel more dependence on the people, who, if dissatisfied with their conduct, would cause them to fail of a second appointment. In the independence of the English judges so much praised, he saw no argument for that of our own ; for there they were placed above the control of the crown for the benefit of the nation ; but here, he contended, it was for the benefit of the people that the judges should be under their control. These views seem to have been adopted by Mr Jefferson after there had arisen some unfortunate collision between the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and his own opinions ; an accident which would not be so likely to occur in the case of judges holding their offices at the pleasure of the executive. But it was to prevent subserviency in the judiciary to the other departments, that it was made coördinate and independent. The conduct of the judges of Charles the Second and James the Second was in the recollection of the framers of the constitution. They intended that the judges should decide according

to their own opinion, and not according to the inclination of the other branches of the government, and for that cause removed them from all influence of fear or hope. What is the duty of the judiciary? It is to decide between the constitution and the government, on the one hand; and on the other, between the government and the people; and is it believed, that judges, who depend on their scanty salaries for subsistence, will not be insensibly inclined to the wishes of those, to whose disposal their offices are to be periodically consigned? Are we yet to learn, that men, even those who have a character to lose, change their opinions and their principles for the purpose of recommending themselves to the choice of the President and Senate of the United States? Such a tenure of office would at once sink the character of the judge into that of the political partisan. The decisions of our court upon constitutional law would command no more respect than the political judgments of Wright and Jeffries do at present. Besides, if the evil apprehended be, that the judiciary, as at present constituted, is too inclined to stretch the prerogatives of the general government, why should it be supposed, that a greater dependence upon the President and Senate would operate as a check upon that propensity? Are they permanently exempt from the spirit of aggrandizement, charged against those who exercise power? Does the share, which the judicial department holds in the general government, produce a disposition adverse to the pretensions of the states; and that, which the executive holds in the same government, create opposite tendencies? On the contrary, is it not a fact, that, in most instances, since the formation of the government, the chief magistrate of the United States has been more disposed, after his entry into office, to extend the sphere of general authority than before? On the questions of the national bank and internal improvements, has he not acquiesced in doctrines which, before the possession of office, were considered by him unconstitutional assumptions on the part of the United States? Even the greatest measure of Mr Jefferson's own administration, the acquisition of Louisiana, was not only an extension of the territory, but also of the constitution of the United States. So that the apprehension, that the judiciary is now disposed to extend its grasp upon the prerogatives of the states and transfer them to the general government, would be at least as formidable if the judiciary were more dependent on the executive. The ju-

diciary are already sufficiently connected with the executive. The latter has the prerogative of nominating, for vacant or newly created offices, those judges whose character and constitutional opinions it may approve. New occasions of appointment frequently occur by the death of incumbents, and in the course of a few years the majority of the court is recomposed. Since Mr Jefferson's first subject of complaint occurred, all the existing members of the court, with one exception, have been nominated by himself or his successors.

Suppose, however, they should violate their duty? Is impeachment, as Mr Jefferson thinks, 'a mere scare-crow.' Cannot two thirds of the Senate be induced to convict a culpable judge, when in trials by jury an unanimous verdict can be obtained against other offenders?

Shall the judges then be elected for short terms by the people? Mr Jefferson cited with approbation the practice of the state of Connecticut. But since he quoted that authority, the good sense of that state has placed its judiciary on the same independent tenure as that of the judges of the Supreme Court of the Union. But it is impossible to collect all the votes of the people, so that a majority shall decide in favor of an individual. No officer of the United States is so chosen. An electoral college must first be appointed to make the selection. And will that body merit more the confidence of the people, than the one now provided by the constitution? When the inconvenience of any other mode of election, or tenure of the judicial department, is maturely considered, we shall become more satisfied with the present.

Mr Jefferson's theory of the rights of a people was carried to an extent quite original. He believed that no generation has power to bind the succeeding one; that the age, which has past, had buried with it all the rights and obligations given it by the law of nature; in a word, that the dead cannot control the living. This thought occurred to him when he reflected on the enormous burthens entailed on the nations of Europe, which absorbed all their resources to pay the expense of wars in which they never had an interest, and of which they then saw all the folly. It would indeed be a most salutary doctrine which should prevent one age, after it has exhausted its own means, from drawing on posterity for the supply of its extravagance, or the support of its ambition. Wars would be less ruinous, if they could no longer be carried on upon the

credit of those who are yet unborn. It would be well for a new generation to come upon a clear stage, and not find it thrown into disorder by the mad scenes in which the preceding actors have finished their tragedy or their farce. This, however, cannot be. There are no lines which separate and distinguish the generations of a community. That stream of existence never stops to admit of admeasurement. One age passes away from another as insensibly as the twilight fades into night. When we think the day is entirely gone, we may discover some doubtful rays still lingering in the sky. It would be desirable for Great Britain to be free from the incumbrances of a former period; but how can she accept the benefits descended from her progenitors, without bearing the burthens attached to them? With what conscience can she enjoy the inheritance, without discharging, as far as she may be able, the debts? For after all the reproaches cast upon the past, it is certain, that, on balancing the account, the succeeding generations of men have in general received more than they have been engaged to pay. The world has been in a progressive state of improvement. Even the example of the follies and vices of our progenitors may be converted to our profit, as the chaff and stubble of one crop is made valuable nutriment to the succeeding. It is a great advantage, after all, to have been born in the latter ages of the world. The advance of knowledge and the arts of civilization has made the world-happier as it has grown older. Discoveries, which anciently never came within the imagination of men, have been accomplished for our benefit. New combinations have made what was once inert and unprofitable, subservient to our gratification. The first tribes found the world in a state similar to the wild and savage wastes discovered by Van Dieman. That we are not left to occupy an earth like this, is owing to the gradual accumulation of benefits which one age has transmitted to another. There is no danger that posthumous obligations will crush the energies of a new race. When the weight becomes too heavy, the most patient of animals throws it off his back. The fate of the national debt of France, at the period of the revolution, is a proof, that men do not need any new principle to exonerate them from what they cannot without difficulty pay.

It would be practicable, if nations were so disposed, to establish the law, that no obligation, either political or pecuniary, should endure longer than the term of thirty-four years, which

is computed to be the average extent of the future existence of the majority of mankind living at any period. Mr Jefferson accordingly submits to his friend, Mr Madison, the expediency of inserting an article into the constitution of the United States prohibiting them from either contracting or paying any debt having a longer duration. Revolving in his mind the same principle of the limitation of the rights of a generation, he perceives it to be applicable to the constitution itself; and concludes, 'that every constitution and every law naturally expires at the end of thirty-four years. If it be enforced longer, it is an act of force, and not of right.' It would be injustice to Mr Jefferson not to add, that all the advantage he wished to be taken in the United States of this theory of obligations, should be against debts contracted after a public declaration of the principle. He wished to discredit and disable the borrower, not to procure the forfeiture of a just debt. He concludes his letter in the following words;

'Turn this subject in your mind, my dear sir, and particularly as to the power of contracting debts, and develope it with that cogent logic which is so peculiarly yours. Your station in the councils of our country gives you an opportunity of producing it to public consideration, of forcing it into discussion. At first blush it may be laughed at as the dream of a theorist; but examination will prove it to be solid and salutary. It would furnish matter for a fine preamble to our first law for appropriating the public revenue; and it will exclude at the threshold of our new government the ruinous and contagious errors of this quarter of the globe, which have armed despots with means, which nature does not sanction, for binding in chains their fellow men. We have already given, in example, one effectual check to the dog of war, by transferring the power of declaring war from the executive to the legislative body, from those who are to spend to those who are to pay. I should be pleased to see this second obstacle held out by us also in the first instance. No nation can make a declaration against the validity of long contracted debts so disinterestedly as we, since we do not owe a shilling which will not be paid, principal and interest, by the measures you have taken, within the time of our own lives.' Vol. III. p. 31.

Having been one of the leading promoters of our independence, Mr Jefferson was appointed a commissioner, with Dr Franklin and Mr Deane, to enter into a treaty of alliance and commerce with France. The state of his family, and his belief that his services here would be more valuable to his coun-

try, induced him to decline that office. A few years afterwards (1781), he received another appointment as one of the commissioners to treat for peace with Great Britain, under the mediation of the Empress of Russia, which for the same reasons he also declined. The appointment was repeated in 1782, but before he could embark for France, as he intended, news arrived that the provisional treaty had been signed by the other commissioners. The object of his mission being thus accomplished, he became again a delegate to the Congress, and made the celebrated report upon which the system of our currency has since been established. The dollar was proposed as the unit of computation, to be multiplied and divided in a decimal ratio. The advantages of this system can be duly estimated by those only who compare it with the inartificial modes of computation and the varying standards then prevailing in the several states.

He was appointed by Congress (May, 1784,) minister plenipotentiary, with Dr Franklin and Mr Adams, for negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations. Conferences were held in Paris with the ministers of Spain, Portugal, Prussia, Holland, Denmark, and Tuscany. But no treaty was effected except with Prussia and Morocco. The offer made was to place the commerce of each on the ground *gentis amicissimæ*. The American government was desirous of procuring a more general and permanent admission into the European colonies. This privilege, it was thought, might be purchased by the advantage of a most profitable commerce, which we might offer to the mother countries; that of exchanging their manufactures for our unwrought materials. But the resources of these states, impoverished by a long war, and discredited by an accumulation of debt, public and private, which they could not discharge, did not offer to foreign nations tempting motives to commercial engagements. The truth is, our commercial reputation was not highly appreciated by most nations of Europe. They viewed us in the light in which an old and prudent house of trade regards a young merchant who has acted with spirit and honor in vindicating his character, but, in doing it, has had the misfortune to lose his capital. With England in particular, the treaty of peace, not having been fully executed by either party, became the subject of mutual recrimination. The presence of Jefferson and Adams as ministers at the court of their former sovereign, probably revived the recollection of those

events with which their names were associated, and their advances were met with cold and uncomplying reserve. After repeated attempts to introduce a discussion with the minister, they were left to understand, by the ceremonious distance at which he placed himself, and the civil but total neglect of themselves and their proposals, that their errand was most ungracious.

While resident in Paris, Mr Jefferson was presented by Dr Franklin to the acquaintance of the learned, the literary, and accomplished. His official character gave him admission to the brilliant circles of the court, where he was received with flattering marks of the predilection then felt in France for America, added to the usual courtesy and grace so captivating in the best French society. His 'Notes on Virginia' had made him known as an author. The original and philosophical character of his remarks recommended the book to the prevailing taste. The French had become tired of the established order of things, of their old notions of government and religion, of the monotonous parade of church and state. A philosopher and republican from America, possessing high rank, but wearing no order or decoration, was, till the appearance of Dr Franklin and Mr Jefferson, a novel spectacle in the splendid *salons* of Paris. Assuming no distinction, the simplicity of their exterior attracted more notice. The natural amenity of Mr Jefferson's manners confirmed the advantages of the first impression. The cordial reception he enjoyed could not fail to predispose him in favor of French manners. Conversation changed according to inclination from severer topics to gay, and gave vivacity to all. Politics did not there, as in other countries, drive men into clubs, separating them from the female and most agreeable part of society. Parisian ladies made politics subjects of conversation, and imparted to them a new interest. In the *soirées* of the Chaussée d'Antin, a question of state policy was discussed with as much pleasure as the arrangement of an opera, or the merit of a ballet.

Besides M. Necker, whose character Mr Jefferson has drawn with great discrimination, he corresponded with Madame Necker and their celebrated daughter. The following letter, dated at Nismes, written during an excursion to the south of France and Piedmont, to Madame la Comtesse de Tessé, shows the sportive and versatile humor of Mr Jefferson, which could so well combine pleasantry and compliment with

the details of the arts and of politics. It besides gives us his first views of the French revolution.

‘Here I am, Madam, gazing whole hours at the *Maison Quarrée*, like a lover at his mistress. The stocking-weavers and silk-spinners around it consider me as a hypochondriac Englishman, about to write with a pistol the last chapter of his history. This is the second time I have been in love since I left Paris. The first was with a Diana at the Château de Laye-Epinaye in Beaujolois, a delicious morsel of sculpture, by M. A. Slodtz. This, you will say, was in rule, to fall in love with a female beauty; but with a house! It is out of all precedent. No, Madam, it is not without a precedent in my own history. While in Paris I was violently smitten with the Hôtel de Salm, and used to go to the Tuileries almost daily to look at it. The *louveuse des chaises*, inattentive to my passion, never had the complaisance to place a chair there, so that, sitting on the parapet, and twisting my neck round to see the object of my admiration, I generally left it with a *torticollis*.

‘From Lyons to Nismes I have been nourished with the remains of Roman grandeur. They have always brought you to my mind, because I know your affection for whatever is Roman and noble. At Vienne I thought of you. But I am glad you were not there; for you would have seen me more angry than I hope you will ever see me. The Prætorian palace, as it is called, comparable, for its fine proportions, to the *Maison Quarrée*, defaced by the barbarians who have converted it to its present purpose, its beautiful fluted Corinthian columns cut out in part to make space for Gothic windows, and hewed down in the residue to the plane of the building, was enough, you must admit, to disturb my composure. At Orange, too, I thought of you. I was sure you had seen with pleasure the sublime triumphal arch of Marius at the entrance of the city. I went to the *Arenæ*. Would you believe, Madam, that in this eighteenth century, in France, under the reign of Louis the Sixteenth, they are at this moment pulling down the circular wall of this superb remain to pave a road? And that too from a hill which is itself an entire mass of stone, just as fit, and more accessible? A former intendant, a M. de Basville, has rendered his memory dear to the traveller and amateur by the pains he took to preserve and restore these monuments of antiquity. The present one (I do not know who he is) is demolishing the object to make a good road to it. I thought of you again, and I was then in great good humor, at the *Pont du Gard*, a sublime antiquity, and well preserved. But most of all here, where Roman taste, genius, and magnificence excite ideas analogous to yours at every step. I could no longer oppose the inclination to avail myself of your permission to write to you, a permission given with too much

complaisance by you, and used by me with too much indiscretion. Madame de Tott did me the same honor. But she being only the descendant of some of those puny heroes who boiled their own kettles before the walls of Troy, I shall write to her from a Grecian, rather than a Roman canton; when I shall find myself, for example, among her Phocæan relations at Marseilles.

‘Loving, as you do, Madam, the precious remains of antiquity, loving architecture, gardening, a warm sun, and a clear sky, I wonder you have never thought of moving Chaville to Nismes. This, as you know, has not always been deemed impracticable; and, therefore, the next time a *Surintendant des bâtimens du Roi*, after the example of M. Colbert, sends persons to Nismes to move the *Maison Quarrée* to Paris, that they may not come empty-handed, desire them to bring Chaville with them to replace it. *A propos* of Paris. I have now been three weeks from there, without knowing anything of what has passed. I suppose I shall meet it all at Aix, where I have directed my letters to be lodged, *poste restante*. My journey has given me leisure to reflect on this *Assemblée des Notables*. Under a good and a young King, as the present, I think good may be made of it. I would have the deputies, then, by all means, so conduct themselves as to encourage him to repeat the calls of this Assembly. Their first step should be to get themselves divided into two chambers instead of seven; the *Noblesse* and the Commons separately. The second, to persuade the King, instead of choosing the deputies of the Commons himself, to summon those chosen by the people for the Provincial administrations. The third, as the *Noblesse* is too numerous to be all of the *Assemblée*, to obtain permission for that body to choose its own deputies. Two Houses, so elected, would contain a mass of wisdom, which would make the people happy, and the King great; would place him in history where no other act can possibly place him. They would thus put themselves in the track of the best guide they can follow, they would soon overtake it, become its guide in turn, and lead to the wholesome modifications wanting in that model, and necessary to constitute a rational government. Should they attempt more than the established habits of the people are ripe for, they may lose all, and retard indefinitely the ultimate object of their aim. These, Madam, are my opinions; but I wish to know yours, which I am sure will be better.’ Vol. II. pp. 101–103.

While in Paris, Mr Jefferson became a witness of the first movements of the revolution, and the confidential friend of many of the men who were its promoters, and some of them its victims. Between him and Lafayette there had long been an attachment, founded on a union of services and of glory in

the same cause. With M. de Malesherbes, one of the council of state, and afterwards the advocate of the king on his trial, he had the most unreserved intimacy. He had intercourse with the diplomatic agents of the several cabinets, all of whom were curious to pry into the counsels of the court. Deriving his information from these sources, but particularly from his own observation, his letters contain the most lively and exact narration of the early transactions of that revolution, which are to be found in history. He was there a calm spectator, wishing, indeed, the reformation of the government, but not its overthrow. Loving the character of the French nation, he was hostile to the abuses that abridged its happiness. But he never advised or approved any of those measures which have incurred the reproach of posterity. Having all his life defended the cause of the people against arbitrary power, it was natural that his feelings should take part with the nation against the court. His zeal, however, for reform was rational and discriminate. He wished to preserve the monarch and limit his prerogative. So that his sympathies were turned to the side of the king when he saw the people, transformed into a mob, act the part of a despot. He always recollected the obligations of his country to Louis the Sixteenth, and does justice to the kindness of his disposition and the rectitude of his intentions. He was convinced it was not the king who opposed the wishes of the public, and believed that he was always ready to recognise their rights, and establish a constitution on that basis. In advocating the king, he cast the blame of all obstructions to the calm progress of the revolution upon those who controlled him; upon the queen and her partisans; upon the high clergy and a majority of the *noblesse*. It is singular how just was his perception of the errors of that period, before experience of their consequences had denounced them to all the world. He seized upon one or two occasions, when, if the king had made the concessions which Mr Jefferson hoped he would make, the nation would not have demanded more; when, having regained all the rights necessary to form the elements of a good constitution, they would have peaceably employed themselves in reorganizing their government. But when no concession was obtained but what was extorted, and that, subject to be retracted, the people lost all confidence in the crown, and did not feel themselves safe till they had reduced it to a state of impotency. Sometimes encouraging the hopes of the people, and at others

espousing the cause of the *noblesse*, the king by turns incurred the resentment of both, without acquiring the confidence of either. He says, in a letter to La Fayette,

‘Possibly you may remember, at the date of the *jeu de paume*, how earnestly I urged yourself and the patriots of my acquaintance to enter then into a compact with the king, securing freedom of religion, freedom of the press, trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, and a national legislature, all of which it was known he would then yield, to go home, and let these work on the amelioration of the condition of the people until they should have rendered them capable of more, when occasions would not fail to arise for communicating to them more. This was as much as I then thought them able to bear soberly and usefully for themselves. You thought otherwise, and that the dose might still be larger. And I found you were right; for subsequent events proved they were equal to the constitution of 1791. Unfortunately, some of the most honest and enlightened of our patriotic friends (but closet politicians merely, unpractised in the knowledge of man,) thought more could still be obtained and borne. They did not weigh the hazards of a transition from one form of government to another, the value of what they had already rescued from those hazards, and might hold in security if they pleased, nor the imprudence of giving up the certainty of such a degree of liberty, under a limited monarch, for the uncertainty of a little more under the form of a republic. You differed from them. You were for stopping there, and for securing the constitution which the National Assembly had obtained. Here, too, you were right; and from this fatal error of the republicans, from their separation from yourself and the constitutionalists, in their councils, flowed all the subsequent sufferings and crimes of the French nation. The hazards of a second change fell upon them by the way. The foreigner gained time to anarchize by gold the government he could not overthrow by arms, to crush in their own councils the genuine republicans by the fraternal embraces of exaggerated and hired pretenders, and to turn the machine of Jacobinism from the change to the destruction of order; and, in the end, the limited monarchy they had secured was exchanged for the unprincipled and bloody tyranny of Robespierre, and the equally unprincipled and maniac tyranny of Bonaparte. You are now rid of him, and I sincerely wish you may continue so. But this may depend on the wisdom and moderation of the restored dynasty. It is for them now to read a lesson in the fatal errors of the republicans; to be contented with a certain portion of power, secured by formal compact with the nation, rather than, grasping at more, hazard all upon uncertainty, and risk meeting the fate of their predecessor, or a renewal of their own exile.’ Vol. iv. pp. 247, 248.

Mr Jefferson was not a man to be placed on such a stage, and to be admitted behind the scenes, without knowing perfectly what was performed. For these advantages he had. He saw the attack upon the Bastile.

‘A committee of magistrates and electors of the city were appointed by their bodies to take upon them its government. The mob, now openly joined by the French guards, forced the prison of St Lazare, released all the prisoners, and took a great store of corn, which they carried to the corn-market. Here they got some arms, and the French guards began to form and train them. The committee determined to raise forty-eight thousand *Bourgeois*, or rather to restrain their numbers to forty-eight thousand. On the 14th [July, 1789,] they sent one of their members (Monsieur de Corny, whom we knew in America,) to the *Hôtel des Invalides*, to ask for arms their *Garde Bourgeoise*. He was followed by, or he found there, a great mob. The Governor of the *Invalides* came out, and represented the impossibility of his delivering arms without the orders of those from whom he received them. De Corny advised the people then to retire, and retired himself; and the people took possession of the arms. It was remarkable, that not only the *Invalides* themselves made no opposition, but that a body of five thousand foreign troops, encamped within four hundred yards, never stirred. Monsieur de Corny and five others were then sent to ask arms of Monsieur de Launai, Governor of the Bastile. They found a great collection of people already before the place, and they immediately planted a flag of truce, which was answered by a like flag hoisted on the parapet. The deputation prevailed on the people to fall back a little, advanced themselves to make their demand of the Governor, and in that instant a discharge from the Bastile killed four people of those nearest to the deputies. The deputies retired; the people rushed against the place, and almost in an instant were in possession of a fortification, defended by one hundred men, of infinite strength, which, in other times, had stood several regular sieges, and had never been taken. How they got in has as yet been impossible to discover. Those who pretend to have been of the party tell so many different stories, as to destroy the credit of them all. They took all the arms, discharged the prisoners, and such of the garrison as were not killed in the first moment of fury, carried the Governor and Lieutenant Governor to the *Grève* (the place of public execution), cut off their heads, and sent them through the city in triumph to the *Palais Royal*. About the same instant, a treacherous correspondence having been discovered in Monsieur de Flesselles, *Prévôt des Marchands*, they seized him in the *Hôtel de Ville*, where he was in the exercise of his office,

and cut off his head. These events carried imperfectly to Versailles, were the subject of two successive deputations from the States to the king, to both of which he gave dry and hard answers; for it has transpired, that it had been proposed and agitated in Council to seize on the principal members of the States General, to march the whole army down upon Paris, and to suppress its tumults by the sword. But at night, the Duke de Liancourt forced his way into the king's bed-chamber, and obliged him to hear a full and animated detail of the disasters of the day in Paris. He went to bed deeply impressed. The decapitation of De Launai worked powerfully through the night on the whole aristocratical party, in so much that, in the morning, those of the greatest influence on the Count d'Artois represented to him the absolute necessity that the king should give up everything to the States. This according well enough with the dispositions of the king, he went about eleven o'clock, accompanied only by his brothers, to the States-General, and there read to them a speech, in which he asked their interposition to reestablish order. Though this be couched in terms of some caution, yet the manner in which it was delivered made it evident that it was meant as a surrender at discretion. He returned to the Château afoot, accompanied by the States. They sent off a deputation, the Marquis de la Fayette at their head, to quiet Paris. He had, the same morning, been named Commandant-in-Chief of the *Milice Bourgeoise*, and Monsieur Bailly, former President of the States-General, was called for as *Prévôt des Marchands*. The demolition of the Bastille was now ordered and begun. A body of the Swiss guards of the regiment of Ventimille, and the city horse-guards joined the people. The alarm at Versailles increased instead of abating. They believed that the aristocrats of Paris were under pillage and carnage, that one hundred and fifty thousand men were in arms, coming to Versailles to massacre the royal family, the court, the ministers, and all connected with them, their practices, and principles. The aristocrats of the Nobles and Clergy in the States-General vied with each other in declaring how sincerely they were converted to the justice of voting by persons, and how determined to go with the nation all its lengths. The foreign troops were ordered off instantly. Every minister resigned. The king confirmed Bailly as *Prévôt des Marchands*, wrote to Mr Necker to recall him, sent his letter open to the States-General, to be forwarded by them, and invited them to go with him to Paris the next day, to satisfy the city of his dispositions; and that night and the next morning the Count d'Artois and Monsieur de Monttisson (a deputy connected with him), Madame de Polignac, Madame de Guiche, and the Count de Vaudreuil, favorites of the queen, the Abbé de Vermont, her confessor, the Prince of Condé,

and Duke de Bourbon, all fled, we know not whither. The king came to Paris, leaving the queen in consternation for his return. Omitting the less important figures of the procession, I will only observe, that the king's carriage was in the centre, on each side of it the States-General, in two ranks, afoot, and at their head the Marquis de la Fayette, as Commander-in-Chief, on horseback, and *Bourgeois* guards before and behind. About sixty thousand citizens of all forms and colors, armed with the muskets of the Bastille and Invalids, as far as they would go, the rest with pistols, swords, pikes, pruning-hooks, scythes, &c., lined all the streets through which the procession passed, and, with the crowds of people in the streets, doors, and windows, saluted them every where with cries of *Vive la Nation*; but not a single *Vive le Roy* was heard. The king stopped at the *Hôtel de Ville*. There Monsieur Bailly presented and put into his hat the popular cockade, and addressed him. The king being unprepared and unable to answer, Bailly went to him, gathered from him some scraps of sentences, and made out an answer, which he delivered to the audience as from the king. On their return, the popular cries were *Vive le Roy et la Nation*. He was conducted by a *Garde Bourgeoise* to his palace at Versailles, and thus concluded such an *amende honorable* as no sovereign ever made, and no people ever received. Letters written with his own hand to the Marquis de la Fayette remove the scruples of his position. Tranquillity is now restored to the capital; the shops are again opened, the people resuming their labors, and if the want of bread does not disturb our peace, we may hope a continuance of it. The demolition of the Bastille is going on, and the *Milice Bourgeoise* organizing and training. The ancient police of the city is abolished by the authority of the people, the introduction of the king's troops will probably be proscribed, and a watch or city guards substituted, which shall depend on the city alone. But we cannot suppose this paroxysm confined to Paris alone. The whole country must pass successively through it, and happy if they get through it as soon and as well as Paris has done.

‘I went yesterday to Versailles to satisfy myself what had passed there; for nothing can be believed but what one sees, or has from an eye-witness. They believe there still that three thousand people have fallen victims to the tumults of Paris. Mr Short and myself have been every day among them, in order to be sure of what was passing. We cannot find, with certainty, that any body has been killed but the three before mentioned, and those who fell in the assault or defence of the Bastille. How many of the garrison were killed, nobody pretends to have ever heard. Of the assailants, accounts vary from six to six hundred. The most general belief is, that there fell about thirty.’ Vol. III. pp. 4-7.

Having obtained permission to come to America at the close of the year 1789, for the sake of conducting home his two daughters, it was his desire to return to the duties of his mission among a people, in whose uncertain destinies he had taken so anxious an interest. In the mean time, Washington, desirous of availing himself of Mr Jefferson's acquaintance with our foreign relations, as well as his other peculiar qualifications, tendered to him the office of Secretary of State. He did not allow his hopes and inclination to form an obstacle to the wishes of the President; and as soon as they were signified to him, he accepted the post without hesitation. It required all the talents of Mr Jefferson. Our engagements with France were embarrassing. The treaty of peace with England, yet unexecuted, left subjects of fresh hostility. The powers of the new government were yet untried, its jurisdiction unsettled, and a jealous opposition already formed. The state papers of Mr Jefferson on the subject of our fisheries, on weights and measures, on the Indian tribes, on our commercial duties and rights, may be considered as models, whether viewed in relation to their learning, their liberal views, the strength of the argument, or neatness of the style.

It is well remembered, that in many of the prominent measures of the federal government, Mr Jefferson differed in opinion from his great rival, General Hamilton. The cabinet was, during the administration of Washington, composed of four heads of department. When great questions arose, the President was in the habit of submitting them to the discussion of those officers in his presence, and sometimes of demanding their opinions in writing. In many of them they were equally divided, and left with him the responsibility of the decision. He had the satisfaction, however, of knowing, that the whole subject of debate had been by such minds completely investigated, and that a judgment deliberately formed upon such arguments would not afterwards be disconcerted or surprised by new objections. He had only to bring to a centre the diverging light. General Hamilton and Mr Jefferson, as the latter remarks, 'were daily pitted in the cabinet like two cocks.' It does not appear that they entered into the arena with any feelings of personal antipathy. While attacking each other's opinions with warmth, they forbore from the resort of vulgar combatants, that of assaulting each other's character. Though Mr Jefferson condemned the constitutional principles of Gen-

eral Hamilton, he bears testimony 'that he was an honest man.'

This composition of the cabinet shows the great force of the character of Washington. He began his administration with a divided cabinet. It was an experiment which had never succeeded in England. There a cabinet measure requires the support of every individual. It is true many questions have been brought before Parliament, such as Catholic emancipation and the slave-trade, where the king's ministers have arrayed themselves on opposite sides during successive administrations. But when a proposition becomes a government measure, if a member of administration does not lend it his support, he must quit his place. Though discrepancies in opinion be permitted on other subjects, they must occur so rarely as not to present the character of opposition. The features of the members may differ, but their physiognomy must bear a resemblance.

It cannot be said, that the public mind was not in commotion at the commencement of Washington's administration. The fact was, that the vessel of state almost hung on her ways, and at length was launched into a sea of troubles. The constitution, adopted by a small majority, had to encounter the hostility of states as well as individuals. Every exercise of its powers was viewed with suspicion; and yet the first duties of the government were the most difficult and responsible. It had to begin by assuming eighty millions of public debt. This, with some other leading measures of that administration, did not meet with the concurrence of Mr Jefferson. He had not indeed taken his seat in the cabinet when the funding system was established, but to parts of it, particularly the assumption of the state debts, he afterwards expressed his entire repugnance. It required all the confidence which the nation had in the judgment and patriotism of Washington to obtain a majority of votes for these measures. As he risked his character on their operation, he is entitled to more honor on the success of the result.

It is not our intention to pursue the public history of Mr Jefferson to a later period. It is well known, that, on the wane of the federal party during the presidency of Mr Adams, the republican, at the head of which was Mr Jefferson, became predominant. The transactions of his administration, which excited so much feeling, have not yet reached the mo-

ment when they may become subjects for dispassionate investigation. They have not yet parted with the heat which the excited spirit of the period gave them. '*Nam quis nescit, primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat? ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo? ne qua similitudinis?*'

Beginning the perusal of these books with feelings far from partial to Mr Jefferson, we confess that, as we advanced from page to page, we gradually yielded to the proofs of the frankness of his character, his great learning, and various genius. It gave us pleasure when we felt, in our own mind, candor recovering its influence over old and indistinct antipathies, and doing a late justice to merit which had suffered from detraction. We have a national interest in the reputation of our great men, as the glory of the country. We would not have others lessen it. It is most painful to see any jealous attempt of themselves to tarnish the honest fame of each other. Franklin, the man whose character, next to that of Washington, has in Europe reflected most credit on this country, has but lately escaped from the danger of being deprived of his best honor, that of fidelity to his public trust.

With these sentiments we could not see without regret an appendix, which contains a short account of the official connexion of Mr Jefferson with the distinguished men first associated with him. It is written in 1818, and speaks of some of them in such terms of severity, as would neither seem just to them, nor compatible with the mild and urbane temper of Mr Jefferson. The narrative is followed by memoranda of conversations had by him, or reported to him, at different times from 1791 to 1806. It appears they were selected from a still greater number which he had destroyed. Most of these memoranda, it appears, were written immediately after the conversations were said to be held; those published were reserved by Mr Jefferson for the purpose of furnishing 'testimony against the only history of the period which pretends to have been compiled from authentic and unpublished documents.'

On reference to these memoranda, many of them do not pretend to be more than reports, by officious informers, of what had been said by third persons in moments of conviviality or excitement. Political opinions are alleged to have been expressed by men of high dignity and established reputation, which they invariably disavowed to the public, and would have

considered a deep reproach. Imputations of grave import were carried to the ear of Mr Jefferson against men whose characters are dear and untarnished in Massachusetts ; which, if the relators were entitled to credit, still rested on the veracity of third persons, had no basis but conjecture, and were certainly false. Reputation, founded upon a long life passed in the view of the public, should not be subject to detraction, which resorts for its materials to whispers, hearsay, and surmise. Mr Jefferson must have allowed his candor and discrimination to be imposed upon, when he suffered his suspicion to rest on the subject of the scandal, rather than the motive of the informer. Mr Jefferson did not fear that his own character would be stained by the numerous charges made against him, during the very period when these imputations reflecting on others were recorded. He never condescended to answer them. He said, ' Conversing with Mrs Adams on the subject of the writers in the newspapers, I took occasion to mention, that I never in my life had directly or indirectly written one sentence for a newspaper ; which is an absolute truth.' During those inflammatory days, no character was safe from being traduced. It is related in one of these articles, that Washington became extremely indignant, and ' ran on the personal abuse which had been bestowed on him, defied any man on earth to produce one single act of his, since he had been in the government, which was not done on the purest motives ;' ' that he had rather be on his farm than made emperor of the world ; and yet that they were charging him with wanting to be a king.' Admitting that General Hamilton said, ' he preferred the British constitution, with all its corruptions, to any government in the world ' ; this was the opinion also of Montesquieu, De Lolme, and many other distinguished civilians. In agreeing with them, did he harbor a thought unfaithful to the constitution of the United States, which he had assisted to plant in the very soil from which he had aided to weed the roots of this British constitution ? For a population containing privileged orders, it is true that the forms of the British government are best. Mr Jefferson recommended them to the French reformers. But it would be insanity to propose them to the people of the United States. Again,

' August 24, 1797. About the time of the British treaty, Hamilton and Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, dined together, and Hamilton drank freely. Conversing on the treaty, Talleyrand says, " Mais vraiment, Monsieur Hamilton, ce n'est pas *bien honnête*,

after making the Senate ratify the treaty, to advise the President to reject it." "The treaty," says Hamilton, "is an execrable one, and Jay was an old woman for making it; but the whole credit of saving us from it must be given to the President." After circumstances had led to a conclusion, that the President also must ratify it, he said to the same Talleyrand, "Though the treaty is a most execrable one, yet when once we have come to a determination on it, we must carry it through thick and thin, right or wrong." Talleyrand told this to Volney, who told it to me.' Vol. iv. pp. 502, 503.

Can it be supposed that these expressions did justice to the opinions of General Hamilton respecting the British treaty or its negotiator? It would seem that he recognised the justice of Talleyrand's remonstrance, that he had made dupes of his friends in the Senate, and imposed upon them the superfluous odium of ratifying an execrable treaty, which he intended the President should reject, but afterwards, for other reasons, thought he ought to ratify.

Tench Cox and one Beckley report to Mr Jefferson a variety of treasonable sentiments, which, whether said in jest or in anger, in moments of sportive festivity or of disputatious encounter during a wrangling session of Congress, are not surprising. The communicative diligence of Beckley, however, surpassed his discretion. His informations began to shake the confidence of Mr Jefferson; who notes one of them by saying, 'Beckley is too credulous.'

The facility with which expressions may be misapprehended, or do injustice to the intentions of the speaker, is shown in the last conversation which we shall quote. 'February the 6th, 1798. Mr Baldwin tells me, that in a conversation yesterday with Goodhue on the state of our affairs, Goodhue said, "I'll tell you what, I have made up my mind on this subject; I would rather the old ship should go down than not;" (meaning the union of the states.) Mr Hillhouse coming up, "Well," says Mr Baldwin, "I'll tell my old friend, Hillhouse, what you say;" and he told him. "Well," says Goodhue, "I repeat, that I would rather the old ship should go down, if we are always to be kept pumping so." "Mr Hillhouse," says Baldwin, "you remember, when we were learning logic together at school, there was the case *categorical* and the case *hypothetical*. Mr Goodhue stated it to me first, as the case *categorical*. I am glad that he now changes it to the case *hypothetical*, by adding, *if we are always to be kept pumping so.*"'

Now it is happy for Mr Goodhue, that his remark was not reported to Mr Jefferson in the sense in which it was first apprehended ; and that another occasion allowed him to repeat it in one less criminal.

What do most of these conversations prove, if correctly reported ? Not the real opinions of the speakers. For they have uniformly, on all grave and responsible occasions, avowed opposite opinions. Their conduct has been governed by opposite principles. They had no motive to disguise them. Are these fugitive remarks to be regarded as confessions of general hypocrisy ? No. They prove merely, that men in mirth, in the heat of argument, or in the spirit of contradiction, use expressions which they would not attempt seriously to justify. It is one of the indulgences which give delight to unreserved intercourse, that one may sometimes say an extravagant thing without expecting to be called upon to prove it reasonable, or to find it reported and recorded. Dr. Johnson, according to his amiable biographer, advocated duelling, and apologized for gambling. At the table of Sir Joshua Reynolds he said, speaking of claret ; ‘ Poor stuff ! No, Sir, claret is the liquor for boys ; port for men ; but he who aspires to be a hero (smiling) must drink brandy. In the first place, the flavor of brandy is most grateful to the palate ; and then brandy will do soonest for a man what drinking *can* do for him. There are indeed few who are able to drink brandy. That is a power rather to be wished for than obtained. And yet (proceeded he) as in all pleasure, hope is a principal part, I know not but fruition comes too quick by brandy.’

The most interesting portion of the correspondence is that which Mr Jefferson, towards the close of life, held with Mr Adams. They had been coadjutors in former days of trial and danger. They had labored side by side in the same field. At length the separation of parties estranged them from each other. Each retired from the helm of state to his farm, his family, and his books. Their early companions had almost all disappeared ; and they left alone among a new generation. The jealousies, inseparable from their late rivalry, neither of them wished any longer to feel or acknowledge, and whatever remained gradually gave place to the recollections of their ancient friendship. The infirmity of advanced age, which shows itself in the forgetfulness of recent events, while those of former days are still fresh in the mind, came in aid of their good

feelings. They more readily forgot the recent estrangement, and more easily returned to their former attachment. There was only wanting something to give occasion to the renewal of their correspondence. It thus occurred. Two of Mr Jefferson's neighbors having, by the invitation of Mr Adams, passed the day with him at Braintree; he remarked upon the injustice done by the licentiousness of the press to Mr Jefferson, adding; 'I always loved Jefferson, and still love him.' Mr Jefferson, in relating this anecdote, subjoins, 'This is enough for me. I only needed this acknowledgment, to revive towards him all the affections of the most cordial moments of our lives.' The ensuing remarks do honor to his candor and liberality.

'Changing a single word only in Dr Franklin's character of him, I knew him to be always an honest man, often a great one, but sometimes incorrect and precipitate in his judgments; and it is known to those who have ever heard me speak of Mr Adams, that I have ever done him justice myself, and defended him when assailed by others, with the single exception as to his political opinions. But with a man possessing so many other estimable qualities, why should we be dissocialized by mere differences of opinion in politics, in religion, in philosophy, or anything else. His opinions are as honestly formed as my own. Our different views of the same subject are the result of a difference in our organization and experience. I never withdrew from the society of any man on this account, although many have done it from me; much less should I do it from one with whom I had gone through, with hand and heart, so many trying scenes. I wish, therefore, but for an apposite occasion to express to Mr Adams my unchanged affections for him.' Vol. iv. p. 167.

Their former friendship thus revived, they continued to communicate to each other their opinions on government, morals, and religion. They amused their leisure by reviewing the speculations of Pythagoras and Plato, of Epicurus and Cicero, and derived a new pleasure from the studies of their youth, by applying to them the results of their long experience. The armor which, like old soldiers after their dismissal from honorable service, they could no longer use, it was their pride to keep polished and retain in their sight. While all the busy world around them was engaged in the contentions of party or of business, they were peacefully interchanging their reminiscences of early life; inquiring after their surviving and departed companions; correcting inaccurate relations of their

own history ; or comparing their reflections on the books which had become their resource and solace. It is to be lamented if now and then an unlucky spark from the passions of the world fell upon their retreat, and, enkindling an unhallowed flame in their own breasts, discovered that philosophy had not entirely removed from them all the old materials of combustion. Their strongest and latest feelings, however, were in favor of the liberty of men and of nations. It is a most interesting fact, which we repeat, that the last words of Mr Adams were those of patriotic ejaculation, responsive to the bell which then rung in celebration of the anniversary of our independence, and the last letter of Mr Jefferson was an expression of a hopeless wish 'to participate with his friends in the rejoicings on that day.' The same day, which had marked the most honorable epoch of their lives, was that in which Providence gave them the privilege to die.

The style and character of Mr Jefferson's writings resemble, in some respects, those of his friend Dr Franklin. They possess the charm of saying, without reserve or the appearance of studied ornament, the honest thoughts of the writer. They have a tone of good temper that wins the reader's partiality, and an earnestness that fixes his attention. They are like those well drawn portraits, which regard and follow us with their eyes in whatever direction we move. We do not suspect that the writer keeps anything back, but deals frankly and as a man of honor. In looking through this long series of letters, we find no change whatever in his principles. They continued in the same direction, extent, and impetus, through his life. If they overflowed the channels, in which prudence or reason would have confined them, he allowed them to pursue their natural course, and bear along or submerge whatever stood in their way. Another remark is, that whether he writes directly to an individual, or about him to a third person, the same sentiments are candidly expressed ; and his opinions of public measures are conveyed in the same unequivocal language, whether addressed to their supporters or opponents.

He frequently indulged in the use of new words ; and after his residence in France, his style was thought to partake of French idioms. There is, however, a great resemblance between his style in the page written in 1776, and that fifty years afterwards. The latter indeed flowed still more smoothly and with more facility. Perhaps, as was thought of Mr Hume,

the habits of expression acquired in the French language communicated to his sentences something of ease at the expense of energy.

Mr Jefferson also resembled Dr Franklin in the character of his mind and in his fortunes. Neither of them had a predilection for political concerns. The studies most congenial to their minds were the speculations of philosophy, the discoveries of science, and the pursuits of natural history. They each had a fondness for the mechanic arts. Engaged in similar objects, they enjoyed abroad the same scientific correspondence, and arrived at the same classical honors; and the traveller sees with pride their names associated and inscribed on the contributions, which America has made to the learned cabinets of Europe.

Dr Franklin also is more known as a writer than an orator. Some of his speeches are reported. Though they are distinguished by the peculiar and extraordinary features of his mind, and were always delivered with effect, yet it is remarked, that he never spoke longer than ten minutes. Mr Jefferson too, as has been remarked, wanting strength of voice, relied altogether upon his power of writing; and as nature is observed to compensate the loss of one sense by giving more force to another, so Mr Jefferson's disuse of public speaking seems to have thrown additional energies into his written composition.

ART. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*The History of Louisiana, particularly of the Cession of that Colony to the United States of America; with an Introductory Essay on the Constitution and Government of the United States.* By BARBE-MARBOIS. Translated from the French, by AN AMERICAN CITIZEN. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea. 1830. 8vo. pp. 456.

On a former occasion, when this work first appeared in France, we presented our readers with a brief analysis of its contents, and freely gave our opinion of its character and merits.* We recur

* See the North American Review for April, 1829, No. LXIII. p. 389.

to it, therefore, only to express the great pleasure we feel at seeing published in the United States a translation of a work, which we then described, and which we still consider, as the best that has ever been written by a foreigner on this country. The tone of it throughout is temperate, fair, and candid, and the author discovers a knowledge of the principles and forms of our government, and of its practical operations, altogether unexampled in any other European writer. For this attention to our history, and deep study into the nature and effects of our political and social institutions, he claims the gratitude of every American, and above all for the pains he has taken in this work to diffuse in Europe accurate information concerning subjects, which few on the other side of the water ever pretend to examine, and which none understands. For more than fifty years M. de Marbois has watched our national progress with an eye evidently partial to our interests and gratified at our success. His writings bear ample testimony to this declaration. As a sound and judicious exposition of the nature of our government the present work is valuable, but its peculiar interest consists in the history of the Louisiana Treaty, in which M. de Marbois held a conspicuous part. In whatever light it is considered, we cannot point to a single historical work more worthy of a place in every American library.

The translator merits high praise, not more for his patriotism in making this work accessible to American readers, than for the ability with which he has executed his task. Whether we regard the accuracy of the translation, or the finish of the style and his happy talent at clothing the sense of the original in the English idiom, we must concede to him the triumph of entire success. His pursuits and studies had eminently qualified him for the undertaking, and he had the further advantage of the society and conversation of the author during its progress. The following extract from the 'Translator's Notice' was written in Paris.

'Most foreign books, which have treated of the institutions of the United States, have been compiled with such illiberal feelings, and are at the same time so very inaccurate, that when, a short time after my arrival in Paris last autumn, the following book was placed in my hands, I conceived that I could not employ a few weeks' leisure more usefully, nor in a manner more congenial with my former pursuits, than by making it generally accessible to my fellow citizens. I was in hopes that, while the circulation of the original in Europe dispelled many unfavorable prejudices respecting my native country, my humble labors might not be without some effect in attaching the people of America still more firmly to those institutions, on which an enlightened and distinguished foreigner had pronounced a high encomium.

‘The friendly spirit alluded to is not confined to the Introductory Essay, which particularly treats of the government, but will be found to pervade the whole of the subsequent History. Even while the political parties, into which the people of the United States were lately divided, were doing everything in their power to induce the world to believe, that on the election of a president were to depend the future destinies of that great and prosperous nation; the author, estimating more favorably the nature of the American institutions, confidently stated, that, “whatever might be the result of this domestic contest, the wisdom of the constitution was a guarantee as well for the moderation of the general as for the firmness of the magistrate.”

‘But the History of Louisiana and of its cession possesses claims to attention, though of a different character. It makes the citizen of the United States acquainted with the origin of his country’s title to a territory, the importance of which, before the lapse of many ages, will be scarcely inferior to that of all the states of the original confederacy combined; and it unfolds to the statesman a diplomatic transaction, little noticed at the time, which must hereafter exercise the greatest influence on the general balance of power among the nations of Christendom.

‘In most of the important events to which he alludes, the Marquis de Marbois had a direct participation, and as few foreigners can be named, whose official relations have been more beneficial to the United States than those of this respected individual, a cursory notice of his life may not be unacceptable to readers on the other side of the Atlantic. In French History he has long held an important place.

‘Barbé-Marbois was born at Metz in 1745. He early entered the diplomatic service, and was appointed in 1769 secretary of the French legation to the diet of the empire, which held its sittings at Ratisbon. From this post he was, two years afterwards, transferred in the same character to Dresden, where, as well as in Bavaria, he for some time officiated as chargé d’affaires. On quitting the latter court he seems to have had the intention of entering on another career, and he was accordingly received as a counsellor of the parliament of Metz. But from his new pursuits he was soon withdrawn by the offer of employment in America, whose revolution then attracted universal attention.

‘The government of France, having determined openly to espouse the cause of the English colonies, concluded with them in 1778 treaties of amity and alliance, and of commerce. As efficient aid in men and money was promised by its ally to the new republic, the functions of the French legation to the Congress were at that time far more important than in the ordinary cases of diplomatic representation. M. Gerard, the negotiator of the trea-

ties, who was sent to the United States in 1778 as minister plenipotentiary, having returned home the following year, was succeeded by the Chevalier de la Luzerne. M. de Marbois with great readiness accepted the appointment of secretary of legation, with which place that of consul general was united, and it is well known that he was the principal agent in the important operations of the embassy. In April, 1784, M. de la Luzerne took leave of Congress, and M. de Marbois was recognised as chargé d'affaires, in which situation he remained till his appointment in 1785 as intendant of St Domingo, an office for which he possessed, in an eminent degree, the appropriate talents. While in the United States, he married a lady of Philadelphia, by whom he had a daughter, now the wife of the Duke of Plaisance, the son of Le Brun, one of Bonaparte's colleagues in the consulate.

'In 1790 Marbois returned to France, and was named by Louis the Sixteenth his minister to the Diet at Ratisbon, but received instructions to proceed first on a special mission to the Emperor Leopold. At this time, though the king still remained an integral part of the constitution, the revolution had made great progress. The princes of the royal family and a large portion of the nobility had actually exiled themselves, and were preparing to attempt the recovery of their privileges by force of arms. When M. de Marbois came back to Paris from Vienna, he found that everything indicated the near approach of those bloody scenes which disgraced French liberty. He asked permission to resign his place, which was granted; the king and also the queen, at the same time, graciously signifying that he should be preserved for better times.

'During the reign of terror which succeeded, M. de Marbois' name having been placed on the list of emigrants, he was imprisoned, and recovered his liberty only with the fall of Robespierre. Under the constitution of the Directory he again engaged in public affairs. How far he was from upholding that old system, the abuses of which time had rendered intolerable to an enlightened nation, is sufficiently manifest from the whole tenor of his writings. In the Council of Ancients, to which he was elected in 1795, he proved, that, however much he might condemn the excesses of the revolution, to which he was a stranger, his sentiments were those of a Frenchman. He paid a just tribute to the merit of the army of Italy, and of its illustrious chief, at the same time that he attacked, without success, the law which excluded from the public service nobles and the families of emigrants.

'In 1797, when the contest took place between a majority of the Directory and the legislature, M. de Marbois was President of the Council of Ancients, and had a great share in the nomination

of M. Barthélemy as one of the Directory. A powerful faction having prevailed by a revolutionary movement, Barthélemy and Carnot, two of the Directory, as well as several members of both the legislative councils, were subjected to a species of ostracism. In this number M. de Marbois was included; he was transported, under circumstances of peculiar aggravation, to the pestilential regions of Sinnamari in Guiana. He remained there in exile till 1800, when he was recalled by the Directory to the inhospitable island of Oleron, and soon after, Bonaparte, becoming First Consul, annulled the unjust sentence against him and his companions in misfortune.

‘On M. de Marbois’ restoration to his country, he was made a counsellor of state and director of the public treasury. The latter office was changed in 1801 to that of minister of the public treasury, when he became a member of the cabinet. While in this situation, the negotiations with the United States for the cession of Louisiana, which gave rise to the present work, were confided to him as the plenipotentiary on the part of the French republic.

‘In 1805, he received from Napoleon several honorary distinctions; but being averse to a system, which substituted for the usual sources of revenue extraordinary contributions from all the neighboring states, the consequences of which Marbois foresaw must ultimately be a general coalition of Europe against France, he resigned the ministry of the treasury in 1806, and retired to the country. He was, however, recalled to Paris, two years afterwards, to fill the office of first president of the court of accounts, the tribunal which has jurisdiction in all cases affecting the public receipts and expenditures.* In 1813, he was made a senator of the empire.

‘On the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, the king created M. de Marbois a peer, and he was confirmed in the presidency of the court of accounts. Having been exiled by Napoleon, during the hundred days, he was on the return of Louis the Eighteenth named minister, secretary of state, and keeper of the seals; but he soon after resigned this office to resume his former place in the court of accounts, the duties of which, though now eighty-four years of age, he still performs with the greatest exactitude. He is also constant in his attendance in the House of Peers, where he takes part in most of the important proceedings;

* All the French courts are divided into chambers or sections, each of which has its own president. The first president is the magistrate who presides over the whole court when the several chambers meet together on important occasions. The public accounts are settled by judicial forms.’

and, at the opening of the present session he was named on the commission to whom the king's speech was referred. In all institutions having for their object the melioration of the condition of his fellow-beings, M. de Marbois engages with deep interest, and, notwithstanding his numerous engagements, he has within a few days consented to be a member of a council formed for the suppression of mendicity.

'The labors of M. de Marbois have not prevented his finding leisure for literary pursuits. Besides writing the Introduction to the Count de Goertz's Memoir on the Negotiations of 1778 for the Succession of Bavaria, he is the author of several works on Morals and Finance, and of some translations from German and English. He likewise published, in 1816, an account of Arnold's Conspiracy, preceded by an essay on the United States, which is characterized by the same liberal spirit as the present treatise. It was translated soon after its appearance by a distinguished American scholar.' pp. vii-xiii.

2.—*Hin forna Lögbok Islendinga sem nefnist Grágás*, i. e. *Codex Juris Islandorum antiquissimus, qui nominatur Grágás, ex duobus Manuscriptis pergamenis (quæ sola supersunt) Bibliothecæ Regiæ et Legati Arnæ-Magnæani, nunc primum editus; cum Interpretatione Latinâ, Lectionibus Variis, Indicibus Vorum et Rerum, præmissâ Commentatione historicâ et criticâ de hujus Juris Origine et Indole, ab J. F. SCHLEGEL conscriptâ. Havniæ, 1829, Sumptibus Legati Arnæ-Magnæani. 4to. tom. i. p. 505.*

THE work with the above title, which has just appeared at Copenhagen, cannot fail deeply to interest the curiosity of those who have made the laws and literature of the ancient North in any degree the object of their attention. Iceland, it is well known, was discovered and peopled by the Norwegians at a very early period, and afterwards became the asylum of those who fled from the tyranny that prevailed in Norway under Harold the Fair-haired and his successors.

The body of customary laws, which is now given to the public in a perfect and correct form, is a singularly curious monument of the political institutions and manners of this remote age and country. It was first reduced to a written text, and solemnly adopted by the people of that island, whilst they still retained their free and republican form of government. The odd name of *Grágás* was given to the code in comparatively modern times, and signi-

fies, literally, *grey geese*. According to Mr Schlegel, it serves to distinguish the ancient from the modern law, which last was introduced about the end of the thirteenth century, when Iceland submitted to the dominion of the kings of Norway. The ancient Icelanders always used, even on ordinary occasions, a highly poetical and figurative language. It was a proverb among them, that the *grey geese*, especially those of a peculiar sort, called *Hrota* in Icelandic, and *Brenta* in old English, live to a very old age; and the Icelanders always using a highly figurative language to express even the most abstract ideas, this name has given rise to an erroneous opinion, that the laws in question were derived from the Norwegian code published by king Magnus the Good under the same title.

One of the most remarkable circumstances that strike the reader in this antique collection of laws is, the subtle genius of the Icelandic lawyers, almost rivalling that of the Roman jurisconsults, although it is quite clear that they had not the remotest notion of the civil Roman law when this system of legislation was adopted; and even if they had known it, it would have been wholly inapplicable to their local situation and usages. It also elucidates the frequent reference to remarkable trials for crimes, and to other litigations growing out of the hereditary feuds which vexed this singular community, and of which the old *Sagas* contain such ample accounts.

This ancient Icelandic code was drawn up in the year 1117, by a deputation composed of the *Laghman*, or chief Man of the Law, and the cleverest lawyers of that time, from a previous collection called the laws of Ulslot, made in 927, and the customs subsequently introduced, which were all revised and recompiled by the new commissioners so as to adapt them to the situation of the commonwealth and the interests of the people in the beginning of the twelfth century. Their *projét* was afterwards adopted by the people in the *All-thing*, or general assembly, in the following year (1118), and remained in force until 1275, when the republican government was abolished, and Iceland brought under the regal yoke of Norway. This of course introduced many alterations in the legislation of the country, some of them not for the better, and they are also to be regretted, inasmuch as the *Grágás* code is more extensive and detailed than the one introduced in 1280, and which still continues to be the principal law by which the island is governed.

Several additions were made to this last in 1130, and also in the thirteenth century. The faculty of interpreting the *Grágás* was attributed to the Chief Magistrate of the island, whose duty it was also to read portions of the code every year before the assembled people in the *All-thing*, with the necessary explanations, forms of

process, and actions, &c. The *Grágás* are divided into seven grand divisions or books, with a considerable regard to method and convenience of reference. The first treats of real actions; the second, of the descent of estates; the third, of infancy, and the condition of all others who, by the imbecility of their understandings, are placed under the peculiar protection of the civil magistrate; the fourth, of the nuptial contract; the fifth, of the contract of sale, and other conventions; the sixth, of criminal law, and especially of homicide; the seventh, of everything relating to the letting of lands and rural economy. At least this is the order of matters followed in the printed text, for the manuscripts on which it is founded pursue a different arrangement. The editors have consulted the text of two manuscripts of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, it is uncertain which, but which differ from each other in a remarkable manner. Professor Schlegel has endeavored to explain this difference, and seems to attribute the *Codex Regius* to the period between 1230 and 1250, and supposes that the *Codex Arnæ Magnæi* may have been written from thirty to fifty years later. The text is accompanied with a Latin version, for the convenience of those who are unacquainted with the Icelandic language. Those who wish to study the original will find the necessary assistance in the *Index Vocum*, prepared by the translator, M. Sveinfivernsen.

3.—*Danish Grammar, adapted to the Use of Englishmen, with Extracts and Dialogues, &c.* By PROFESSOR ERASMUS RASK. Copenhagen. 1830. 8vo.

THIS small volume, by the great northern philologist, supplies what was very much wanted; for the old Danish grammar by Captain Schneider, which was published about thirty years ago, gave a very imperfect idea of the Danish language. The present work is adapted to the system of the old Scandinavian or Icelandic, and of the Anglo-Saxon and the ancient Gothic dialects. It will, therefore, not only be useful to the generality of students who wish to acquire a knowledge of the language sufficient for reading a book, or conversing with the natives of Denmark and Norway, but also to philologists, who wish to study and compare the different idioms of the North of Europe with each other, or to make use of them for the purposes of general grammar.

The grammatical part of the work is divided into four books; the first treating of orthography; the second, of inflection; the third, of the formation of words, or etymology, and the compounding of words; the fourth, of syntax. In treating of inflections,

our author rejects all cases formed by prepositions, and all tenses formed by auxiliary verbs, as Mr Grant has done in his English grammar. Of the use of the auxiliary verbs, Professor Rask treats in a separate section, but of their inflection he speaks in the class to which they bear the nearest relation. So also he divides the other irregulars between the regular conjugations and classes to which they seem naturally to belong, so that he has no chapter on the irregular verbs. In the nouns, he admits but of two cases, the nominative and genitive, but in some of the pronouns, three, there being also an objective case, just as in English; e. g.

<i>de,</i>	they,
<i>dem,</i>	them,
<i>denes,</i>	theirs.

In the verbs, our author has but two tenses, the present and past, so that if it were not for the compounding of the definite article with the nouns and for the passive voice in the verbs, the whole structure of the language, as exhibited by him, would be extremely like that of the English.

The grammar makes about one half of the volume, and contains an appendix on the Gothic or German alphabet, which is still much used in Denmark in printed works. In this part of the book the words are occasionally accented, and in the extracts almost always; and this is, so far as we know, the first Danish grammar, in any foreign language, where an accentuation of the words is attempted, though very material in order to distinguish the different sounds of *e* and *o*, as also the accented syllable in long words, which is as varied as in English.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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The History of Louisiana, particularly of the Cession of that Colony to the United States of America; with an Introductory Essay on the Constitution and Government of the United States. By Barbé-Marbois, Peer of France, &c. Translated from the French by an American citizen. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea. 8vo.

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The Spirit of the Annuals, for 1830. Philadelphia. E. Littell & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 432.

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passed that barrier, and will ere long reach the Pacific. The beaver has nearly disappeared upon all our borders, and hunters and trappers have followed them to the waters of the Columbia. Even the common red deer, once so abundant, is rarely found east of the Allegany, and is becoming scarce in the western regions.

But a still more powerful cause has operated to produce this diminution in the number of the Indians. Ardent spirits have been the bane of their improvement; one of the principal agents in their declension and degradation. In this proposition we include only those tribes in immediate contact with our frontier settlements, or who have remained upon *reservations* guarantied to them. It has been found impracticable to prevent the sale of spirituous liquors to those who are thus situated. The most judicious laws are eluded or openly violated. The love of spirits, and the love of gain, conspire to bring together the buyer and the seller. As the penalties become heavier, and the probability of detection and punishment stronger, the prohibited article becomes dearer, and the sacrifice to obtain it greater. We shall not attempt to investigate the cause of the inordinate attachment displayed by the Indians to ardent spirits. It is probably without a parallel in all the history of man, and is certainly so, with very few exceptions, in the whole range of their own society. There is a singular uniformity in its operation, destroying the effect of individual character, and substituting a common standard of feeling and deportment. These facts are known to all, to whom the Indians themselves are known. This predisposition was the subject of observation and regret two centuries ago; and the earlier historians and travellers, while they furnish the record of its existence, furnish also the evidence of its overpowering influence and destructive consequences.

Our object, as will be seen in the sequel, is not to trace the operation of all the causes which have contributed to the diminution of the population of the Indians. We confine ourselves to those which may be fairly attributed to the coming of the Europeans among them, and which are yet exerting their influence, wherever the two races are placed in contact. As we shall attempt eventually to prove, that the only means of preserving the Indians from that utter extinction which threatens them, is to remove them from the sphere of this influence, we are desirous of showing, that no change has occurred, or proba-

bly can occur, in the principles or practice of our intercourse with them, by which the progress of their declension can be arrested, so long as they occupy their present situation.

The consequences of their own wars, therefore, do not fall within this inquiry. These were in active operation long before our forefathers landed upon the continent, and their extent and effects have been gradually circumscribed by our interposition, until the war-hatchet has been buried by many of the tribes which are near us ; and if not buried, will, we trust, ere long be taken from those which are remote.

To the operation of the physical causes, which we have described, must be added the moral causes connected with their mode of life, and their peculiar opinions. Distress could not teach them providence, nor want industry. As animal food decreased, their vegetable productions were not increased. Their habits were stationary and unbending ; never changing with the change of circumstances. How far the prospect around them, which to us appears so dreary, may have depressed and discouraged them, it is difficult to ascertain, as it is also to estimate the effect upon them of that superiority, which we have assumed and they have acknowledged. There is a principle of repulsion in ceaseless activity, operating through all their institutions, which prevents them from appreciating or adopting any other modes of life, or any other habits of thought or action, but those which have descended to them from their ancestors.

That the aboriginal population should decrease under the operation of these causes, can excite no surprise. From an early period, their rapid declension and ultimate extinction were foreseen and lamented, and various plans for their preservation and improvement were projected and pursued. Many of them were carefully taught at our seminaries of education, in the hope that principles of morality and habits of industry would be acquired, and that they might stimulate their countrymen by precept and example to a better course of life. Missionary stations were established among various tribes, where zealous and pious men devoted themselves with generous ardor to the task of instruction, as well in agriculture and the mechanic arts, as in the principles of morality and religion. The Roman Catholic Church preceded the Protestant, in this labor of charity ; and the *Lettres Edifiantes* are monuments of her zeal and liberality. Unfortunately, they are monuments also